

A Socio-Intellectual History of the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is in India

(7th to 16th century A.D.)
with an analysis of early Shī'ism

Vol. 1

by

SAIYID ATHAR ABBAS RIZVI
M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt, F.A.H. (Australia)

Ma'rifat Publishing House

16 Patey Street, Campbell,
Canberra, A. C. T. 2601

AUSTRALIA

1986

First published by
MA'RIFAT PUBLISHING HOUSE
16 Patey Street, Campbell,
Canberra, A. C. T. 2601
Australia
1986

© Rizvi, Saiyid Athar Abbas (b. 1921)

Printed at Prem Printing Press, 257, Golaganj,
Lucknow-226018 (India)

To
The memory of the
MARTYRS OF KARBALĀ



CONTENTS

Introduction	..	1
Chapter 1 Early Isnā 'Ashari Shī'ism	..	8
Chapter 2 Shī'ism in Northern India	..	138
Chapter 3 Shī'is in the Deccan	..	247
Chapter 4 Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari	..	342
Conclusion	..	388
Bibliography	..	400
Index	..	438

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aligarh Ms.	Manuscript in Mawlānā Āzād Library, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, India.
Āsafiya Ms.	Manuscript in the former Āsafiya Library, now in the Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderabad Deccan, India.
b.	<i>bin</i> (son of).
b.	born, followed by date.
Balāzuri	<i>Ansābu'l-ashrāf</i>
Bankipur	Manuscripts in the <i>Catalogue of Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Library at Bankipore, Patna, India.</i>
Brockelmann	<i>Geschichte der arabischen literatur.</i>
Buhār	Manuscripts in the Buhār Collections, National Library, Calcutta.
d.	died.
D. P.	Delhi Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, London.
E. I. ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition.
Ethé	<i>Manuscripts in the Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library, London</i> , by H. E. Ethé.
Haig	English translation of the <i>Muntakhab ut-tawārikh</i> , by T. W. Haig.
I. O.	India Office Library, London.
Ibn Abi'l Hadid,	<i>Sharh Nahj al-balāgha.</i>
Ibn Asir	<i>Al-Kāmil fi't-tārikh.</i>
Ibn Hishām	<i>Sirat an-Nabī.</i>
Ibn Nadīm	<i>Kitāb al fihrist.</i>
Ibn Sa'd	<i>Kitāb al tabaqāt al kabīr.</i>
I'jāz Husayn	<i>Kashfu'l-hujub wa'l-astār.</i>
Isti'āb	<i>Kitāb al isti'āb</i> by 'Abdu'l-Barr.
Ivanow	Manuscripts in <i>Concise descriptive catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.</i>

Kh.	Khwāja.
Kashshi	<i>Ma'rifa akhbār ar-rijāl.</i>
Kulayni	<i>Al-usūl min a'l-Kāfi</i> , Tehran n. d. with Persian translation.
Lowe	English translation of the <i>Muntakhab ut-tawārikh</i> , vol. II, by W. H. Lowe.
M.	Muhammad.
Ms.	Manuscript.
Mufid	<i>Kitāb al-irshād</i> by Shaykh al-Mufid, English translation by I. K. A. Howard.
n. d.	undated.
Najāshi	<i>Kitābu'r-rijāl.</i>
Nuzha	<i>Nuzhatu'l-khawātir.</i>
Rampur	Manuscripts in the Raza Library, Rampur.
Rieu	Manuscripts in the <i>Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum</i> , London.
S.	Sayyid.
Sh.	Shaykh.
Sālār Jang	Manuscripts in the Sālār Jang Museum, Hyderabad, Deccan, India, M. Ashraf.
Siyar	<i>Concise catalogue of manuscripts</i> , Hyderabad. <i>Siyaru'l-muta' akhkhirīn.</i>
Storey	<i>Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey</i> by C. A. Storey.
at-Tabari	<i>Tārīkh ar-rusūl wa'l-mulūk.</i>
Tūsi	<i>al Fihrist.</i>
Ya'qūbi	<i>at-Tārīkh.</i>

NOTES ON DATES

Muslim dates are given according to the Hijra era or the event marking Prophet Muhammad's emigration from Mecca to Medina. Although he arrived in Medina on 24 September 622, seventeen years later the Second Caliph 'Umar (634-44) instituted Muslim dating on the basis of the lunar months, beginning with Muharram. Thus the first Muharram was calculated to have fallen on 16 July 622. The adoption of the lunar calendar leads to the loss of one year every thirty-three years of the Roman calendar. Hence 1407 Hijra (H) or *Anno Hegirae* (AH) begins in September 1986 AD and not in 2029. Of the two dates separated by an oblique in this book, the first is the Hijra (H) or *Anno Hegirae* (AH) and the second is AD. Where neither H nor AD is mentioned along with dates, AD is invariably implied.

All equivalent dates have been taken from *Wustefeld-Mahler'sche Vergleichungs-Tabellen*.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

The limitations of the press forbid our using the full range of diacritical marks, which alone would have ensured perfect accuracy and consistency. Persian transliteration system in the *Persian-English Dictionary* by F. Steingass has been largely followed but only long vowels carry a macron, thus ā, ī, ū. The Hindi diphthong in such words as Rā'o or Badā'ūni is marked by the sign ' an apostrophe. Undotted *ayn* is marked by the sign ' and ' represents the *hamzah*. Place names of India in particular have not been marked and generally modern spellings have been preferred.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1981 the Australian Research Grants Committee made a grant to the author to appoint a part-time research assistant to assist him in the writing of a history of the Shi'is in India. The grant was extended for two more years and Mrs. T. Lavers worked with the author. The author wishes to express his deep gratitude to ARGC for their help. The author is thankful to Mrs. T. Lavers, appointed to help the author, for painstakingly finalizing his draft, and for helping him throughout her stay in innumerable ways.

The author wishes to express his deep sense of gratitude to the librarians of the libraries and museums in U. K., Europe, Iran, India and Pakistan who gave him access to their valuable collections and supplied microfilm copies of important works drawn upon in this book. Special thanks are due to Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī Nāsir Sa'id 'Abaqāti who placed at the disposal of the author some rare manuscripts in his Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow containing works written and collected by his ancestors.

Mr. S. K. Srivastava, M. A., P. E. S. (I) (retired), managed to find time to correct the proofs and Mr. Gopal Narain Bhargava, Proprietor of the Prem Printing Press in Lucknow expeditiously printed the work. The author wishes to thank them with a large number of unnamed people without whose help the work would not have seen the light of the day.

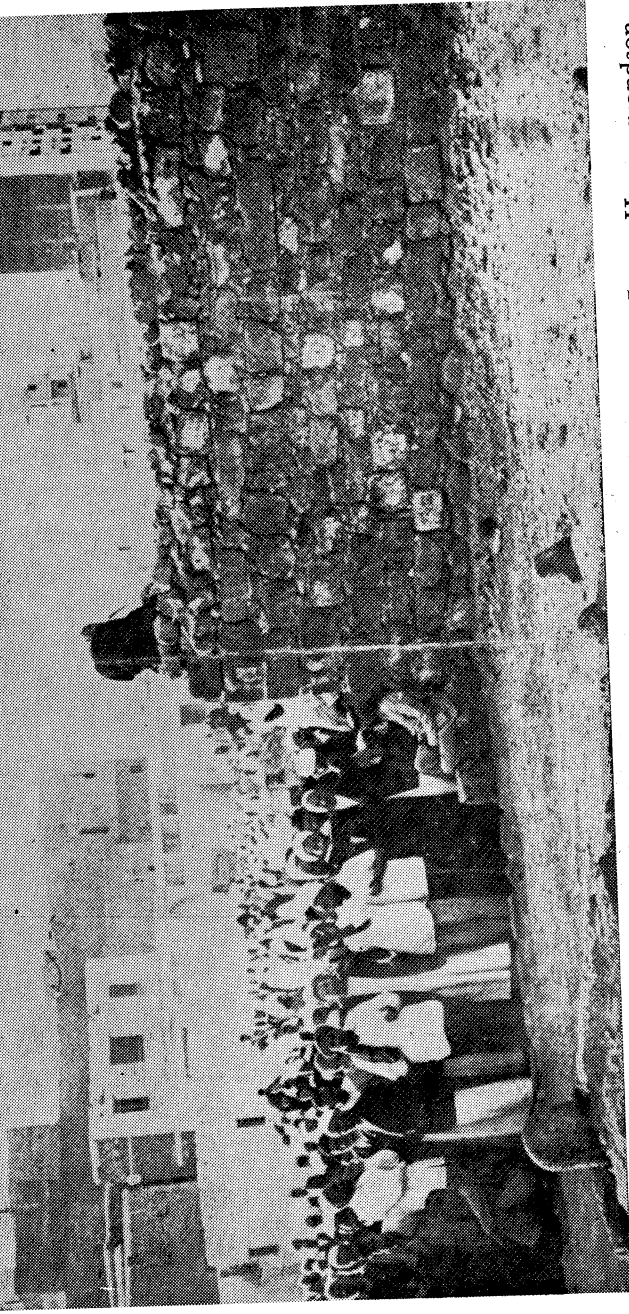
September, 1985
Centre of Asian History,
Australian National University,
Box 4, P. O. Canberra,
A. C. T. 2601
Australia

S. A. A. Rizvi

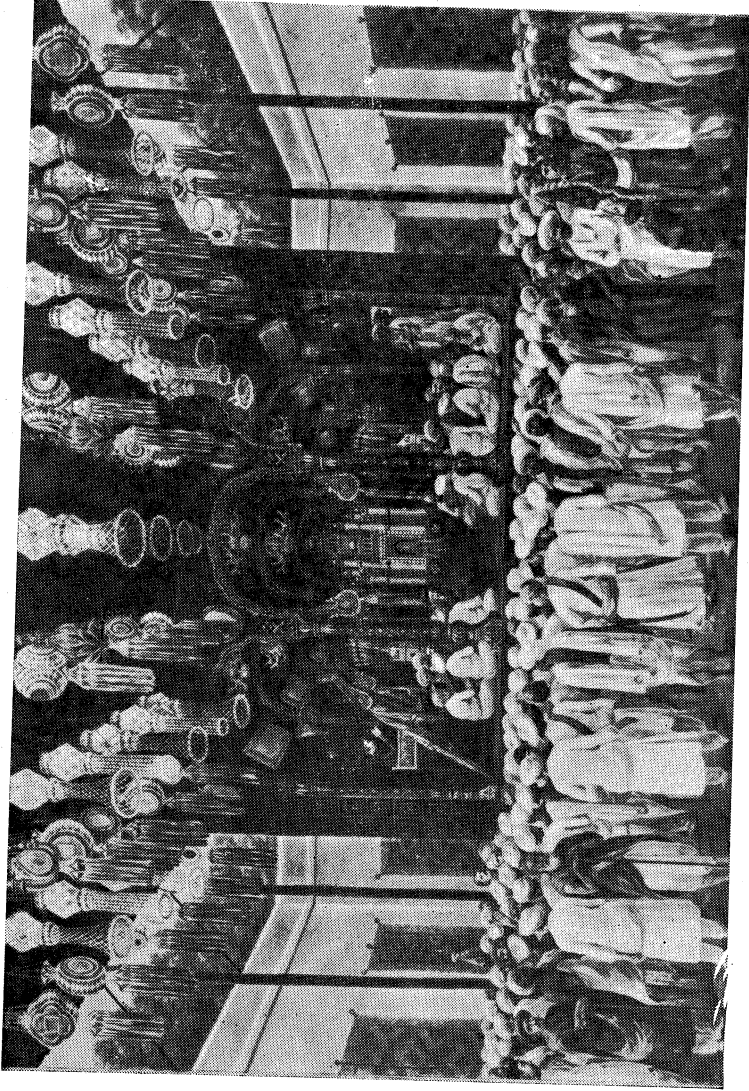


قبرستان بقیع

مرقد مطهر حضرت فاطمه زهرا و امام حسن مجتبیٰ و امام سجاد و امام محمد باقر و امام جعفر الصادق



An old poster of the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fātima, her son Imām Hasan, grandson Imām 'Alī bin Husayn, the latter's son Imām Muhammad Bāqir and the grandson Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, at Baqī' in Medina. A couple of years back mourners could pay their respects at the delapidated graves but the Sa'ūdi rulers, whose ancestors destroyed the holy tombs, have now totally banned visits to the graves.



Muharram procession ready to leave the Imāmbārha, by Sheiwak Ram of Patna, dated 1807.
India Office, London Add. Or. 18. (*Courtesy*, the British Library, London)

Introduction

Commenting on the imperialistic traditions in Islamic studies, C. J. Adams says,

“With very few exceptions the Western scholarly tradition tends to look upon Islam as a monolithic structure, having well-defined norms for belief and practice. These are usually identified with the reigning attitudes among Sunni Muslims, for which reason the latter are often called ‘orthodox’. When in the course of Islamic history groups have differed from the alleged norms, or chosen other norms, the tendency has been to consider such people deviant, to assign them a role somewhere outside the main stream of Islamic life or perhaps to ignore them altogether.”

Adams goes on to say,

“The most important scholarly casualty of the ‘monolithic’ set of mind are the Isnā ‘Ashari Shi’a, the great majority Shi’i community of Iran, Iraq, and the Indian subcontinent. Because the Shi’a have not belonged to the heart of Islam as scholars have conceived that heart, they have received only a fraction of the attention devoted to the Sunni community. In consequence, when scholars write of Islamic theology, their attention is given exclusively to Sunni thinkers; when they discuss the development of Islamic law, the subject for consideration is jurisprudential development in Sunni Islam. Acknowledgement is normally given to the fact that the Shi’a differ from Sunni opinions, but the differences are minimized, and it is seldom thought necessary to consider Shi’i views at length in order to understand their peculiar spirit and religious *Weltanschauung*.”

Pointing out the differences between the Sunni and Shi’i ethos, Adams says,

“The important facts are that differences do exist between Sunni and Shi’i Muslims, that these differences are great and important, that they are little noted in contemporary scholarship, and that they deserve the fullest and closest treatment. One may go so far as to say that the

fundamental ethos of Shi'ism differs from that of the Sunnis. Whereas the Sunni Muslim is preoccupied above all else with the awesome majesty of a Sovereign Lord who has commanded men to live in a prescribed way, his Shi'i brother builds his religious devotions around the themes of suffering and martyrdom, normally exhibiting a far greater element of emotional outpouring in the expression of his piety. Further, the Shi'a feels himself to have a closer and more personal relationship to the Divine reality through the living imām and his representatives among the *mujtahids* of the community. The citation of basic differences could be multiplied in other fields such as the science of *hadis* or the role accorded to philosophy. European, particularly French, scholarship has paid more attention to the unique character of Shi'i Islam than has North American study. We cited above the numerous writings of Henry Corbin, who is perhaps the principal figure. There is, however, a clear need for greater attention to this field of endeavour. The desideratum is a series of works detailing the unique history of Shi'i thought, practice, and institutions for their own sakes and without the stigma of their being considered "heterodox" and "deviant". There is an incalculable wealth of both primary materials and secondary studies in Arabic and Persian awaiting the attention of assiduous scholars."¹

In the spring of 1946 John Norman Hollister submitted his thesis, *The Shi'a of India* to the Faculty of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford Seminary Foundation, U. S. A. in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He says,

"The study of *The Shi'a of India* was undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Murray T. Titus when he was completing his most useful work on *Indian Islam*. He realized that the historical development of Islam in India was permeated with, and sometimes controlled by, other influences. Many of these were truly Islamic yet strongly at variance with 'orthodox' positions and their real nature was concealed. Some of the influences were assuredly Shi'ite, though by no means all. There was room for some one to explore the part that *Shi'ism* had played in Indian Islam."²

- 1 G. J. Adams, Islamic religious tradition in Leonard Binder, *The study of the Middle East*, New York, 1976, pp. 82-84. See also, the role of Shaykh al-Tūsī in the evolution of a formal science of jurisprudence among the Shi'a in *Co-Memorial Millenary of Shaykh al-Tūsī*, edited by Mohammad Wā'iz-zādah, Mashhad, 1976, pp. 3-14. For comments on Adam's remarks on the evolution of *ijtihād* see Murtazā Mutahharī, *Ilhāmī az Shaykhu't-Tā'ifa*, Persian paper in the Persian section of the above, pp. 231-36.
- 2 J. N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, London, 1953, p. 1.

Hollister's book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the Isnā 'Ashariyyas and the second part deals with the Ismā'īliyyas and their Must'ali and the Nizārī branches. Chapters one and two deal with the main principle of Shi'ism. Chapters third and fourth deal with the Isnā 'Ashariyyas and the chapters fifth and sixth outline the biographies of the Imāms of the Isnā 'Ashariyyas. Chapters seventh to tenth describe the advent of the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in India. They largely deal with the political history of the Bahmani and successor kingdoms, the Mughal period, the Sultans of Kashmir and the kingdom of Awadh. The political and the diplomatic relations of the above rulers with the Iranian kings amount to the history of the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is in the Hollister's book. Chapter eleventh on the Muharram deals with the modern Muharram celebration in different parts of India. Chapter twelfth on the "Shi'ite Community Today" comprises short notes on the Shi'as in different parts of India and on Shi'i-Sunni relations. The work is based mainly on modern sources in English and Urdu.

A total indifference to Shi'ism is exhibited by P. Hardy who translated and summarised excerpts on Islam in Medieval India in the *Sources of Indian tradition* edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary. Hardy says, "The most important schism in Muslim civilization is that caused by the Shi'a the party of 'Ali." Hardy is imbued with the imperialistic attitude towards Islam in blaming the Shi'is. Justifying his deletion of Shi'is from the Islam in medieval India he says, "Although the Shi'a were influential at the Mughal court in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and enjoyed adherents among the rulers of the Deccan Muslim kingdoms which appeared in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, their contribution to medieval Muslim thought in India has not been considered sufficiently distinctive in its social and political overtones to be included in the readings."³

The Shi'is were and are contemptuously called as Rāfiza, Rāfizūn or Rāfizīs. The word Rāfiza is translated into English as deserter and was first applied by the Sunnis to those who renounced their allegiance to Zayd, a grandson of Imām Husayn who propounded the theory that the armed uprising was indispensable for the *imām* to assert his rights and that an inferior could supersede a superior in *imāmate*. Gradually the word Rāfizi came to be used for all the devotees (Shi'as) of Imām 'Ali and Ahl-i Bayt, particularly for the *ghulāt* (extremists). Some Sunni authorities condemn Shi'is as heretics and infidels; borrowing analogy from Christian Church the orientalist dub them as schismatics; Hardy follows the same line.

The Shi'is, however, believe that the members of the Prophet's Ahl-i

3 Wm. T. de Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition*, Columbia, 1959, pp. 374, 377.

Bayt (household) were custodians of the entire corpus of the Divine revelations and the Prophet's traditions. Consequently their devotees or Shi'is have closest proximity to the Prophet Muhammad's *sunna* and *shari'a* than other Islamic sects. Shi'is do respect the Prophet's wives and companions but evaluate their achievements in the light of their consistent devotion to the Prophet and his Ahl-i Bayt.

As a gate-way of knowledge, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib strengthened the foundations of learning and spiritual traditions laid by the Prophet. His successors and devotees assiduously followed in their predecessors' foot-steps. The persecution of the Shi'is and destruction of their libraries have deprived the world of the corpus of their basic intellectual traditions. The Shi'i bibliographical and *rijāl* (biographical) works bring to light only a very small portion of the contributions of the Imāms and their companions. Only a few works have survived. Some later scholars were mainly concerned to preserve the existing literature in their compilations. They paid no attention to critically examining them. In Akbar's reign the compilers of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī* could not lay their hands on Ismā'īli sources. They go on to say that the standard Sunni works contained versions of the belief and history of the Isnā 'Asharis which were not traceable in the Shi'i works, and no correct estimate of the Isnā 'Asharis was possible on the basis of Sunni works alone.⁴

A large number of Shi'i scholars did not disclose their identity for fear of Sunni persecution. Nevertheless the sectarian beliefs of some of them came to be known in their own life time or in subsequent centuries. The religious and literary works of only a few Shi'i scholars reflect their sectarian beliefs. The Sunni tradition of rejecting *ahādīs* (plural of *hadīs*) on the ground that the narrators or one of the narrators in chains of the *ahādīs* was a Shi'i has preserved the names of a large number of Shi'i scholars.

The Sunni historians glorify persecution of the Shi'is by their Sunni calíphs and rulers. The Indian Sunni scholars also do not hesitate to refer to the persecution of Shi'is in order to demonstrate their ruler's concern to promote the pious laws of the "illustrious Sunni *shari'a*". The sixteenth century historian Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī of Akbar's court was appalled at the policy of the protection of the Shi'is which the Emperor had initiated for political reasons. According to him the number of the Shi'is in his days was not large but in the interest of the preservation of Sunni way of life he advocates that the movement should be nipped in the bud or else they would like ibn 'Alqamī, the prime minister of the last 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Musta'sim (640-56/1242-58) treacherously

⁴ *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, compiled by a board of scholars in Akbar's reign, India Office Library, London Ms., Ethé 112, 4. 295a.

destroy the Mughal empire.⁵ Consequently in Badā'ūnī's *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, the Shi'is, whom the author considered as the fifth columnists, are frequently mentioned.

The *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn* compiled by Shaykh Farīd Bhakkari in 1060-61/1650-51 and the *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'* by Nawwāb Samsāmu'd-Dawla Shāh Nawāz Khān, comprising the biographies of the Muslim and Hindu dignitaries of the Mughal court from 1500 to about 1780 A. D., tell us of the sectarian beliefs of some noblemen. In other sources we get the informations about the religious beliefs of Mughal dignitaries only incidentally. For example, Shāh Nawāz does not make any comments about the religious beliefs of Ahmad Beg Khān, the nephew of Ibrāhīm Khān Fathjang. The latter was the son of I'timādu'd-Dawla Mīrzā Ghiyās Beg and the brother of Nūr Jahān. Describing atrocities perpetrated by Ahmad Beg Khān, the governor of Siwistān and his brother Mīrzā Yūsuf, Yūsuf Mirak bin Mir Abu'l-Qāsim Namkin, the author of the *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, says, "Obviously the Shi'i faith considers the persecution of the Sunnis as the best form of worship."⁶ Had Ahmad Beg Khān been a kind governor, Yūsuf Mirak would have never told us about the religious beliefs of Ahmad Beg Khān. The present work (*A Socio-intellectual History of the Shi'is in India*) has been reconstructed on the basis of similar stray remarks in the contemporary and near-contemporary sources. No attempts have been made to force Shi'ism on the personalities discussed in the present work.

The political structure of the Shi'i rulers of the Deccan and for that matter the political structure of the Safawids in Iran was based on the administrative frame-work of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the Turkic ruling dynasties of Iran. Neither did the Safawid rulers of Iran nor the Shi'i rulers of Deccan evolve a new political theory or pattern of the central or provincial structures of their kingdoms. The traditional Ghazālian tradition of polity was the principal basis of Shi'i rule. The only difference was that the Shi'i rulers considered the twelfth Imām as the *de facto* ruler of the world, they themselves being his deputies. The Shi'i impact was felt because of the individual contribution of the Shi'i dignitaries and scholars. Some rulers and ministers made significant contributions to the promotion of Shi'ism in the Deccan. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the impact of Shi'ism in the rest of India assumed tangible shape because of the intellectual contributions of the Shi'i dignitaries of the Mughal Emperors. The policy of the peaceful co-existence of Akbar and his successors, which some Shi'i ministers and administrators helped their Emperors to strengthen, enabled the Shi'is

5 Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Najātu'r-Rashīd*, Lahore, 1976, pp. 369-70.

6 Yūsuf Mirak, *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, Hyderabad, Sind 1962, p. 156.

to lead a peaceful life and to compete with contemporaries in all spheres of political, social and intellectual life. Consequently, Shi'i intellectuals left an indelible mark on the administration, culture and social life of India. Naturally the Shi'i contributions to the intellectual milieu of the sixteenth and seventeenth century India call for a detailed examination. The present work is a humble attempt in this direction.

In the eighteenth century the establishment of Shi'i provincial dynasties in Bengal and Awadh and the growing domination of the Shi'i dignitaries over their Emperors, who were unable to assert their authority, stimulated the Shi'is to openly declare their beliefs. The Sunni intellectuals such as Shāh Waliu'llāh (1145/1732-1176/1762), his son Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (1159/1746-1239/1824) of Delhi and Qāzi Sanā'u'llāh of Panipat (1138/1725-26-1245/1829) became spear-heads of the movement to stem the tide of Shi'ism and the Sunni Tafziliyya tendencies. The Shi'i 'ulamā' also plunged themselves to the task of refuting the Sunni polemical works.

Modern monographs on Indian ruling dynasties refer to Shi'ism in passing. For example *History of the Medieval Deccan* edited by H. K. Sherwāni and P. M. Joshi in two volumes refers to so-called Shi'i atrocities but does not care to inform the readers about Shi'ism. The second volume of the above work which deals exclusively with art, architecture, literature, *sūfism* and social development does not assign a chapter to Shi'ism. It has been taken as a heterodox movement unworthy of finding place in the history edited by a Sunni, although a considerable number of the rulers of the successive Bahmani states were Shi'is and made singular contributions to the development of Shi'ism in India.

The modern historians of the Mughal rule in India hardly refer to Shi'is. The historians of religions and *sūfism* distort facts about Shi'ism and Indian Shi'i leaders in order to glorify the image of Sunni reformers. In a seminar defending anti-Shi'i movement launched by Shāh Waliu'llāh, K. A. Nizāmi stated, ".....the book *Izālatu'l-khifā'* (sic) was the result of certain controversies raging amongst the Shi'a and the Sunni scholars..... Sayyid Dildār 'Ali had, at this time, emphasised the need of separate Shi'a congregational prayers." The statement exhibits Nizāmi's abysmal ignorance of Indian Shi'i scholars. Perhaps he does not know that Sayyid Dildār 'Ali was born in 1166/1752-53 while Shāh Waliu'llāh died in 1176/1762. In the last years of Shāh Waliu'llāh, Sayyid Dildār 'Ali had been receiving his early education. Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz's *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* in Persian gave rise to a plethora of Shi'i defensive literature in Persian and later on in Urdu. The books dealing with counter-refutations of each other are enormous.

7 S. T. Lokhandwala (ed.), *Indian contemporary Islam*, Simla 1971, p. 434.

What is wanting is a scientific analysis of Shi'i intellectual contributions in other spheres of life.

Like the Sunnī intellectuals devoted to Ghazālī (450/1058-505/1111) the Shi'is did not discourage the study of sciences and philosophy. The Shi'i intellectuals significantly enriched sciences and philosophy. As early as the seventeenth century the Shi'i intellectuals were imbued with the interest in the European sciences and philosophy. The present work discusses both the classical and Western influences on the Shi'i scientists and philosophers. The contributions made by the traditional 'ulamā' to enrich science and philosophy have also been analysed.

Until the end of the eighteenth century the Shi'i intellectuals in India were largely Iranian immigrants. It was from the end of the eighteenth century that Shi'is born in India began to enrich the intellectual life of the country. Consequently the intellectual history of Shi'as in India is the history of Iranian immigrants who brought about an intermingling of the best intellectual traditions of their country with Indian culture and society.

The present work is based on the contemporary and near contemporary sources. The period covered in this work is so large and the sources so varied that it is not possible to critically examine them here. The details of Arabic sources may be studied in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen litteratur von C. B.*, Weimar-Berlin, 1898-1902. C. A. Storey's *Persian Literature*, a bio-bibliographical survey, vol. I and vol. II (incomplete) is the best guide-book on Persian sources. The *Kashfū'l-hujub wa'l-istār* by I'jāz Husayn Kintūri is an important Shi'i bibliographical work. More comprehensive is *az-Zarī'a ilā' tasānif ash Shi'a* by Āghā Buzurg Tehrāni in several volumes. The works drawn upon for the present study are listed in the bibliography.

The problems of production have led the publishers to divide the book into two volumes. The first volume brings the history from the Prophet Muhammad's days down to the martyrdom of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari in Jumāda II 1019/September 1610. Chapters on Shi'i struggle for existence in the Northern India, the Shi'i 'ulamā', Shi'i contributions to philosophy, science and literature in India, the commemoration of the tragedy of Karbalā ('Āshūra) and the Shi'is and modernism have been included in the second volume.

Early Isnā 'Asharī Shi'ism

Shi'a is an Arabic word which occurs in several Qur'ānic verses.¹ According to Arabic lexicons, the friends or followers of a person are called his Shi'as.² The word Shi'a is singular but is used alike for all forms and genders. The term *Shi'i* means conforming to Shi'aism.

The devotees of Prophet Muhammad, his Ahl-i Bayt or Ahl al-Bayt, (members of the family defined by the Prophet), or *Āl* (nearer or nearest relations), or *qurba* (relatives or kinsmen), or *'itrat*³ (near relations), are Shi'is. According to the Prophet's own definition members of the Ahl-i Bayt, *Āl*, *qurba*, or *'itrat* are the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib, the Prophet's daughter (Fātima) and her two sons, Hasan and Husayn. The Prophet's wives are not included in this restricted circle. This is confirmed by the exegetists of the Qur'ān and works of *hadīs*. For example the following verse says :

“Allāh's wish is but to remove uncleanness from you, O Folk of the Household (*Ahl al-bayt*) and cleanse you with a thorough cleansing.”⁴

Before this verse was revealed, the Prophet took Hasan, Husayn, 'Ali and Fātima under a striped cloak and declared “These are members of my Ahl al-Bayt”.⁵ According to the Prophet's wife, Umm-Salima,

1 Qur'ān, XXVIII, 15, XXXVII, 83.

2 See *al-Qāmūs, Tājū'l-'arūs, Lisānu'l-'Arab*.

3 The word occurs in the Prophet's last sermon, “I leave behind with you two “weighty [things]”: Book of Allāh and my *'itrat* (*'itratī*). Verily they are inseparable until they meet me on the Day of Resurrection at the pool in the paradise (*kawsar*). You (Muslims) should hold them fast in order to save yourselves from going astray.” Imām 'Ali and Imām Hasan also referred to the above Prophetic injunctions in their sermons. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Tazkira khwāss al-umma*, Cairo n. d., pp. 113-14; 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī, *Ash'a al-lam'āt Sharh Mishkāṭ*, Delhi n. d., IV, p. 378.

4 Qur'ān, XXXIII, 33.

5 *Sahih Muslim*, Book XXIX, no 5955. Muhibb al-Tabarī, *Riyāz al-nazara*, Egypt n. d., part II, p. 188; Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad al-Hākīm, *Mustadrak 'alā'l-Sahihayn*, Hyderabad, 1341/1922-23, III, pp. 146-48.

this verse was revealed in her house. She, therefore, asked the Prophet if she was included in the Ahl al-Bayt. He replied that her destiny would be exalted but she was one of his wives and not a member of the Ahl al-Bayt.⁶ According to 'Ā'isha, another of the Prophet's wives, when the Prophet recited the verse he took only Hasan, Husayn, 'Ali and Fātima under a striped cloak.⁷ She was excluded. For the next six months the Prophet visited 'Ali's house after morning prayers and recited the above *tathīr*, or (cleansing) verse, to confirm who belonged to the Ahl al-Bayt.⁸

The following *mubāhila*⁹ (mutual cursing) verse also confirms the names of the members of the Ahl al-Bayt. This was revealed in 10/631 as a result of the continued rejection of the Prophet's sermons by the Christians from Najrān.¹⁰ The verse says :

“And who so disputeth with thee concerning Him, after the knowledge which hath come unto thee, say (unto him): Come ! we will summon our sons and your sons, and our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves, then we will pray humbly (to our Lord) and solemnly invoke the curse of Allāh upon those who lie.”¹¹

In compliance with this Divine command the Prophet set out from his house with 'Ali, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn. Among women only Fātima accompanied the Prophet and none of his wives. When the Christian priests saw their innocent faces, they were apprehensive and made peace.¹²

The term *qurba* (kinsfolk) in a Qur'ānic verse indicates that only 'Ali, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn are designated. The verse says:

“This it is which Allāh announceth unto His bondmen who believe and do good works. Say (O Muhammad, unto mankind): I ask of you no fee therefore, save loving kindness towards [my] kinsfolk.” “And who so scoreth a good deed we add unto its good for him. Lo! Allāh is Forgiving, Responsive.”¹³

6 Ibn Hajar Makki, *Sawā'iq muhriqa fi'r radd 'alā' ahli'l-bid'a wa' z-zindīqa*, Egypt, 1308/1890-91, pp. 87-89; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, p. 188.

7 *Sahih Muslim*, Cairo, n. d., V, p. 287.

8 Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, part III.

9 Jāru'llāh Mahmūd bin 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, Cairo, n. d., p. 307; *Tabarī, Jāmi' al-bayān*, Egypt n. d., VI, pp. 473-76.

10 Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī, *Madārijū'n-Nubūwwa*, Delhi 1281/1864, II, p. 460.

11 Qur'ān, III, 61.

12 *Kashshāf*, p. 307.

13 Qur'ān, XL, 11, 24.

The word *Āl* (nearest relations) or *zurriyat* (immediate family) of the Prophet Muhammad comprised Fātima, 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn. They are also known as holy *Panjatan*. The history of Islamic sects is marred by sectarian bigotry and controversial judgements but these basic facts about Fātima, 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn are indisputable. In the following discussion we shall, therefore, draw mainly upon classical Sunni sources in order to maintain scientific objectivity.

'Alī ibn Abī Tālib

'Alī, the son of the Prophet's uncle Abi Tālib, grandson of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib and great-grandson of Hāshim, was born on 13 Rajab in 600 A.D. in Ka'ba. He opened his eyes in Prophet Muhammad's arms and was brought up by him. In 610 A.D., the Prophet received his first revelation and his wife Khadija accepted him as the Prophet of God. Then 'Alī joined them.¹⁴ He was followed by Zayd bin Hāris (d. 8/629), a slave belonging originally to Khadija whom she had presented to the Prophet.¹⁵ The precedence in the list of later converts is disputed.

For three years the Prophet secretly practised Islam. Then the following verse was revealed : "Warn thy tribe of near Kindred".¹⁶ The Prophet therefore asked 'Alī to prepare some food and invite all the descendants of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib to a feast. About forty people, including the Prophet's uncles, Abi Tālib, Hamza, 'Abbās and Abū Lahb assembled. After the feast the Prophet wished to address them. Abū Lahb dismissed the gathering, however, calling the Prophet a magician. Next day 'Alī again prepared some food and invited the Prophet's relatives. This time the Prophet spoke to them. He said that he knew of no Arab who offered a better gift to his nation for the present world and the world hereafter than himself. He then asked who would be willing to accept God's promised benefits in this present world and the world hereafter and so become his brother, regent and successor. Only 'Alī stood up to share the burden and the Prophet declared that undoubtedly 'Alī was his brother, regent and successor. Abū Lahb bin 'Abdu'l-Muttalib laughed and taunted Abi Tālib, saying that he was being invited to obey his own son.¹⁷

14 Ibn Hishām, Muhammad bin 'Abdu'l-Malik, *Sīrat al-Nabī*, Cairo, 1937, I, pp. 256-59; Ibn Sa'd, Muhammad, *Kitāb at-Tabaqāt al-kubra*, Leiden, 1333/1914-15, I, pp. 126-30; al-Ya'qūbī, Ahmad bin 'Alī Ya'qūb al-Wāzih, *at-Tārikh*, Beirut, 1960, II, pp. 21-23; *Mustadrak al-Sahīhayn*, III, p. 483; Ibn al-Asir, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī bin Karīm, *al-Kāmil fi't-tārikh*, Beirut, 1965, pp. 48-51.

15 Ibn Hishām, I, p. 265; Kulaynī, *Usūl min al-Kāfī*, Tehran n.d., II, pp. 347-49.

16 Qur'ān XXVI: 214.

17 Ibn Hishām, I, pp. 274-84; at-Tabari, Abū Ja'far, *Tārikh a'r-rusul wa'l-mulūk*, Leiden, 1964, I, pp. 1171-80; *Mustadrak*, III, pp. 135-39; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 25-26.

Prophet Muhammad's speech brought 'Ali into the limelight and, according to the Shi'is, foreshadowed his succession to the Prophet. It marked the beginning of Shi'ism. Muhammad's preaching of the Divine unity and his own mission as a prophet appalled the Quraysh aristocracy who considered his mission a threat to their supremacy. They pressed Abi Tālib to discipline Muhammad but he steadfastly supported his nephew. The fury of the Quraysh was vented therefore on the newly-converted followers of Muhammad, of whom many were tortured and killed. The Prophet was not spared either. 'Ali, who was as brave as a lion, always accompanied him and defended him, in particular, from the crowds of urchins whom the Quraysh had ordered to harass the Prophet. Gradually the number of Muslims increased to the utter disgust of the heathen Quraysh.¹⁸

At the Prophet's suggestion, some of his followers moved to Ethiopia under his cousin Ja'far where king Najāshī gave them protection, ignoring the pressure applied by the Quraysh for their expulsion thanks to the persuasive argument of Ja'far. Ultimately, in the seventh year of his mission, the Prophet's clan, numbering about forty and known as the Hāshimites, was boycotted and driven into a valley later known as Shi'b Abi Tālib. They remained there for about two to three years. Nevertheless Abi Tālib protected Muhammad in the face of the threat to his own and that of his sons' lives and refused to surrender Muhammad to his enemies. Finally the endurance of Muhammad and his defenders defeated the Quraysh and the latter had to lift the boycott.¹⁹

In the tenth year of the Prophet's mission his wife Khadija and his uncle Abi Tālib, the indefatigable protector of the Prophet and Islam, died. The Quraysh grew more aggressive. Then an invitation was received from the Khazraj and Aws tribes of Medina, who had embraced Islam, asking the Prophet to move there along with his friends. Muhammad decided to accept. When the Quraysh learned of this decision, they posted a body of picked warriors to besiege the Prophet's house and kill him. 'Ali volunteered to sleep in the Prophet's bed. The besiegers were lulled into a false sense of security and Muhammad left Mecca for Medina unharmed. 'Ali's willingness to sacrifice his life for the Prophet is unique in the history of mankind.²⁰

The Prophet, accompanied by Abū Bakr, reached Medina in September 622 A.D. Fulfilling the Prophet's obligations in Mecca, 'Ali arrived three days later. Other immigrants followed. They were known as the

18 Ibn Hishām, I, pp. 312-39; Kāmil, II, pp. 68-75.

19 Tabarī, I, pp. 1189-91; Ibn Sa'd, I, pp. 134-41; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 31-32.

20 Tabarī, I, pp. 1232-34; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 39-40. According to Ya'qūbī, Gabriel warmly congratulated 'Ali; al-Mufīd, *Kitāb al-Irshād*, (tr.), pp. 31-32.

muhājirūn and were joined in brotherhood with the Prophet's helpers in Medina called the Ansār. The Prophet re-affirmed his brotherhood with 'Ali.²¹ He built a mosque in Medina for congregational prayers and he and his companions built their houses around it. Their doors opened towards the mosque but the Prophet, according to a Divine command, ordered them to close these doors to maintain the mosque's sanctity. Even the Prophet's uncle, Hamza, had to obey this injunction. Only the door of 'Ali's house was not shut. Naturally, the Prophet's companions protested but he silenced them by saying that he was only obeying God's commandments.²²

The Prophet wished to live peacefully in Medina but the Meccan tribes allowed him no respite. Although the Jewish tribes had formed a confederation with the Khazraj, they refused to accept the immigration of the Prophet and his supporters from Mecca. The Jewish tribes Banū al-Nazīr and the Banū Qurayzah by name, in particular, were adamant. Subsequently they were expelled from Medina.²³

In Ramazān 2/March 624, the Prophet marched at the head of 313 Muslims to intercept the Quraysh caravans comprising 950 warriors led by his inveterate foe, Abū Sufyān, in order to save Medina from a surprise attack. A fierce battle took place at Badr, south-east of Medina, where the road from Medina joined the caravan route from Mecca to Syria. The Prophet's uncle, Hamza bin 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, and 'Ali, who was about twenty-four years old, fought valiantly with a small number of their supporters. About forty leading Quraysh combatants were slaughtered by 'Ali alone.²⁴ The Prophet achieved a glorious victory over his enemies.

This defeat undermined the prestige of the Quraysh. In Shawwāl 3/March 625, they avenged their humiliation at Uhud near Medina. Among those killed was the Prophet's uncle Hamza. The Quraysh women, led by Hind, the wife of their leader Abū Sufyān, whose father 'Utbah had been slain by Hamza at Badr, mutilated the corpses. Putting on a necklace of ears and noses of the corpses of Muslims, Hind cut open Hamza's abdomen in order to eat his liver but could not swallow it.²⁵

21 Ibn Hishām, II, pp. 118-23; Ibn Sa'd, I, pp. 152-53; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 41-42; Ibn Asir, II, pp. 107-11; Ibn 'Abdu'l-Barr, *Kitāb al-Istī'āb*, Hyderabad, 1318/1900-1, I, p. 473, Kulaynī, II, pp. 351-55.

22 Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, I, pp. 175, 330, II, p. 26, IV, p. 369; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, p. 192; Tabarī, I, pp. 1256-60; *Mustadrak*, III, pp. 116, 125.

23 Tabarī, I, pp. 1372, 1450.

24 Ibn Hishām, II, pp. 266-82; al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, London, 1966, I, pp. 144-52; Tabarī, I, pp. 1303-17; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 25-35; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 45-46; Kāmil, II, pp. 116-31; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, *Sharh Nahj al-balāgha*, IV, pp. 419-25.

25 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 15-41; Tabarī, I, pp. 1400, 1402, 1404, 1407, 1408, 1416; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 25-35; Mufīd, pp. 44-62.

The Prophet was wounded in the fray but 'Ali carried him to a safe place in the nearby mountains. Some Muslims fled to Medina; one group, which included 'Umar, just gave up fighting and sat down helplessly. When it was later ascertained that the Prophet was still alive, 'Umar, Abū Bakr, Talha and Zubayr bin al-'Awwām reported to him.²⁶

In 5/627 the Quraysh and the Jews formed a confederation and besieged Medina in a bid to annihilate the Muslims. The ensuing fight is known as the battle of *Ahzāb* (the Confederates). As part of his defence the Prophet had a trench dug facing the enemy in order to prevent a sudden attack. The confederates stopped all supplies to the Muslims. The month-long siege resulted in famine conditions and exhausted the patience of the besieged. The stalemate was broken by the Quraysh leader, 'Amr bin 'Abduwudd who crossed the trench and challenged Muslims to personal combat. Only 'Ali volunteered. Twice the Prophet refused 'Ali permission but, when no other Muslim could be found to take up the challenge, he was forced to concede to 'Ali's request.²⁷ He put his own turban on 'Ali's head and besought God's protection for 'Ali.

When 'Amr learned that 'Ali ibn Abī Tālib had accepted the challenge, he tried to avoid the contest, for 'Ali's fame as an invincible warrior had already been established at Badr and Uhud. He urged 'Ali to find another warrior claiming he did not wish to kill his friend Abī Tālib's son. 'Ali replied, however, that he was determined to kill him unless he either accepted Islam or returned to his homeland. 'Amr lost his temper and attacked 'Ali. The two heroes were locked in a deadly combat. According to Jābir bin 'Abdu'llāh Ansārī,²⁸ an eye-witness, the clouds of dust prevented him seeing all the blows exchanged. When the cry "Allāh is Great" was heard from 'Ali, he could understand that 'Ali had killed 'Amr. 'Amr's supporters fled. One of them, Nawfal bin 'Abdu'llāh, fell into the trench. The Muslims began to stone him but Nawfal challenged them to fight him in the trench. 'Ali jumped in and made short work of him.²⁹ When 'Amr's sister, 'Amrah, learned of the circumstances leading to her brother's death she wrote an elegy, paying tribute to 'Ali's chivalry, nobility and magnanimity, which exhibited satisfaction that he had met his end by the sword of such a famous warrior.³⁰

The death of 'Amr and Nawfal struck terror into the hearts of the

26 Wāqidī, I, pp. 197-307; Ya'qūbi, II, pp. 47-48; Ibn Asīr, II, pp. 1481-61; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 252-54; Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, IV, pp. 428-99.

27 Hasan Dayār Bakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, Egypt n. d. I, pp. 481-82; Ya'qūbi, II, 50-51.

28 *Infra*, pp. 79-80.

29 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 241-42; Tabarī, I, pp. 1304, 1475-76; *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, I, pp. 481-82.

30 Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 47-53; Mufīd, pp. 63-72.

Quraysh. They raised the siege and fled. The Prophet returned home victorious. He marched against the stronghold of the Banū Qurayzah near Medina.³¹ They were one of the principal contenders at the battle of *Ahzāb*, or the battle of the trench (*khandaq*), as it was alternatively known. 'Ali galloped his horse right up to the walls of their base. The Banū Qurayzah were besieged for twenty-five nights. Many were killed; the remainder surrendered.³²

Six years passed and the Muslims were still precluded from making pilgrimages. In Zu'lqā'da 6/March 628, the Prophet, taking advantage of the annual truce for pilgrims, allowed his followers to make their preparations for pilgrimage. Fourteen hundred Muslims led by the Prophet himself on his camel, set out wearing the pilgrim's dress of unstitched cloth towards Mecca. Armed bands of Quraysh marched to prevent the Prophet entering Mecca. The Prophet, therefore, stopped at Hudaybiyya nearby and agreed to a truce lasting two years in order to maintain the sanctity of Mecca. He asked 'Ali to write down the terms. The Quraysh leader disputed 'Ali's right to add the Prophet's title, *Rasūl-Allāh* (Allāh's messenger) to Muhammad's name. 'Ali refused to erase it, so the Prophet himself, in the interest of peace, removed the words, thus saving 'Ali any embarrassment.³³

Although the Muslims still could not realise their ambition to make a pilgrimage, the treaty was a great triumph. In it Muhammad was recognized as a head of state by the Quraysh who had previously considered him merely an outlaw. It also gave the Muslims protection from sudden attack by the Quraysh and enabled the Prophet to deal with the threat from the Jews who were massing in their stronghold, Khaybar, north of Medina. The fort was well protected environmentally by swamps and palm groves.³⁴ It was also surrounded by a chain of fortresses and various hostile tribes. The Jews reinforced the strongest fort, Qamūs, by digging a trench around Khaybar, a tactic copied from the Prophet's battle against Meccans. It proved an invaluable defence to the Jews.³⁵

These preparations forced the Prophet to take immediate action. After returning from Hudaybiyya, the Prophet stayed for fifteen days or a month at Medina. Early in 7 Hijra/May-June 628, he marched against Khaybar. The neighbouring fortress of Na'im was conquered easily. The Muslims also quickly captured the four other fortresses but the strongly fortified

31 Tabarī, I, pp. 907, 1372, 1450, 1471, 1477; Mufid, pp. 72-76.

32 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 257-65; Tabarī, I, pp. 1497-1500; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 53-56; Ya'qūbī, pp. 52-53; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 185-88; *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, II, pp. 17-20.

33 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 355-58; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 107-17; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 54-55; Ibn Asīr, II, pp. 200-10; Mufid, pp. 80-83.

34 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 378-80; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 106-17.

35 Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 53-56; *Ri'yāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 191-92.

Qamūs was under the command of their great warrior, Marhab, and the Jews put up a fierce resistance. One after the other, the Muslim heroes, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar, unsuccessfully charged Qamūs fort with the Prophet's standard in hand. 'Umar blamed the army for cowardice and they, in turn, blamed him.³⁶ The Prophet who knew the truth was annoyed with their wrangling. He declared: "Tomorrow I will give the standard to the hero who is the friend of Allāh and His Prophet, and they, in turn, are the hero's friend. He will not return until he is crowned with victory by Allāh." The prophecy of victory revived the spirits of the Islamic heroes. Next morning each of them, except 'Ali, who had not yet commanded an attack as he was suffering from a pain in his eyes, expected to receive the standard. One of the commanders Sa'd bin Abī Waqqās, even walked close to the Prophet to attract his attention. The Prophet, however, summoned 'Ali, placed his saliva in Ali's eyes and gave him the standard. 'Ali resolutely accepted the challenge.³⁷

The defenders, led by Marhab's brother, al-Hāris came out of the fort to give battle. The Muslims retreated but 'Ali fought valiantly and killed al-Hāris. Marhab was filled with anger. Shouting boastfully, he fell upon 'Ali but he too was overthrown and killed. His followers fled into the fort and closed its gates. 'Ali pursued them. His horse jumped the trench. 'Ali pulled down one of the gates to make a bridge for the army to follow him. His troops seized the fort.³⁸

The defeat crushed the Jews' offensive. The Prophet allowed the Jews of Khaybar to retain their lands. They were, however, required to pay a tax of half their produce. The Jews in the neighbouring agricultural colony, Fadak, surrendered without fighting. The Prophet concluded an agreement with the Jews on sharing the crops. He retained Fadak as his own share in the spoils of Khaybar.³⁹

After his return to Medina the Prophet wrote to the rulers of the Iranian and Byzantine empires inviting them to embrace Islam. He also wrote to King Najāshi of Ethiopia. One year after the treaty of Hudaybiyya, and according to its terms, he ordered the Muslims to perform 'umra⁴⁰ as

36 Tabarī, I, p. 1579.

37 Ibn Hishām, III, p. 383; Tabarī, I, pp. 1575-90; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 56-57; *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, II, pp. 53-54; Mufīd, pp. 8, 83-87.

38 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 373-88; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 77-78; Tabarī, I, pp. 1579-84; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 56-57; Ibn Asir, II, pp. 216-22; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 184-88.

39 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 386-88, 404-8; al-Bukhārī, III, 74; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, I, 58; Tabarī, I, 1825; Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, IV, pp. 46-52; al-Halabī, *al-Sirā al-halabīyya*, Alexandria, 1280/1863-64, III, p. 172; Ibn Asir, II, pp. 224-27; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 57-58; at-Tabarsī, *al-Ihtijāj*, Tehran, 1302 H, I, pp. 131-49.

40 A lesser pilgrimage which may be performed at any time except the eighth, ninth day of the month of Zu'l-hijja, being the Hajj days.

they were prevented from performing the *hajj*.⁴¹

In Jumāda I 8/September 629 the Prophet sent a punitive expedition, under the command of Zayd bin Hāris, against the people of Mūta near the Syrian border, where some of his messengers had been killed. The forces swiftly mobilized by the Byzantinian governor greatly outnumbered the Muslims. A desperate battle was fought. Zayd was killed. According to the Prophet's earlier orders, Ja'far bin Abi Tālib the leader of the immigrants to Ethiopia, assumed command. He also fought valiantly.⁴² When he was killed, Khālid bin Walid, assumed command at his own initiative but was forced by the enemy to retreat. He returned to Medina where he was greeted with accusations of cowardice. The Prophet's grief at this disaster knew no bounds.⁴³ The Quraysh tribe, believing that Muslim power had now been liquidated, violated the Hudaibiyya treaty. Abū Sufyān and other senior members of the Quraysh community decided to take advantage of the Muslim losses and extend the truce from two to ten years. The Prophet had no intention, however, of allowing them to consolidate their position. He marched from Medina at the head of a large army. Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh leaders grew apprehensive. Then Abū Sufyān embraced Islam. The Prophet ordered that whoever entered Abū Sufyān's house, or closed his doors, or went into Ka'ba should be spared. The Quraysh accepted his terms and surrendered. Abū Sufyān's own wife Hind, mother of Mu'āwiya, flew into a rage and abused her husband for his cowardice.⁴⁴ The Prophet entered Mecca and granted an amnesty to its inhabitants. He did not, however, spare the idols. According to the Prophet's orders, 'Alī mounting on the Prophet's shoulder, smashed the biggest figure, Hubal.⁴⁵ Khālid bin Walid was sent to destroy 'Uzza at Nakhla. He then went to Jazīma. Initially the tribes were reluctant to surrender to Khālid but ultimately they laid down their arms. Khālid, however, arrested and slaughtered many of them. The news shocked the Prophet and he sent 'Alī to pacify the tribesmen.⁴⁶

After a fifteen days' stay at Mecca the Prophet and his army left for Medina. Near Hunayn, the Muslims, numbering at least 12,000, were attacked by the neighbouring tribes. Many Muslims fled but 'Alī, and some other Hāshimites, remained firm with the Prophet. 'Alī fought valiantly and drove off the invaders. From Hunayn the Prophet marched

41 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 426-27.

42 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 432-36; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 92-94; Tabarī, I, pp. 1610-1621; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, IV, pp. 511-19; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 65-66; Ibn Asīr, II, pp. 234-39.

43 Ibn Hishām, III, pp. 435-36; Tabarī, I, pp. 1616-17, 1633-34.

44 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 18-28; Tabarī, I, pp. 1642-43; Ya'qūbī, pp. 58-61; Ibn Asīr, II, pp. 239-55; Mufīd, pp. 88-94.

45 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 32-3; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 96-105.

46 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 53-56; Ibn Sa'd; II, pp. 106-8; Tabarī, I, pp. 1649-52.

against Tā'if. His forces besieged the town for a month, and ultimately it surrendered. Abū Sufyān and his sons obtained the lion's share of the booty to the annoyance of the Ansār from Medina. The Prophet's explanation, however, satisfied them.⁴⁷ Subsequently more tribal detachments swelled the Muslim numbers.

The Prophet had little rest at Medina as the mobilization of troops in Syria alarmed him. Appointing 'Ali as his deputy in Medina, he left the town in Rajab 9/October-November 630 for Tabūk at the head of an army. The *munāfiqūn* (hypocrites) spread mischievous rumours in order to provoke 'Ali into leaving Medina. This would have given them a free hand to destroy Medina. 'Ali caught up with the Prophet and reported these rumours but the Prophet asked him to return to Medina, assuring him that his position with him was the same as Aaron had held with Moses, except that no prophet would follow him. When the Prophet arrived at Tabūk the Syrian army massed there turned tail and fled. A Christian prince living on the border surrendered and agreed to pay *jizya* (poll tax).⁴⁸

The Tabūk victory made almost the whole Arabian peninsula submissive to the Prophet and delegations were received from all over the region.⁴⁹ Ka'ba was cleansed of idols but the polytheists living around Mecca still practised their pre-Islamic rites and violated their agreements of peace with the Prophet. The ninth chapter of the Qur'ān, entitled *al-Tawba* (Repentance), confirms this. This chapter was revealed before the *hajj* (pilgrimage) of 9/630. The Prophet had already deputed Abū Bakr to lead the party of pilgrims to Mecca. Then the Prophet received a Divine command to either deliver the message in the chapter himself or to commission some member of his family who enjoyed an equal importance to perform that hazardous mission. The Prophet chose 'Ali. 'Ali took the *Tawba* chapter from Abū Bakr who was most upset. He went to the Prophet to ask the reason for his dismissal. The Prophet explained that he was obeying a Divine command.⁵⁰

After reading the verses 'Ali gave the polytheists four months to leave Mecca. They were declared polluted (*najas*) and prohibited from entering Ka'ba. The Divinely framed regulations contained in the *Tawba* chapter were imperative for all sections of the newly-founded state. No wonder that God and the Prophet had them proclaimed by their vicegerent 'Ali.

After his return from Tabūk, the Prophet appointed 'Ali to settle the disputes among the people of Yemen and to propagate Islam.⁵¹ In the tenth

47 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 92-127; Tabari, I, pp. 1654-60; Mufid, pp. 95-106.

48 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 167-71; Tabari, I, pp. 1692-1701; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 118-21.

49 Tabari, I, pp. 1717-50; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 79-80; Mufid, pp. 106-15.

50 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 200-9; 'Ali Muttaqī, *Kanzu'l-'ummāl*, Hyderabad, 1312-14/1894-96, p. 246; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 141-42; Ya'qūbī, pp. 76-77.

51 Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, I, p. 187; al-Hākim, *Mustadrak*, II, p. 935.

year of Hijra/631-32, the Prophet, who felt that his life was drawing to an end, went on his last pilgrimage. 'Ali who had already been sent to Yemen was ordered to travel to Mecca from there. The Prophet also issued new instructions for pilgrims. At 'Arafāt, near Mecca, where all the pilgrims had assembled, he delivered a sermon reminding the Muslims of the laws against murder, usury and unlawful possession of property. He concluded his speech with the remark that he was leaving them two 'heavy weights' (important guides) the book of God and his Ahl al-Bayt. If they held them fast they would never stray.

After the pilgrimage the Prophet left for Medina. He had not gone far when the following verse was revealed:

“O Messenger! Make known that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord, for if thou do it not, thou will not have conveyed His message. Allāh will protect thee from mankind. Lo! Allāh guideth not the disbelieving folk.”⁵²

On 18 Zu'l-hijja 10/16 March 632, the Prophet camped at a pool called Ghadir Khumm, about five kilometres from al-Juhfa in Rabigh. It was a hot day but the Prophet stayed there as caravans for a variety of destinations left from that cross-roads. A dais of piled camel-saddles was improvised. He mounted it and placed 'Ali on his right. He then delivered a sermon thanking God for His bounty and stated that he felt that he would die soon. He repeated that he would be leaving two 'heavy weights' God's book and his Ahl al-Bayt, with them. The two were inseparable. If people held both fast they would never go astray. The Prophet then asked his audience if he was not superior to the believers. The crowd answered in the affirmative. He then declared: “He of whom I am the *mawla* (the protector, patron, master, leader), of him 'Ali is also the *mawla* (*man kuntu mawlāhū fā 'Alī-un mawlāhū*).” He then prayed, “O God, be the friend of him who is his friend, and be the enemy of him who is his enemy. (“*Allāhumma wāli man wālāhū wa 'ādī man 'ādāhū*”). After the sermon the Prophet dismounted. He performed the noon prayer and retired to his tent. He asked 'Ali to accept the people's congratulations in his own tent.⁵³

This event marked the completion of the Prophetic mission and of the perfection of Islam. The following verse was revealed:

“This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favour unto you, and have chosen for you as religion AL-ISLAM.”⁵⁴

52 Qur'ān, V, 57.

53 Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 124-38; Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, IV, pp. 281, 370, V, 419; *Kanzu'l-'ummāl*, V, pp. 152, 154, 398; Ya'qūbi, II, pp. 109-12; *Isti'āb*, II, p. 473; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 169-72; E. I.², II, pp. 993-94; Mufid, pp. 119-25.

54 Qur'ān, V, 3.

The Prophet returned safely to Medina. Before his death he selected an army consisting of distinguished Muhājirūn and Ansār such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān, Sa'd bin Abi Waqqās, Abū 'Ubayda bin al-Jarrāh, Sa'd bin Zayd, Qatāda bin Nu'mān and Musalma bin Aslam to march against the Byzantine frontier in order to avenge Zayd bin Hāris's death. He made Zayd's son, Usāma, the commander. Only 'Ali among the Prophet's dignitaries was not ordered to serve under Usāma. Obviously the Prophet wished all those who might thwart 'Ali's succession to leave Medina but his growing illness gave the expedition members an excuse to delay. When Abū Bakr, 'Umar and other eminent companions called on the Prophet in his sickbed, he took them to task for procrastinating. He reiterated his orders for the expedition's immediate departure. Then he became unconscious. As soon as he regained consciousness he ordered those near his bed to bring writing materials so that he might write (or dictate) his will which might prevent the community going astray again. The people were divided. Some proceeded to bring him paper and a pen; others, including 'Umar, said that the Prophet was delirious. There was no need to augment his pain, for the God's Book was sufficient for them to guide. Their disputes distressed the Prophet and he ordered them to be quiet, adding that his condition was far better than their sinful discord.⁵⁵ He again ordered that all polytheists should be expelled from Arabia and that their ambassadors should continue to be treated in the same manner as when he was alive. He also gave a third order but the narrators say they did not remember it.⁵⁶ Between 1 and 12 Rabi' I 11/27 May and 7 June 632 the Prophet died with his head in 'Ali's lap. Before his death he told Fātima that she would be the first of his family to join him. Fātima was pleased.

Throughout his life the Prophet publicly acknowledged 'Ali's services to Islam. He was never tired of declaring that those who molested 'Ali molested him (the Prophet) and those who molested the Prophet molested Allāh. The Prophet told 'Ali that believers loved him and hypocrites envied him. Further, the Prophet asserted that those who envied 'Ali would die the death of those who lived in pre-Islamic Arabia. The Prophet addressed 'Ali with most significant titles, such as *Hujjatu'llāh* (Allāh's proof), *Qasimū'n-nār al'l janna* (the distributor of hell and paradise), *Sayyidul-Muslimin* (the leader of the Muslims), *Imāmu'l-muttaqin* (the leader of the pious)⁵⁷, *Siddiq Akbar* (a great witness of the truth), *Fārūqu'l-A'zam* (the

- 55 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 229-30; *Sahih Bukhārī*, Cairo, 1315; *Marz al-nabī*, V, pp. 137-46; *Sahih Muslim, kitāb al-wasiyya*, Book XI, no 4016; Ibn Hajar Asqalānī, *Fathu'l-Bārī*, vol. I, p. 86, vol. VIII, p. 10; Mufīd, pp. 127-29.
 56 *Kanzu'l-'ummāl*, vol. VI, p. 157; Ibn Sa'd, II, pp. 136-37; *Tārikh al-khamīs*, II, pp. 148-53; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 113-15.
 57 'Abdu'l-Barr, *Istī'āb*, II, pp. 483-84.

great discerner of truth), *walī* (a guardian), *wasī* (an administrator)⁵⁸, *Shabih Hārūn* (like Aaron), *Sāhibu'l-lawā* (the master of the standard), *Sāhib hanz* (the master of Kawсар pool). A large number of the Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīs* testify to 'Ali's eminence. The most famous and unanimously accepted *hadīs* embodies the Prophet's words, "I am the city of knowledge and 'Ali is its gate-way. Those who wish to acquire knowledge should enter through this gate-way."⁵⁹ The knowledge referred to by the Prophet is Divine knowledge which he acquired directly from God. 'Ali's only teacher was the Prophet. He tutored 'Ali from his childhood with examples and precepts and whispered Divine secrets into his ear. 'Ali learned the Qur'ān verse by verse, as they were revealed. He knew their chronological sequence and was himself imbued with their spirit and intrinsic value.

When 'Ali marched against 'Amr bin 'Abdwudd, the Prophet remarked, "The faith in its full form has set off against polytheism personified." When 'Ali killed 'Amr, the Prophet said, "One stroke of 'Ali's sword is superior to all the prayers and good deeds of my *umma* (community)."⁶⁰ The words "*Lā fatā illā 'Ali lā sayf illā zu' lfaqār* (There is none as chivalrous as 'Ali and there is no sword but 'Ali's sword) (*Zu' lfaqār*)" uttered in the battle of Uhud are Divinely inspired. Besides being the head of Shi'ism, 'Ali is the supreme leader of the chivalrous warriors, *sūfis*, intellectuals and members of the *futūwwa* (chivalrous) orders. The literary and socio-ethical values of his sermons and sayings are far-reaching and scholars from the first century of Islam have been constantly drawing upon them. Before they were compiled by Sharif Razī (406/1015-16) and given the title *Nahju'l-balāgha*, they were exceedingly popular and quoted. The eminent *sūfi* Junayd Baghdādi (d. 298/910) says, "Ali is our Shaykh (leader) as regards the principles and as regards the endurance of affliction i. e. in the theory and practice of *sūfism*." 'Ali was a model for *sūfis* in respect to the truths of outward expressions and the subtleties of inward meanings, the stripping of one's self of all property either of this world or of the next, and consideration of Divine providence."⁶¹

Fātima and Her Sons

Fātima, the only surviving child of the Prophet was born of Khadija on 20 Jumāda II, five years before the beginning of his mission, i. e. in

58 Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, I, p. 331, IV, pp. 164, 437, V, pp. 204, 350, 358; al-Hākim, *Mustadrak*, III, pp. 110, 111, 128, 133-35; *Al-Isti'āb*, II, pp. 470-74; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 170, 171, 202; Tirmizī, *Sunan*, II, pp. 298-99.

59 *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 160-68; al-Hākim, *Mustadrak*, III, pp. 126-27.

60 *Kanzu'l-'ummāl*, II, p. 282; al-Hākim, *Mustadrak*, III, p. 32; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 174-78; Ibn Sa'd, III, pp. 14-17; S. M. Bāqir Mūsawī, *'Ali dar kutub-i ahl-i Sunnat*, Qum n.d.

61 R. A. Nicholson (tr.). *The Kashf al-mahjūb*, London, 1959, p. 74.

605.⁶² When she was ten years old her mother died. In Mecca she saw the suffering and persecution endured by her father. She frequently washed her father and his clothes when he returned covered in dust and filth.⁶³ Naturally she was upset but the Prophet consoled her. Muhammad's love for Fātima was indescribably deep. Although Khadija's death was an irreparable loss, Muhammad's principal efforts were directed towards alleviating his daughter's unhappiness. Like her father, Fātima resigned herself to the Divine Will and devoted her time to prayers and meditation. In her, Muhammad's expectations of presenting to the world the noblest model of womanhood were fully realized.

When her father moved to Medina she joined him. Before the battle of Badr, 'Abdu'r Rahmān bin 'Awf and 'Usmān, the richest members of the community wished to marry her, but they were rejected. Abū Bakr and 'Umar were told that Fātima's marriage was in Allāh's hands. It was 'Ali who was destined to marry Fātima.⁶⁴ In Zu'lhiġja 2/June 624 the marriage was solemnized with the utmost simplicity. *Mahr* (the marriage portion) which 'Ali agreed to pay and the linen and furniture which the Prophet offered were such as could be afforded by the poorest member of the community.

In her husband's home, Fātima cheerfully shared with him the sorrows and privation of a labourer's family. In 3/624-5 their first child, Hasan, was born. He was followed by the second son, Husayn, in Sha'bān 4/January 626. In Jumāda I 6/September-October 627, their eldest daughter, Zaynab, was born, and then their youngest daughter Umm Kulsūm. These four children brightened the life of the Prophet. He poured out his love on Fātima's sons and daughters. When Hasan and Husayn could crawl they went everywhere with the Prophet; in the mosques, in assemblies and near the sermon dais. The Prophet publicly held them in his arms, hugged them, placed them on his shoulders and crawled on the ground so that they could ride on his back. The children saw Gabriel visiting the Prophet in their house and their environment was full of Divine Light.

The Prophet continually acknowledged the importance of Fātima, 'Ali, Hasan and Husayn. Both the Sunnī and Shī'i sources recount such sayings and stories. For example, the Prophet said, "Fātima is a part of my own self. Whoever pleases Fātima pleases me, whoever annoys her annoys me." A *hadīs* addressing Fātima says, "O Fātima! God is annoyed when you are annoyed; He is pleased when you are pleased." Further, "Fātima

62 Ibn Sa'd, pp. 11-19; Tabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo, 1958, VI, pp. 478-72. For Sunnī and Shī'i sources respectively see E. I.², II, pp. 841-50; Āqā-i Hajj Sayyid Hāshim Rasūli Mahallātī, *Zīndigāni Hazrat-i Fātima Zahrā' alayhissalām wa dukhtarān-i ān hazrat*, Tehran, n. d., pp. 2-245.

~ 63 *Sahīh Bukhārī*, IV, p. 239.

64 *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 180-84; *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, vol. I, pp. 407-8.

is the noblest among the women of the world." "Fātima is the leader of the women of this world and the world hereafter." "Fātima is the most truthful person in the world."⁶⁵

The names of her two sons, given them by the Prophet, mark a departure from those of pre-Islamic Arabia. The Prophet declared that Hasan and Husayn were superior to all mankind. On another occasion he stated that those who wished to befriend him must befriend Hasan and Husayn. The Prophet could never bear them to cry. He frequently repeated that Hasan and Husayn were the leaders of the youths in paradise. The Prophet was warned of their future martyrdom by Gabriel and he strongly condemned their enemies.⁶⁶

The Caliphate

The Prophet's death marked the end of Divine Revelation. According to a Qur'ānic verse, the Prophet made no statements unless the Divine Revelation was received.⁶⁷ His remarks, concerning the Ahl-i Bayt, preserved in Sunnī *ahādīs*, are also equivalent to Divine Revelation. After his death it was naturally believed that his wishes would be respected although 'Umar had declared, while the Prophet lay dying that the God's Book was enough for them. The Prophet breathed his last in 'Alī's arms.⁶⁸ It was 'Alī, helped by ibn-i 'Abbās and Usāma bin Zayd who washed his body. 'Alī led the death prayers. Usāma dug the grave in 'Ā'isha's room. Aws ibn Khūlī Ansārī entered into the grave and 'Alī, lifting the august body, lowered it into the grave.⁶⁹

Before the Prophet's death, the Hāshimites, Muhājirūn and Ansār had already divided into two parties. The Ansār were convinced that Muhājirūn domination would undermine their own future. After the Prophet's death Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāh went to the Prophet's house and sat down with his relations. Suddenly, according to 'Umar, someone outside called to him to come out. He ('Umar) said that they were preparing for the last rites of the Prophet. The voice replied that a new development had occurred and that the

65 Ibn Hanbal, *Jāmi'*, Cairo, 1292/1876, II, 319-21; *Mustadrak*, III, p. 158; Ibn Hajar, *Sawā'iq*, p. 107; *Riyāz al-nazara*, II, pp. 185-90; Kulaynī, II, pp. 355-60.

66 Ibn Sa'd, VIII, pp. 11-20; Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, *Sirru'sh-Shahādātayn*, Lucknow, 1286/1869-70, pp. 26-29; Tirmizī, II, pp. 299-306; Kulaynī, II, pp. 360-68.

67 Qur'ān, III, 3, 4.

Nor doth he speak of (his own) desires.

It is naught save an inspiration that is inspired.

68 The point is controversial among the Sunnī authorities themselves. See 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī, *Madārijū'n-Nubūwowa*, II, pp. 490-99; *Tabaqāt*, II, p. 51; *Mustadrak*, III, p. 139; Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 341-44. For Hasan bin Sābit's *qasidas* see Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 346; Mufīd, pp. 127-38.

69 *Istī'āb*, I, pp. 21-22; Ya'qūbīd, II, pp. 114-15.

Ansār had assembled in the Saqifa [hall of] Banū Sā'ida.⁷⁰ He ('Umar) should deal with the situation immediately or else the Ansār might take a step that would provoke war. 'Umar asked Abū Bakr to accompany him.

According to Shibli, it was on the basis of the above message that they rushed to Saqifa.⁷¹ Fortunately for us, 'Umar and Abū Bakr's speeches giving details of the Saqifa deliberation are available and provide a first-hand record. When they reached the hall, they saw a sick man (Sa'd bin 'Ubāda) wrapped in a blanket. They sat down. Then an Ansār speaker recounted their services to Islam but 'Umar interrupted him. The speaker, however, ignored 'Umar and concluded his speech. 'Umar then attempted to deliver a speech which he had thought out. Abū Bakr stopped him and, endorsing the Ansār's remarks, pleaded that only a Quraysh leader would be an acceptable ruler to the Arabs as the Quraysh genealogy, blood and country were most superior. Abū Bakr suggested that the Quraysh should be the rulers and the Ansār should act as their counsellors (*wuzarā'*). Abū Bakr then took hold of the hands of 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda bin al-Jarrāh and urged the audience to accept one of them as the new ruler. According to Balāzuri, 'Abdu'r Rahmān bin 'Awf said that although the Ansār had recounted their merits correctly, they had none among them to equal Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Ali. Another Ansār leader offered a compromise suggesting that one ruler should be a Quraysh and the other an Ansār. The suggestions and counter-suggestions excited the audience and blows were exchanged between 'Umar and some Ansār leaders. Then 'Umar asked Abū Bakr to extend his hand. He paid him homage and the Muhājirūn followed.⁷² Some Ansār leaders protested, asserting that they would accept only 'Ali as their leader.⁷³ They were over-ruled, however. The Ansār of the Banū Sa'd tribe preferred to follow the Muhājirūn rather than the Khazraj led by Sa'd bin 'Ubāda who refused to acknowledge Abū Bakr as their ruler. The Hāshimites, who could have tilted the

70 Ibn Hishām, pp. 328-40; Tabarī, I/IV, pp. 1819-22, 1836-47; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 123-24.

71 *Fathu'l-Bārī*, vol. VII, p. 23; Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 306-9; Shibli Nu'mānī, *al-Fārūq*, Azamgarh, 1956, pp. 60-61.

72 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 335-39; Speeches, pp. 340-42; Tabarī, pp. 1822-33; Balāzuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Cairo, 1955, I, p. 582; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 123.

73 Tabarī, I, IV, p. 1818. Shibli says that it was not 'Ali's mournings for the Prophet that were responsible for his absence from Saqifa deliberation. The fact is that he was aware that none among the Muhājirūn and Ansār would support him (*al-Fārūq*, pp. 63-64). Shibli himself quotes Tabarī (I, p. 1820) saying that Zubayr drew his sword and threatened that unless the people had made *bay'a* with 'Ali, he would not sheath his sword (*al-Fārūq*, p. 63). In view of Tabarī's categorical statement regarding 'Ali's support among the Ansārs and Muhājirs, Shibli's defence of 'Umar does not merit attention. See Ya'qūbī, II, p. 124.

balance in favour of 'Ali, were attending the Prophet's funeral. When 'Ali and his supporters learned of the Saqifa decision in favour of Abū Bakr, they assembled in Fātima's house to plan their future course of action. Quraysh leaders rather than 'Ali's supporters were schismatics.

After obtaining homage at Saqifa, Abū Bakr and 'Umar entered the Prophet's mosque and received oaths of allegiance from the crowd there. 'Ali, 'Abbās, the Banū Hāshim and Zubayr bin al-'Awwām, the husband of Safiyya bint 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, left the mosque refusing to follow Abū Bakr. 'Umar hunted out all those he considered recalcitrant including 'Ali. The latter was brought to the mosque where he protested strongly that they had defeated the Ansār on the ground of their (Muhājirūn) relationship with the Prophet. On the same basis he could challenge them for he had been the Prophet's deputy during his lifetime and therefore held the same position after his death. 'Umar forced 'Ali to do homage but he refused. Abū Bakr was helpless in the face of 'Ali's protests and, for the time being, 'Ali was allowed to go free. The leaders who opposed Abū Bakr's election frequently assembled at Fātima's house. Unable to tolerate, 'Umar, accompanied by his supporters, went to Fātima's house and stacking wood around it, ordered them to come out or the house would be burnt down. Protesting against 'Umar's callousness, Fātima said that her sons were also in there. 'Umar replied that he did not care.⁷⁴ The names of the dissenting leaders are not given in the sources but besides Sa'd, Abū Bakr's opponents included many of the Prophet's most distinguished companions. Some of them are as follows :—

1. Khālid bin Sa'id⁷⁵, one of the early converts to Islam;

74 Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa's-Siyāsa*, Egypt, 1909, pp. 14-19, Shibli says that the authorities of this fact are not very reliable, nevertheless on the basis of circumstantial evidence there is no reason to disbelieve the fact. Such an action was not impossible for 'Umar's hot temper. 'Umar could not refrain from taking such a step. As a matter of fact in such a critical situation the steps which 'Umar promptly and zealously took are marked by certain improprieties. It should, however, not be forgotten that these improprieties crushed the rising waves of strife. Had the Banī Hāshim been allowed to indulge in their intrigues, the Islamic community would have been disintegrated then and there and civil war like the one which later on took place between Janāb Amīr *Alayhi's-salām* ('Ali, peace be on him) and Amīr Mu'āwiya (no Divine blessings sought by Shibli) would have started (*al-Fārūq*, p. 65). Shibli's defence of 'Umar needs no comments. It makes *ijmā'* (consensus) on Abū Bakr's caliphate fictitious. Abū Bakr became caliph by the intrigues of the Quraysh hostile to Banī Hāshim.

75 Ibn Sa'd, IV, p. 97; *Isti'āb*, II, pp. 420-22, see the list of the Prophet's companions opposed to Abū Bakr in Ya'qūbī, II, p. 126. Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's list of 'Ali's ardent supporters is based on a conversation of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. According to the Qāzī, Imām 'Ali's supporters were adamant on forcibly deposing Abū Bakr. They discussed their plan with 'Ali but he prevented them from resorting to violence. 'Ali told them that the Prophet had informed him that the community would

2. Az-Zubayr bin al-'Awwām⁷⁶—the husband of 'Abdu'l-Muttalib's daughter Safiyya;
3. Khuzayma bin Sābit⁷⁷ of the Aws tribe, known as *Zu' sh-Shahādātayn* (He whose testimony is equivalent to that of two men);
4. Sahl bin Hunayf⁷⁸ of the Aws tribe, a hero of Badr;
5. Sahl's brother 'Usmān bin Hunayf;⁷⁹
6. Al-Bara'a bin 'Āzib of the Khazraj tribes of Ansār;⁸⁰
7. Ubayy bin Ka'b of the Banū Khazraj tribe;⁸¹
8. Abū Ayyūb Ansāri, the Prophet's host at Medina;⁸²
- 9-12. Abū Zarr⁸³, 'Ammār⁸⁴, Miqdād⁸⁵ and Salmān Fārsi⁸⁶, 'Alī's most devoted supporters;
13. Hazayfa bin al-Yamān⁸⁷, the hero of Uhud and an ardent supporter of 'Alī.

The opposition of the leading members of the Prophet's companions made the alleged *ijmā'* (consensus) on Abū Bakr's *bay'a* void. The sanctity of Ahl-i Bayt should have deterred 'Umar from acting violently. Shibli, the author of *al-Fārūq*, however, justifies 'Umar's excesses on the ground that they helped to stabilize Abū Bakr's rule by crushing the Banū Hāshim conspiracies and possibly prevented a civil war.⁸⁸ According to the Shi'i works, political expediency was no excuse to ignore all *ahādīs* urging the Muslims to love and respect the Ahl-i Bayt.

In response to 'Umar's angry ultimatum, 'Alī calmly replied that he had sworn to God that he would neither leave his house nor put his mantle on his shoulders until he collected the Qur'ān. Fātima then came to the door and said that she was deeply upset by these events. She

(F. N. 75 Contd.)

desert him but according to the Prophet he ('Alī) enjoyed the same relationship with him (the Prophet) which Aaron held with Moses. As Israelites had forsaken Moses and Aaron and had started worshipping a calf, the members of his (the Prophet's) community would also desert him. The Prophet had advised 'Alī to protect his life (*Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, Tehran, 1299/1882, pp. 80-81.)
Ibn Sa'd, IV, 67; *Isti'āb*, p. 154.

76 *Isti'āb*, I, p. 207.

77 Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 33; *Isti'āb*, I, p. 161.

78 Ibn Sa'd, II, p. 8; *Isti'āb*, I, p. 585.

79 *Isti'āb*, II, p. 495.

80 Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 10; *Isti'āb*, I, p. 58.

81 Ibn Sa'd, III, p. 59; *Isti'āb*, I, p. 25.

82 Ibn Sa'd, VII, p. 23; *Isti'āb*, II, pp. 638-43.

83 Ibn Sa'd, IV, p. 161; *Isti'āb*, II, pp. 666-67.

84 Ibn Sa'd, V, p. 7; *Isti'āb*, II, p. 434.

85 *Isti'āb*, I, p. 289.

86 Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 9; *Isti'āb*, I, p. 571.

87 Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 8; *Isti'āb*, I, p. 105.

88 *al-Fārūq*, p. 65.

added, "You Quraysh left the Apostle of God's dead body with us and decided the question of succession without consulting us. You usurped our rights." 'Umar left to discuss the situation with Abū Bakr who then sent his servant to 'Alī. He received the same reply. 'Umar returned to 'Alī's house and pushed the door open. It fell on Fātima and she had a miscarriage. She began to cry and called on her father's spirit to help her. Many of 'Umar's supporters could not bear to hear Fātima's cries and left the house. 'Umar took 'Alī forcibly to Abū Bakr and threatened to kill him if he did not pay homage. 'Alī asked if he would kill God's slave and the Prophet's brother. 'Umar said that 'Alī was God's slave but not the Prophet's brother. Abū Bakr, however, refused to order 'Alī's execution. 'Alī was freed. He went to the Prophet's grave and recounted the wrongs done to him.

Abū Bakr and 'Umar then tried to persuade the Prophet's uncle, 'Abbās bin 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, to accept a position in the caliphate which would be made hereditary. 'Abbās, however, soon discovered that the offer was designed to thrust a wedge among the Hāshimites. He therefore refused and fiercely accused them of usurping the Hāshimites' rights. He asserted that the Hāshimites were the branches of the Prophet's tree while Abū Bakr and 'Umar were only weeds growing nearby.⁸⁹

'Alī and the Hāshimites, however, were not prepared to provoke a civil war. Abū Sufyān, who was annoyed at Abū Bakr's rise to the caliphate, called on 'Abbās. He told 'Abbās that as he was the Prophet's uncle and the senior member of the Quraysh, the tribe would follow his lead. They should, therefore, swear allegiance to 'Alī and slaughter those opposed to him. 'Abbās and Abū Sufyān went to 'Alī. Abū Sufyān offered to pay him homage and promised to make Medina overflow with cavalry and infantry to support him. 'Alī replied that Abū Sufyān's suggestions were designed to arouse civil war among the Muslims. As he (Abū Sufyān) had always been an enemy of Islam his sympathies and help would be useless.⁹⁰ Consequently, Abū Sufyān turned to Abū Bakr and realised his ambition of re-asserting his leadership. His son, Yazīd, became governor of Syria and, after his death, his brother Mu'āwiya, succeeded him. Before 'Umar died he helplessly witnessed the Iranian and Byzantine royal ceremonies re-established in Syria under Mu'āwiya.⁹¹ Imperialism triumphantly entered into Islam.

Abū Bakr took possession of Fadak, which Fatima claimed had been

89 Tabarī, I/IV, p. 1818; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 126; Balāzuri, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, pp. 585-87; *al-Imāma wa's-Siyāsa*, I, pp. 6-13; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, I, p. 159, II, pp. 274-290, 626, 673, 772; Kulaynī, II, pp. 355-60.

90 Tabarī, III, p. 203; *Istī'āb*, I, p. 345; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, I, pp. 165-67.

91 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddima*, English translation by F. Rosenthal, New York, 1958, I, pp. 419-21.

given to her by the Prophet. The Caliph pleaded, he had heard the Prophet say, "We, the prophets, do not leave anything to our heirs, neither gold nor silver, nor land nor house. Whatever we leave are legal alms." Fātima insisted that as the Prophet's only daughter she was the heir to her father's estate and that Abū Bakr's plea was baseless. Abū Bakr asked her to produce witnesses. She presented 'Alī and Umm Ayman (the Prophet's slave girl) to support her statement. Abū Bakr demanded independent witnesses. Fātima asserted that the *hadīs* quoted by Abū Bakr was heard only by him and none else had heard it. Abū Bakr ignored the fact that Fātima, 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn had been cleansed of all evils by God and were the most truthful persons on earth. Even Khuzayma bin Sābit's testimony was deemed equivalent to that of two men, let alone 'Alī's testimony. 'Umar took Abū Bakr's side in the dispute and Fadak was not restored to Fātima. Nevertheless, Abū Bakr tried to appease Fātima but she rejected his overtures. Abū Bakr uneasily recalled the Prophet's *hadīs* prophesying Divine retribution on those who annoyed her.

On 3 Ramazān 11/22 November 632 Fātima died. She never forgot her father for a second and her eyes were always full of tears. According to her will she was buried during the night at Baqī'. Abū Bakr and 'Umar were not informed and her resentment against their injustice remained firm until her last breath.⁹²

By that time the wars questioning the payment of *zakāt* had started. A false prophet, Musaylama, had also appeared. There was no time for Abū Bakr to press 'Alī to take the oath of allegiance. Some of 'Alī's supporters yielded to 'Umar's fury and gave up active opposition. Sunni sources claim that after Fātima's death 'Alī swore allegiance but the Shī'i authorities disagree. In fact Abū Bakr reconciled himself to 'Alī's indifference to political matters. A famous Indian *sūfi*, Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gīsū Darāz (b. 4 Rajab 721/30 July 1321 in Delhi, d. 16 Zu'lqā'da 825/1 November 1422 at Gulbarga in the Deccan) says, "During the caliphate of Abū Bakr, Musaylama the liar revolted. He declared himself a prophet and invented new religious rules (*shari'a*). He abolished the obligatory payment of *zakāt*. A large number of Arab tribes apostatized and joined him. Abū Bakr consulted the Prophet's companions. They said that during the Prophet's lifetime Divine assistance was their strength. His death had deprived them of Allāh's help. They had no strength by themselves. People chose their own faith. Whatever they had received from the Prophet was slipping out of their hands. Abū Bakr retorted that as long as he was alive he would fight and, if necessary, lay down his life for the faith. He began to saddle his horse. It flew into

92 *Istī'āb*, II, pp. 770-73; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 127, see also foot-note 62 above.

the air and jumped with its legs way above the ground. The companions who witnessed this considered it Abū Bakr's miracle. 'Alī was informed of the incident. He said, 'Yes, the Prophet's caliph issued a fine order'." Khwāja Banda Nawāz claims that it was on that day that 'Alī addressed Abū Bakr as the caliph. "This is the only evidence that 'Alī made *bay'a* with Abū Bakr."⁹³ The anecdote also suggests 'Alī never swore formal allegiance to Abū Bakr and that the latter, in his turn, was satisfied with 'Alī's peaceful, scholarly life-style. 'Alī's self sacrifice averted the crisis. 'Umar was the caliph's right-hand man.

Abū Bakr died in Jumāda 13/July 634. Shibli says that Abū Bakr believed that only 'Umar was capable of becoming the next caliph. Nevertheless he consulted 'Abdu'r Rahmān bin 'Awf of the Banū Zahrā' tribe, an inveterate enemy of the Hāshimites, and 'Usmān's brother-in-law. 'Abdu'r Rahmān admitted 'Umar's competence but found the harshness of his nature as an obstacle to his succession. Abū Bakr replied that 'Umar acted violently to balance his (Abū Bakr's) own mildness. The responsibility of the caliphate would calm him down. He then asked 'Usmān's opinion. 'Usmān replied that 'Umar was the best man and his intrinsic nature was better than his external behaviour. When the people learned of Abū Bakr's wishes, Talha called on him and said that if, during his reign 'Umar had been so oppressive, God only knew how he would behave when he was appointed caliph himself. Talha continued that Abū Bakr would have to justify his choice to God. The caliph replied that he had chosen the best man in the community to lead it. He then called 'Usmān and began to dictate his testament regarding the succession. Before it was completed he lost consciousness. On behalf of Abū Bakr, 'Usmān added: "I (Abū Bakr) appoint 'Umar as caliph." When Abū Bakr recovered, he asked 'Usmān to read his will. As 'Usmān read the sentence added by him, Abū Bakr spontaneously cried out "Allāh is great" and blessed 'Usmān. He then ordered his slave to read out the testament to the crowd. Next he himself climbed on to the roof of his house and declared that he had not appointed any of his relatives as caliph but had nominated 'Umar. He ordered the crowd to endorse his decision. All agreed. He then summoned 'Umar and gave him some useful advice.⁹⁴

Shibli concludes his summary rather hurriedly. Ibn Sa'd, Tabarī, ibn Qutayba and ibn al-Asfīr, who are Shibli's principal sources, add some interesting information. In short Abū Bakr gave the testament to 'Umar and asked him to show it to the people, and urge them to obey

93 *Jawāmi' u'l-kilam*, Gulbarga, 1356/1937, p. 258.

94 *al-Fārūq*, pp. 65-66.

him ('Umar). Someone questioned 'Umar as to its contents. 'Umar replied he was ignorant of them. The man said that, although 'Umar might not know the contents, by God he himself knew them. Earlier 'Umar had made Abū Bakr caliph and now it was Abū Bakr's turn to make 'Umar caliph. Tabarī, quoting the chain of narrators, says that the original narrator reported that he saw 'Umar sitting in the midst of a crowd with a whip in his hand. He was telling people to listen and obey the orders of the Prophet's caliph. 'Umar added that the Prophet's caliph believed that he ('Umar) had always given the people good counsel.⁹⁵ An analysis of the sources indicates that considerable pressure was used to make the elite agree to 'Umar's succession. Abū Bakr did not consider it advisable to consult 'Alī or the Hāshimites.

'Umar's caliphate saw the conquest of Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Iran and Makran in Balūchistān. The new administrative and religious rules and regulations were largely based on 'Umar's personal judgement and on Sasanian model. 'Alī remained aloof from 'Umar's political and administrative policies. He did not hesitate, however, to express his candid opinion on any rabid violations of the *shari'a* either by 'Umar or his advisers. 'Umar paid tribute to 'Alī saying, "Had 'Alī not been there, 'Umar would have been destroyed." Martial and worldly triumphs of 'Umar's lieutenants, however, made 'Umar confident enough to pass adverse judgements on 'Alī and the Banū Hāshim. These are reproduced in all earlier sources. We reproduce two dialogues from *al-Fārūq* by Shiblī who claims that 'Umar's statements revealed the secrets of his heart :—

'Umar: O 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās! Why did 'Alī not join us ?

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās: I don't know.

'Umar: Your father is the Prophet's uncle and you are the Prophet's cousin. Why did then your tribe (the Quraysh) not support you?

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās: I don't know.

'Umar: But I know. Your tribe did not wish you to rule.

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās: Why?

'Umar: They did not wish that both the prophethood and caliphate should belong to one family. Perhaps you may say that Abū Bakr deprived you of the caliphate. By God! This is not true. Abū Bakr acted for the best. Had he wished to give you the caliphate, it would not have profited you.

Shiblī goes on to say that the second dialogue was more detailed. Some points had already been covered in the first but some new ones emerged as for example in the following :—

'Umar: O 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās! I have heard many reports against

95 Tabarī, I/IV, pp. 2136-47; Ibn Qutayba, pp. 25-26.

you but I have not verified them for they would lower your respect in my eyes.

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās: What are these reports?

'Umar: I have heard that you say that people usurped the caliphate from you unjustly and out of envy.

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās: I don't wish to comment on injustice for it is not a secret. What is surprising about envy? Iblis was envious of Adam and we all are Adam's progeny. No wonder that we are victims of envy.

'Umar: Alas, the Banū Hāshim's heart will never expel old animosity.

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās: Please don't make such comments. The Prophet was also a Hāshimite!

'Umar: Stop this conversation.

'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās: Very well.⁹⁶

Two other conversations have been recorded by ibn Abi'l-Hadīd in his *Sharh Nahju'l-balāgha* :—

'Umar: O 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās! Where are you coming from?

Ibn 'Abbās: From the mosque.

'Umar: How is your uncle's son?

(Ibn 'Abbās thought that 'Umar wished to know about 'Abdu'llāh ibn Ja'far.)

Ibn 'Abbās: He is with his friends.

'Umar: I am not concerned with him. I mean the leader of you, the Ahl al-Bayt!

Ibn 'Abbās: He is watering the palm groves of such and such person and reciting the Qur'ān.

'Umar: 'Abdu'llāh! Tell me the truth. If you lie you will have to slaughter she-camels in atonement. Does 'Alī still think of the caliphate?

Ibn 'Abbās: Yes, certainly!

'Umar: Does 'Alī believe that the Prophet made a *nass* (an explicit nomination) for the caliphate in his favour?

Ibn 'Abbās: Yes certainly. My father has also confirmed this point to me.

'Umar: Undoubtedly, the Prophet used to make such gestures towards 'Alī, but no conclusive and final verdict can be given on their basis. Many a time the Prophet departed partially from the truth in so far as 'Alī was concerned. He used to make gross exaggerations in 'Alī's favour. It is a fact that before his death the Prophet wished to nominate 'Alī explicitly as his successor but I stopped him. My sole objective was the interest of Islam. By God! The Quraysh would never agree to the caliphate of 'Alī. Should people make him a

96 *al-Fārūq*, pp. 199-101 based on Tabari, I, pp. 2768-2771.

caliph, the whole of Arabia would rebel. The Prophet found out that I had read his mind and he stopped.⁹⁷

This conversation was held early in 'Umar's caliphate.

The following discussion occurred during 'Umar's journey to Syria in 16/637:—

'Umar: I wish to make a complaint to you about your uncle's son. I asked him to accompany me but he refused. He usually acts in a hostile manner towards me. What is the reason?

Ibn 'Abbās: That is correct. He ('Alī) believes that the Prophet appointed him caliph.

'Umar: O Ibn 'Abbās! It is correct that the Prophet wished to make 'Alī the caliph. The Prophet's wishes are, however, immaterial. The final decision rests with God. The Prophet wished 'Alī should become the caliph, but God wished otherwise. God's wish prevailed and the Prophet's remained unrealised. The Prophet earnestly wished that his uncle (Abī Tālib) should become a Muslim, but, as God did not wish it, he did not accept Islam. Before his death, the Prophet wished to write a will appointing 'Alī as the caliph but, for fear of civil war among the Muslims, I prevented him. The Prophet read my mind and sulked. This enabled destiny to play its part.⁹⁸

A similar conversation between 'Umar and 'Abdu'llāh ibn-i 'Abbās is reproduced in the *Sharh Nahjū'l-balāgha*. It took place in a street in Medina.

'Umar: O Ibn 'Abbās! I think that the son of your uncle was treated unjustly!

Ibn 'Abbās: O Commander of the Faithful! It seems advisable that you return to him what was unjustly usurped from him.

'Umar left ibn 'Abbās and walked repeating some verses. Then he stopped. When ibn 'Abbās overtook him, 'Umar said:

I think your tribe prevented your master ('Alī) from rising to the caliphate because of his youth.

Ibn 'Abbās, considering 'Umar's present statement more objectionable than previous remarks, said:

'By God! When God and His Prophet superseded your master (Abū Bakr) and ordered 'Alī to take the *Bar'āt* chapter from him and deliver its message to the people of Mecca, they did not consider him too young.'

'Umar turned in a different direction and left.⁹⁹

97 Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, III, pp. 764-65.

98 *Ibid*, III, pp. 804-5.

99 *Ibid*, III, pp. 785-86.

On 26 Zu'l-hijja 23/3 November 644, 'Umar was fatally wounded by a Zoroastrian convert, Firūz called Abū Lūlū, and died three days later. 'Umar believed that Abū 'Ubayda ibn Jarrāh was the most competent person to succeed him. He had accompanied Abū Bakr and 'Umar to Saqifa. There is no doubt that the order of succession after the Prophet's death was clear in 'Umar's mind. Abū 'Ubayda had, unfortunately for 'Umar, died in the meantime. The next most suitable person in 'Umar's eyes was Abū Huzayfa's slave, Sālim, but he had also died. 'Umar decided to support 'Usmān but 'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin 'Awf, Sa'd bin Abī Waqqās, Talha and Zubayr were also keen competitors in the caliphate race. 'Umar also did not wish to blatantly ignore 'Alī who had never failed to assert his just claim. 'Umar admitted 'Alī's superiority and was convinced of 'Alī's competence to lead the *Umma* on the right path,¹⁰⁰ but he did not wish to appoint him his successor. He, however, hesitated to nominate any particular one of them as his successor to avert civil war among the Quraysh. He was critical of all the candidates. According to him Sa'd was harsh and instinctively malevolent. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān was a Pharaoh (tyrant) of the Islamic community. Zubayr was a believer while in a pleasant mood, but was an infidel when in the grip of passion. Talha was arrogant and haughty. If he were appointed *khalīfa* he would hand over the ring of government to his wife, while 'Usmān was an ardent supporter of his own tribe. 'Umar said to 'Alī, "Nothing prevented me from appointing you the caliph except that you want it so much. If you were appointed ruler you would adhere to the truth and the straight path."¹⁰¹ Earlier, in a conversation with ibn 'Abbās, 'Umar admitted that 'Alī deserved to be caliph because he was at the top of the list of early converts to Islam and was the Prophet's near relation and his son-in-law. He was also very learned but 'Umar claimed that 'Alī had a humorous streak in his character.¹⁰² In fact 'Alī wished to gain the caliphate but not for his own power and glory. He wanted to establish the true vicegerency of the prophethood and to revive the Prophet's ethical mission of restoring the rule of truth and justice. This goal was a disqualification for caliphate only in the eyes of 'Umar and his supporters. Undoubtedly, 'Alī was not harsh. Like the Prophet himself, 'Alī had a pleasant personality.¹⁰³ The depth of his learning enabled him to make witty repartees which embarrassed the powerful. The harassment, persecution and treachery of his enemies did not upset him. He never lost his trust in God and an innocent smile played on his lips even in the face of the most outrageous intrigues against him.

100 Tabari, I, pp. 2774-76; Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, III, p. 785.

101 Ibn Qutayba, pp. 27-28, Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, III, p. 785.

102 *Isti'āb*, II, pp. 480-81; *Fathu'l-Bārī*, VII, p. 55.

103 *al-Fārūq*, I, p. 199, foot-note 1.

'Umar appointed a committee consisting of the same six people whom he had considered as his successors but dismissed as unsuitable for one reason or another. They were 'Usmān, Zubayr, Sa'd, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin 'Awf, Talha and 'Ali. He introduced a knavish system of election. Should five members agree, the dissenting sixth should be killed. Should four agree then the other two dissenters should be killed. If the votes were equally divided, his own son, 'Abdu'llāh should be appointed arbitrator. Should there still be disagreement, the power of veto should be given to 'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin 'Awf. Those who opposed his decision should be killed. When 'Ali left the meeting he said to Banū Hāshim that if he continued to obey the men in power, they would never allow a Hāshimite to become caliph. When ibn 'Abbās met 'Ali, the latter predicted that the Hāshimite would again be deprived of the caliphate. He explained that 'Usmān had been made his competitor. The caliph would be appointed by the majority decision. If the votes were divided equally, the verdict would favour the one whom 'Abdu'r-Rahmān supported. Of the committee members, Sa'd would not oppose his uncle's son, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, while 'Abdu'r-Rahmān and 'Usmān were bound by matrimonial ties. Consequently either 'Usmān would make 'Abdu'r-Rahmān caliph or vice versa. Even if two members supported him he would not win. Possibly only one member of the committee would favour him.

Subsequently 'Abdu'r-Rahmān surrendered his candidature to facilitate 'Usmān's election. 'Usmān welcomed 'Abdu'r-Rahmān's offer and said that he had heard the Prophet say "he who arbitrates on earth also arbitrates in heaven". The others agreed but 'Ali kept quiet. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān urged him to express his opinion. 'Ali said that he would also agree on the condition that 'Abdu'r-Rahmān adhered to the truth, was not moved by self-interest and kept family considerations at bay. Then 'Abdu'r-Rahmān consulted the dignitaries from Medina and they also voted in favour of 'Usmān. Obviously 'Usmān's supporters were consulted and 'Ali's friends were ignored. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān then asked Zubayr for his opinion. He voted in 'Ali's favour. Sa'd said that if 'Abdu'r-Rahmān wished to become caliph he would support him but he would prefer 'Ali. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān retorted that he had already withdrawn his name and accused Sa'd of growing feeble-minded. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān then consulted 'Ali giving the impression that he favoured him. Lastly 'Usmān was summoned and 'Abdu'r-Rahmān discussed the succession problem with him for almost a whole night. When 'Ammār bin Yāsir addressed the people, he, however, protested that they had gained respect and power because of the Prophet. He questioned why then they deprived the Prophet's family of the caliphate. Alarmed, Sa'd urged 'Abdu'r-Rahmān to finish his selection quickly or else civil war would break out. 'Amr bin 'Ās, a brilliant strategist, had already suggested a plan to 'Abdu'r-Rahmān

to make 'Usmān the caliph. Following his suggestion, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān summoned 'Alī and said, "Do you pledge that you would rule on the basis of the book of God, on the *sunna* of the Prophet and on the tradition of Abū Bakr and 'Umar?" 'Alī refused to accept the third condition and stated that, although he would adhere to the Qur'ān and *sunna*, he would act on the basis of his own individual judgement. 'Usmān, when asked, accepted all three conditions. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān took the oath of allegiance to 'Usmān. Disagreeing with the decision, 'Alī claimed that 'Abdu'r-Rahmān had wrongfully given the caliphate to an unworthy candidate.

This was not the first time that the caliphate had been taken away from 'Alī. Consequently the best course open to him and his followers, was to resign themselves to the will of God. Accusing 'Abdu'r-Rahmān of favouritism, 'Alī said that the caliphate had been awarded to 'Usmān by 'Abdu'r-Rahmān in the hope that it would be returned to him ('Abdu'r-Rahmān would in fact be the virtual ruler). Miqdād said: "O 'Abdu'r-Rahmān! By God you have forsaken one who would have ruled on the basis of truth and justice. After the Prophet's death only his Ahl al-Bayt have been subjected to such injustice. Woe to the Quraysh that they have forsaken one who was most learned and just." 'Abdu'r-Rahmān then threatened Miqdād with the consequences flowing from his frank expression. Some asked Miqdād what he meant by the Ahl al-Bayt. Miqdād replied, "I mean Banū 'Abdu'l-Muttalib. I mean 'Alī." 'Alī remarked, "Others look up to the Quraysh but they look at their own homes (worldly benefits). They believe that if the Banū Hāshim came to power, the government would never pass out of that family. If someone from the Quraysh was made ruler, the government would rotate among their members (the Quraysh). Subsequently, 'Alī returned to his religious and intellectual pursuits.¹⁰⁴

The first six years of 'Usmān's rule were peaceful but gradually, his distribution of wealth and high positions among his kinsmen shocked his supporters. 'Usmān's new governors, who were his relations and tribesmen, belonged to the *Tulaqā'*—the Meccan families which had embraced Islam only after the conquest of Mecca. These included Walid bin 'Uqaba bin Abī Mu'ayt, the son of 'Usmān's mother (by a previous marriage). Earlier he had been appointed by the Prophet to collect *zakāt* from the Banī al-Muztaliq tribe but was too frightened to perform his duties and returned to Medina without having called on them. He reported instead that the Banī al-Muztaliq had refused to pay *zakāt* and were about to kill him. The Prophet was infuriated and wished to send an expedition against them. The tribal leaders were informed of Walid's

104 Tabarī, I, pp. 2776-96; Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, I, pp. 159-73, II, pp. 161-68; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 160-66; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 65-89; Ibn Qutayba, pp. 28-32.

charges against them and they approached the Prophet in Medina. They told him that in fact they had been waiting for the tax collector to pay to him their dues, but none had arrived.¹⁰⁵ The following Qur'ānic verse was revealed to the Prophet urging him to take care:

“O ye who believe! If an evil-liver bring you tidings, verify it, lest ye smite some folk in ignorance and afterwards repent of what ye did.”¹⁰⁶

Abū Bakr and 'Umar offered Walid only minor positions. 'Umar appointed him tax collector for the Banī Taghlab in Iraq. In 25/645-46 'Usmān promoted him from that petty position to the governorship of Kūfa. There it was discovered that he was a drunkard. Once he performed four *raka'ts* of morning prayers instead of two and then asked: “Should I offer more *raka'ts* ?”¹⁰⁷

'Abdu'llāh bin Sa'd bin Abī Sarah ('Usmān's foster-brother), was an apostate but 'Usmān appointed him governor of Egypt in place of 'Amr bin 'Ās. 'Umar had made Mu'āwiya, governor of Syria, but 'Usmān promoted him to the governorship of all the four Syrian provinces. During 'Usmān's reign, Mu'āwiya consolidated his position as a semi-independent ruler and became a real threat to 'Usmān's successor. 'Usmān also replaced Abū Mūsa Ash'arī, governor of Basra, with his maternal uncle, 'Abdu'llāh bin 'Āmir.

Marwān bin Hakam was seven or eight years old when Mecca was conquered. Marwān's father, Hakam bin Abī'l-'Ās, was 'Usmān's uncle. Subsequently he moved to Medina with his son. He frequently eavesdropped on the consultations between the Prophet and his companions and used to mimic the Prophet's movements. When the Prophet observed these imitations, he expelled him from Medina. Hakam went to Tā'if. Abū Bakr and 'Umar refused to allow Hakam to return. By contrast 'Usmān recalled both father and son on the plea that he had obtained the Prophet's previous permission. 'Usmān then appointed Marwān his secretary, which made him the supreme controller of the central administration. It is believed that he often issued orders without consulting 'Usmān.¹⁰⁸ Sa'd bin Abī Waqqās prophesied that 'Usmān and his supporters would transform the caliphate into an hereditary kingship.

The early rebellions against 'Usmān were crushed easily but gradually they escalated. In Kūfa, Walid had insulted 'Abdu'llāh bin Mas'ūd, who

105 Ibn Sa'd, VII, pp. 176-77; *Istī'āb*, II, p. 620.

106 Qur'ān, XLIX, 6.

107 *Istī'āb*, II, p. 621; Ibn Hajar, *al-Asāba*, pp. 344-45; Abū'l-'Alā' Mawdūdī, *Khilāfat wa mulūkiyat*, Rampur, 1974, 3rd edition, pp. 98-104.

108 Balāzurī; Ahmad bin Yahya bin Jābir, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, Jerusalem, 1938-71, V, pp. 36-38, 48; 'Iqd, IV, p. 307.

had heard the Qur'ān from the Prophet personally and had courageously disseminated it in Mecca. His successor, Sa'id bin al-'Ās, who was also a close relative of 'Usmān, was unacceptable to the religious elite of Kūfa. The leaders of the *Qurra* (Qur'ān readers), such as Mālik bin Hāris al-Ashtar an-Nakha'i, Sulaymān bin Sūrad al-Khuzā'i, Hujr bin 'Adi al-Kindi, and Shuryah bin 'Awf al-'Absī, were fiercely opposed to 'Usmān.¹⁰⁹ 'Ammār bin Yāsir was severely beaten for his condemnation of Ibn Abi Sarh.¹¹⁰ Subsequently 'Usmān expelled Abū Zarr to Syria for his fierce condemnation of the caliph's nepotism and prodigality. Abū Zarr's fearless criticisms of Mu'āwiya and 'Usmān alarmed the governor there. He urged 'Usmān to recall Abū Zarr from Syria. Abū Zarr was tied to a wooden camel saddle so tightly that he reached Medina half-dead. In Medina Abū Zarr attacked 'Usmān even more resolutely. Consequently the caliph exiled him to the Rabaza desert.¹¹¹ The continued warnings from 'Alī, Talha and Zubayr did not change 'Usmān. Finally about two thousand leaders from Egypt, Kūfa and Basra, who were dissatisfied with the administration of 'Usmān's governors, joined hands. They reached Medina, besieged 'Usmān's house and forced him to abdicate. They occupied all the highways. In the interest of peace 'Alī tried to mediate between the rebellious leaders and 'Usmān but was unsuccessful. The siege lasted for forty days. No reinforcements arrived either from Mu'āwiya or the other pro-'Usmān governors. 'Alī believed that 'Usmān's violation of the Prophet's traditions and nepotism had disqualified him from ruling. Nevertheless, he remained neutral, but he sent his sons, Hasan and Husayn and his slave, Qanbar, to make sure that the innocent children and women in the house were supplied with water and were not molested. In 35/655 'Usmān was killed by the mob.¹¹²

Earlier, 'Alī had pressed for his right to become the Prophet's vicegerent but, in the present circumstances, he strongly rejected the popular demand that he accept the caliphate. He wished to remain neutral but, according to him, the people collected around him "like thirsty camels on their watering day",¹¹³ and it appeared that he would be stampeded into acceptance or killed. Finally he reluctantly agreed to become the caliph but stipulated that he would rule on the basis of the Qur'ān, the *sunna* of the Prophet and according to the needs of equity and justice. Talha and Zubayr, who had not raised even their little finger to help 'Usmān, were appalled at this turn of

109 Balāzuri, V, pp. 40-42; Tabarī, I, pp. 2916-20, 2953.

110 Tabarī, I, p. 2785.

111 Tabarī, I, pp. 2955, 2980; Balāzuri, V, pp. 26, 57; Mas'ūdi, *Murūj a'z-zahab*, Beirut, 1966, II, pp. 341-44; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, III, pp. 90-98; S. M. Yūsuf, The revolt against 'Usmān, *Islamic Culture*, XXVII (1953), pp. 4-5.

112 Tabarī, I, pp. 2988-95, 3066-86, 3112; Balāzuri, V, pp. 34, 48-49, 62-66, 70.

113 'Iqd, IV, p. 318.

events, but they also paid homage to 'Ali. Marwān, however, fled to Syria with 'Usmān's blood stained shirt and the severed fingers of his widow, Nā'ila, in order to arouse public resentment against 'Ali.

'Ali's *khilāfa* was markedly different from that of his predecessors. Abū Bakr was sponsored by 'Umar in Saqifa and approved by a small number of the Quraysh and Ansārs. 'Umar was nominated by Abū Bakr. 'Usmān was sponsored by 'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin 'Awf, who exceeded the committee's terms of appointment. It was only 'Ali who was spontaneously urged by people of Medina to accept the caliphate. In the pledge given by him, he reiterated once more that he was determined to restore the Prophet's ideals of equity and justice in his administration. He said once to ibn-i 'Abbās that, should he fail to restore truth and justice and eradicate oppression and impiety, the caliphate would be meaningless to him (to him the value of the caliphate was lower than the cost of the pair of old shoes he was himself mending). He declared that he had fought and defeated the Quraysh when they were infidels and he would again fight against their tyranny, injustice and sacrilege. He concluded his *khutba shiqshiqiyya* (a spontaneous speech—like the call of a camel) with the following words:

“I swear by the Creator of this Universe that had they not sworn unconditional allegiance to me; had they not manifested unbounded thankfulness for my acceptance of the caliphate; had not the presence of helpers and supporters made it incumbent upon me to defend the faith; and had God the Almighty not taken a promise from the learned doctors of religion ('*ulamā'*) to put a check upon the luxurious and vicious lives of oppressors and tyrants as well as to try to reduce the pangs of poverty and starvation of the oppressed and down-trodden and had He not made it incumbent upon them to secure back the usurped rights of the weak from the mighty and powerful, I would now have left the rulership of this state and would have allowed it to sink into anarchy and chaos as I did during the early days.”¹¹⁴

The movement against 'Ali was spear-headed by Mu'āwiya, the formidable governor of Syria. The latter wrote to Zubayr that he had already received oaths of allegiance in his name and arranged that, after his death, Talha would succeed him as the caliph. The whole of Syria was at their disposal and they should overthrow 'Ali. Both Zubayr and Talha were delighted. Earlier Zubayr had supported 'Ali but his ambitious son, 'Abdu'llāh, succeeded in alienating him from the new caliph. Before long Zubayr and Talha rebelled. The Prophet's widow, 'Ā'isha, became their leader. She had never forgiven 'Ali for consoling the Prophet when in 5/627 a

114 *Nahj al-balāgha, Shiqshiqiyya khutba.*

vicious rumour was circulated about her. The rebels' battle-cry was "Revenge for the blood of 'Usmān" although all three leaders had fomented dissatisfaction against 'Usmān during his lifetime. Talha had sent his son Muhammad to Egypt even before 'Ali's supporters, Muhammad bin Abi Bakr and Muhammad bin Abi Huzayfa went there.¹¹⁵ 'Ā'isha had referred to 'Usmān as *Na'sal* (having a long beard) and had urged people to revolt against him.¹¹⁶

'Ali promptly announced that the names of the assassins should be reported so that they could be executed. He started enquiries but the only witness to the assassination was 'Usmān's widow, Nā'ila, who deposed that 'Usmān had been killed by two people whose names she did not know. She could, however, identify them and affirmed Muhammad bin Abi Bakr's innocence.¹¹⁷ It was impossible to execute all the people who had besieged 'Usmān's house. 'Ali's sermons show that he condemned the assassination as a reversion to the days of pre-Islamic Arabia.

Abu'l-'Alā' Mawdūdī, a modern Sunnī scholar, says that, with due respect to 'Ā'isha, Talha, Zubayr and Mu'āwiya, one could not help saying that legally their position was untenable. It was only during pre-Islamic days that tribes started wars of vengeance. Only 'Usmān's relatives, who were alive at the time, had the right to demand reparation. If the ruler delayed arresting the criminals, then justice could be demanded by anyone. No law or *shari'a* permitted the people to declare the government illegal because of its failure to redress grievances. If 'Ali's enemies did not consider him the legally elected caliph, their demand for vengeance against 'Ali was meaningless.

Criticizing 'Ā'isha, Talha and Zubayr, who recruited an army and marched from Mecca to Basra crying for vengeance for 'Usmān's blood, Mawdūdī remarks that this act was illegal as they should have gone to Medina where 'Ali, the criminals and 'Usmān's heir lived. The war they provoked led to the slaughter of 10,000 people for the blood of one.

Even more illegal was the position of Mu'āwiya who rebelled against the central government when he took revenge for 'Usmān's blood. He did not make this claim in his private capacity but in his official position as the governor of Syria. He misused the resources of his government in that cause. He was not satisfied with demanding that 'Ali prosecute and punish the assassins but urged that they be handed over to him so that he himself might execute them. Mawlānā Mawdūdī goes on to say that Mu'āwiya's relationship with 'Usmān was a private matter, the governorship was not involved. He had no right to claim vengeance as a governor against the

115 Balāzuri, V, p. 49.

116 Tabari, I, p. 3112; Balāzuri, V, pp. 34, 48-49.

117 Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd, I, 365-88; *Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, pp. 71-73.

caliph to whom allegiance had been given by all the provinces except those governed by himself. Rebellion against the central government by a provincial army meant the revival of pre-Islamic tribal laws. Mawdūdī then quotes Qāzī Abū Bakr ibn al-'Arabī's remarks in his *Ahkām al-Qur'ān* to support this analysis.¹¹⁸

When 'Ā'isha's army reached the Haw'ab spring, on its way to Basra, the dogs there began to bark spontaneously. 'Ā'isha was alarmed, for the Prophet had warned his wives, "I find one of you in such a state that the dogs at Haw'ab will bark at you. O! Hamayra ('Ā'isha) save yourself. Don't be that one." 'Ā'isha wished to return home but the army refused. Then Marwān bin Hakam and other leaders produced some eighty villagers, who declared that the spring was not called Haw'ab and 'Ā'isha was reassured. Subsequently, in Jumāda II 35/December 655, 'Ā'isha's forces fought 'Ali near Basra. Since the battle raged around the 'Ā'isha's camel, it is known as the Battle of the Camel (Jamal). Talha and Zubayr were killed, 'Ā'isha was respectfully escorted to Medina by her own brother Muhammad. At her request, her commander, 'Abdu'llāh bin Zubayr, was released. Hasan and Husayn interceded for the Ahl al-Bayt's arch-enemy Marwān bin Hakam, and he too was freed. Ultimately, all the prisoners were granted an amnesty.¹¹⁹

'Ali encamped in Kūfa, in order to crush Mu'āwiya's rebellion. One of 'Umar's early governors there, 'Ammār bin Yāsir, and his deputy, 'Abdu'llāh bin Mas'ūd, had engendered an egalitarian spirit and a respect for the Ahl al-Bayt among the Yemenites.¹²⁰ They comprised North Arabian settlers and Iranian migrants, displaced from their land as the result of its conquest in 21/642. 'Ali had recruited the major portion of his army who fought at Jamal from Kūfa. After his return to Kūfa, 'Ali suppressed the tribal rivalries aroused in 'Usmān's days, gave the non-Arab *mawālī* or conquered people equality with the Arab tribal leaders and inculcated egalitarianism in the town.¹²¹ He also consolidated his control over Hijāz, Iraq and Egypt, dismissed the corrupt and oppressive Umayyad governors and subdued the border provinces. Mu'āwiya also attacked these territories, urging 'Ali to hand over 'Usmān's assassins.

Mālik bin al-Hāris al-Ashtar an-Nakha'i, Hujr bin 'Adi al-Kindi and other supporters of 'Ali urged him to invade Syria and crush Mu'āwiya before he grew too strong.¹²² 'Ali, however, refused to provoke

118 *Khilāfat wa mulūkiyat*, pp. 115-17.

119 Tabarī, I, pp. 3190-3244; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, I, pp. 203-7; Shihābu'd-Dīn Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut, 1955, IV, pp. 323-24; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 180-82; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 154-80; Mufīd, pp. 187-93.

120 Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 7.

121 Tabarī, I, p. 3227.

122 Tabarī, I, p. 3256; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, I, p. 554.

war and wrote to Mu'āwiya asking him to refrain from bloodshed. Nevertheless, Mu'āwiya massed his army at the borders of Iraq, forcing 'Ali to defend. Early in Safar 37/July 657, the two armies met at Siffin on the Euphrates in Iraq. 'Ali warned his soldiers neither to start the war first, nor kill those who fled, nor mutilate any corpses. No women should be attacked. On 9 Safar 37/27 July 657, 'Ammār bin Yāsir was killed by Mu'āwiya's army. The Prophet had already foretold that 'Ammār would be killed by a rebel group. 'Ali's army consisted of the Prophet's eminent companions, of whom seventy had fought for him at Badr, seven hundred had renewed their *bay'a* (allegiance) at the time of the Hudaibiyya treaty and four hundred were other Ansār and Muhājirūn. They knew this prophecy and its fulfilment convinced them of the truth of their cause. Some leaders in Mu'āwiya's army had also heard of it and they brought it to their master's attention.¹²³ Mu'āwiya replied that, in fact, the party that had brought 'Ammār in front of their spears was responsible for his death. When 'Ali was informed of Mu'āwiya's interpretation he said that this argument meant that the Prophet, who had taken his uncle Hamza with his army into Uhud, was his uncle's murderer.¹²⁴

Next day a hotly contested battle took place. When Mu'āwiya's army was on the verge of defeat, he made a feint of raising the Qur'ān on his soldiers' spears and demanding arbitration on its basis. A number of tribal leaders in 'Ali's army who had no stake in the war pressurized 'Ali into agreement. Mu'āwiya obtained a respite. The pressure of his lukewarm supporters left 'Ali with no choice but to appoint a simpleton, Abū Mūsa al-Ash'ari as his representative. Mu'āwiya's nominee, 'Amr ibn 'Ās, was a past-master in fraud and deception. He managed to have 'Ali deposed through Abū Mūsa's fumbblings and nominated Mu'āwiya as caliph.¹²⁵ Then a section of 'Ali's followers left him declaring "no decision save God's" and claimed that this appointment by a human tribunal was a sin against Him. They were known as the *Khawārij* (deserters, singular *Khārījī*). They identified sin with infidelity and declared that all sinners deserved death, (a punishment reserved for apostates). According to them, 'Ali, 'Usmān, Mu'āwiya and all the participants in the wars of Jamal and Siffin had committed deadly sins. 'Ali wished to give priority to the war against Mu'āwiya but the tribal leaders in his army forced him to annihilate the *Khawārij*, who had

123 Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 7; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 187-89.

124 Al-Minqārī, Nasr b. Muzāhim, *Wāqī'at Siffin*, Cairo, 1365/1945-46, pp. 212, 364, 387; Tabarī I/VI, pp. 3316-21; Mufīd, pp. 193-99.

125 Tabarī, I/VI, pp. 3329-60; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 276-334; Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, I, pp. 717-20.

assembled in Nahrawān in Iraq. In Safar 38/July 658, 'Alī defeated them but the tribal leaders again refused to march against Mu'āwiya.

'Alī returned to Kūfa and made Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr governor of Egypt. Mu'āwiya and 'Amr bin 'Ās forced the new governor into war. He requested reinforcement from 'Alī. 'Alī sent Mālik ibn Ashtar but, before he could reach Egypt, Mu'āwiya's agents poisoned him. Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr was defeated and killed by Mu'āwiya. His dead body was burned to ashes. Mu'āwiya's guerrillas penetrated into Basra, Ray, Mosul and Hijāz. Before 'Alī could finally crush them he was stabbed, while in the Kūfa mosque, by a Khārijite assassin, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān ibn Muljam al-Murādi, on the morning of 19 Ramazān 40/26 January 661. He died two days later. Before his death he told Hasan and Husayn that the law of retaliation should be applied only to his assassin. No one else should be persecuted. Further, the assassin should be executed only after his ('Alī's) death and his life should be ended by only one stroke of the sword. He should not be tortured. Neither should his body be dismembered, for he had heard the Prophet say, "Don't cut off the hands and feet of anybody, be it a biting dog".¹²⁶

'Alī bequeathed the *imāma* (leadership), he had obtained from the Prophet through Divine injunction (*nass*), to Hasan. The people of Kūfa, including the Muhājirūn and the Ansār, took an oath of allegiance to Hasan. Nevertheless, Mu'āwiya marched in full strength towards the Iraq frontiers in order to overthrow him. In the correspondence that was exchanged between the two leaders, Hasan reiterated that although after the Prophet's death the Ahl al-Bayt had been deprived of their rights, the first three caliphs were themselves religious. It was incredible, therefore, that Mu'āwiya, who was the son of the Prophet's inveterate enemy, Abū Sufyān, and was devoid of faith, wished to seize power by sheer brute force.¹²⁷ In his reply Mu'āwiya defended Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda and asserted that, as he considered himself more competent and experienced than Hasan, he would not surrender his power. Instead, he urged Hasan to abdicate in his favour remarking that this gesture would help Hasan's rise to the caliphate after his (Mu'āwiya's) death.¹²⁸

The army that remained with Hasan was 40,000 strong but most of them felt little loyalty to their Imām. The more belligerent leaders forced Hasan to fight. He moved to Madā'in near modern Baghdād but there the unruly elements in his army even attacked and insulted

126 Ya'qūbī, II, 210-12; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 376-86, Mufīd, pp. 199-218.

127 Ibn A'sam al-kūfī, *Kitāb al-futūh*, Urdu translation.

128 Ibn A'sam al-Kūfī, 148-52; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 306-76; Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, I, pp. 410, 458, 490, II, 'Alī's martyrdom in ibn Abī'l-Hadīd II, pp. 337-40; Ibn A'sam, Urdu tr.; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 210-14.

him. One of his generals, Qays, fought valiantly against Mu'āwiya but the news of the mutiny in Hasan's army disheartened him.¹²⁹ Subsequently most of these troops joined Mu'āwiya. Hasan, therefore, abdicated on conditions that:

1. Mu'āwiya would rule according to the Book of God, the *sunna* of the Prophet and the traditions of the *Rāshidūn* (righteous) caliphs;
2. The practice of reviling 'Alī started by Mu'āwiya would be stopped;
3. None from Iraq and Hijāz would be persecuted by Mu'āwiya;
4. After Mu'āwiya's death the caliphate would be restored to Hasan.

In any case Mu'āwiya would not nominate any one as his successor.¹³⁰ Hasan's abdication legalised Mu'āwiya's usurpation but the latter's violation of other clauses of the treaty made it meaningless.

The treaty, however, did not undermine Hasan's position as a Divinely appointed Imām. It was made within the framework of the tradition of the *Khulafā'-i Rāshidūn*. Naturally Hasan's devoted Shī'is in Iraq were disappointed but they did not abandon their fight against Mu'āwiya. They started an underground resistance movement but Hasan retired to Medina. He was a beacon of peace to the groups of Shī'is who were unable to accept Mu'āwiya's enmity towards the Ahl al-Bayt. In 49/669 Hasan died of poison at the age of forty-six, administered by one of his wives at Mu'āwiya's instigation. His stay in Medina was, however, intellectually very fruitful. Hujwiri says, "When the Qadarites got the upper hand, and the doctrine of Rationalism became widely spread, Hasan of Basra wrote to Hasan bin 'Alī begging for guidance, and asking him to state his opinion on the perplexing subject of predestination and on the dispute whether men have any power to act (*istā'āt*). Hasan bin 'Alī replied that in his opinion those who did not believe in the determination (*qadar*) of men's good and evil actions by God were infidels, and that those who imputed their sins to God were miscreants, i.e. the Qadarites deny the Divine providence, and the Jabarites impute their sins to God; hence men are free to acquire their actions according to the power given them by God and thus our religion takes the middle course between the free-will and predestination."¹³¹ For the first two centuries of Islam non-Shī'is remained divided into the Qadarites and the Jabarites. Only the Imām's followers pursued a middle course between the two.

Mu'āwiya took the opportunity to make his son Yazīd, given to

129 Tabarī, II, pp. 7-8; Ibn A'sam, Urdu tr.; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, IV, pp. 68-90, 696-710; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 402-3; Mufīd, pp. 280-87.

130 The terms in early sources are confusing but Ibn A'sam al-Kūfī gives reasonable details, Urdu tr.; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 215; Ibn Asīr, III, p. 404.

131 Nicholson, p. 75; Kulaynī, II, pp. 63-69; 360-62; Mufīd, pp. 280-87.

drink and dissipation, his successor to the caliphate. The supporters of the Ahl al-Bayt in Kūfa organised themselves under Sulaymān bin Sūrād al-Khuzā'i and urged Husayn, who had been appointed Imām by Hasan, to rise against Mu'āwiya. Husayn, however, refused to violate his brother's treaty with Mu'āwiya.¹³² Nevertheless, the Shī'is in Kūfa rebelled against Ziyād, Mu'āwiya's governor there. Their leader was Hujr bin 'Adī al-Kindī and their battle cry was: "The valid caliphate rests only with 'Alī's house". Ziyād, however, won over the majority of Yemenite group of Kūfa by diplomacy and cunningly played the other Shī'i clans against each other. Before long, Hujr and his main supporters were arrested and accused of rebellion. Mu'āwiya released seven of the captives under pressure from the clan leaders. Hujr and six others, however were ordered to curse 'Alī to prove their hostility to Shī'ism. They refused and died a martyr's death.¹³³

Mu'āwiya's orders declaring Yazīd his successor were readily accepted in Syria but, in Hijāz, Hasan's brother Husayn rightly remarked that this nomination was a gross violation of the treaty. Abū Bakr's son, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, 'Umar's son, 'Abdu'llāh and Zubayr's son, 'Abdu'llāh, also rejected Yazīd's accession. Mu'āwiya visited Medina himself. He threatened Husayn with death but could not make him, nor the three others, pay homage to Yazīd.¹³⁴

In Rajab 60/March 680, Mu'āwiya died and Yazīd succeeded him. At his orders, his governor in Medina, Walīd bin 'Utba, invited Husayn to call on him in an odd hour of night. Husayn visited the governor's house with his supporters and urged him to discuss the question of succession openly in the mosque. Marwān bin Hakam, whose life Husayn had saved after the battle of Jamal, assumed a threatening posture but Husayn would not yield.¹³⁵

Meanwhile, 'Abdu'llāh ibn Zubayr had left for Mecca and launched a secret campaign for his own accession to the caliphate. Walīd's continued pressure on Husayn to take the oath of allegiance to Yazīd, prompted Husayn to leave Medina for Mecca on 28 Rajab 60/3 May 680. 'Abdu'llāh ibn Zubayr was upset although he knew that Mecca was not Husayn's final destination. On 10 Ramazān 60/14 June 680, Husayn received a letter from Sulaymān bin Sūrād al-Khuzā'i and other Shī'i leaders of Kūfa asking him to come to Kūfa and save them from Yazīd's

132 Tabarī, II, pp. 174-76; Ibn A'sam, Urdu tr.; *Isti'āb*, I, p. 391; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 224-25, 229, 231.

133 Tabarī, II, pp. 139-41; Abū Hanīfa ad-Dināwarī, *Kitāb al-akhbār at-tawāl*, Cairo, 1960, pp. 223-26; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 228-29; Mufīd, pp. 12, 282.

134 Tabarī, II, pp. 186-87.

135 Tabarī, II, pp. 317-20; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 241-42; Dināwarī, pp. 228-29; Ibn Asīr, IV, pp. 14-26.

sacrilegious domination.¹³⁶ Husayn's brother (Hasan) and father ('Ali) had also been deprived of their rights but at least the rulers in their day had endeavoured to follow the *shari'a* laws. By contrast, Yazīd violated them flagrantly and reverted to the pre-Islamic customs of vendetta, drink and dissipation. Though aware that an armed insurrection against Yazīd would not provide Islam with the catharsis it needed, Husayn decided to sacrifice himself, his family and those friends who had volunteered to support his Islamic revolution for the restoration of piety and justice. More letters from Kūfa began to pour in both from devoted Shī'is and adventurers, inviting Husayn to assume the leadership. He took no hasty action, however, and decided to wait until the annual pilgrimage month in order to apprise pilgrims, from the Islamic countries of Yazīd's threat to Islam. He sent his cousin, Muslim bin 'Aqīl to Kūfa to represent him. Muslim was warmly welcomed in Kūfa by both the devoted Shī'i leaders and the adventurers. About 12,000 to 18,000 supporters gathered around him. Muslim therefore sent one of the leaders to invite Husayn to Kūfa. In Mecca, ibn 'Abbās and other well-wishers urged Husayn to ignore these letters from the treacherous Kūfans. Ibnu'z Zubayr, who wished to become the undisputed leader in Hijāz, however, encouraged Husayn to go to Kūfa although he hid his feelings by adding that Husayn's presence in Mecca was also not unwelcome.

Husayn's visit to Mecca and growing support in Kūfa alarmed Yazīd. He commissioned some assassins to kill Husayn during the pilgrimage ceremonies. In Kūfa, Yazīd replaced the governor, Nu'mān bin Bashīr, with the diabolical 'Ubaydu'llāh ibn Ziyād. On 8 Zu'l-hijja 60/9 September 680, Husayn left Mecca without performing the annual *hajj*. Ibn Ziyād's threats and promises of rewards made the Muslim's fickle supporters, in Kūfa, transfer their allegiance to him. The diehard Shī'is went underground and Muslim was beheaded on the same day that Husayn left Mecca.¹³⁷ Ibn Ziyād massed a huge army at Qādisiyya and blockaded the roads leading to Kūfa in order to prevent Husayn from entering the town and to deter his devoted Shī'is from sending him reinforcements. At the second stage of the journey, the poet Farazdaq, a devoted follower of the Ahl al-Bayt, met Husayn and urged him to give up his idea of going to Kūfa. 'Awn and Muhammad, the sons of Husayn's brother-in-law 'Abdu'llāh ibn Ja'far, presented a letter from their father also requesting him to desist from visiting Kūfa. Husayn said that he had been inspired by the Prophet to resume the journey and he could not abandon it.¹³⁸ At the third stop Husayn sent his emissary,

136 Tabarī, II, pp. 233-39.

137 Tabarī, II, pp. 254-78; Ibn al A'sam, Urdu tr.; Ya'qūbi, II, pp. 242-43.

138 Tabarī, II, pp. 280-81; Dināwarī, p. 243; Mufīd, pp. 305-26.

Qays bin Mashar as-Saydāwi, to Kūfa but he was captured at Qādisiyya and continued on to Kūfa as a prisoner. Ibn Ziyād urged him to curse Husayn to save his life. Qays refused and was thrown from the top of the governor's palace to the ground. At the sixth stage Husayn heard the news of the death of his foster-brother, 'Abdu'llāh bin Baqtar, who was also thrown from the roof of the governor's palace in Kūfa for refusing to curse him. Husayn delivered a sermon which reiterated his mission. He said: "We have been authoritatively told that Muslim bin 'Aqil, his supporters Hāni bin 'Urwa and 'Abdu'llāh bin Baqtar have been martyred. Our friends in Kūfa have forsaken us. Consequently those who wish to leave us are free to do so. They will not be blamed for their desertion." Tabarī comments that many people left Husayn. Only those who had accompanied him from Medina remained. He goes on to say that Husayn was aware of the fact that some adventurers had joined him in the hope of worldly gains. He knew that after his speech only those, who loved him and wished to die a martyr's death with him, would accompany him. Near Qādisiyya, Husayn made a detour to an unfrequented route to Kūfa.¹³⁹ At Zū Husam where he arrived ibn Ziyād's commander, Hurr bin Yazid at-Tamīmī al-Yarbū'i, at the head of 1,000 strong force, stopped Husayn. Hurr's water supply had exhausted. Both men and beasts were on the verge of death. Husayn, who had recently obtained a fresh supply, placed his water at their disposal. His enemies, both men and beasts, quenched their thirst. Then Hurr, although he was respectful to Husayn, blocked the road to Kūfa and forced him to travel along the Euphrates and proceed towards Karbalā to the opposite direction of Kūfa. At Uzayb al-Hujaynāt, not far from Karbalā, four Shī'i cavalry men from Kūfa, with their guide, Tirmāh bin 'Adi met Husayn. The guide urged Husayn to abandon the idea of going to Kūfa and to proceed instead to their impregnable mountain villages where he could stay safely. Within ten days his tribe would collect twenty thousand men and Husayn would then be able to overthrow his enemies very easily. Hurr was also very pleased with the plan. Husayn blessed and thanked his well-wishers but said that he had given his word to the Kūfans and he could not abandon his mission.¹⁴⁰ Husayn had received similar offers earlier but political adventurism was not his goal. He wished to expose Yazid's atrocities to the Muslims without resorting to violence.

On 2 Muharram 61/2 October 680, he reached Karbalā. Next day

139 Tabarī, II, pp. 294-95.

140 Tabarī, II, pp. 302-6; Ya'qūbī, II, p. 59; Ibn Asīr, IV, pp. 57-81. For 'Alī's prophecy about the tragedy of Karbalā, see ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, I, pp. 619-20; Ibn A'sam, Urdu tr.; Mufīd, pp. 332-41.

Sa'd bin Abi Waqqās's son, 'Umar, arrived with 4,000 troops and forced Husayn to move his tents from the Euphrates to a waterless desert. Husayn's followers, who numbered only seventy-two including boys and old men, wished to resist, but Husayn refused to precipitate action. 'Umar ibn Sa'd had been sent to either obtain Husayn's oath of allegiance to Yazid or to kill him. From 7th Muharram ibn Sa'd's troops stopped the water supply to Husayn's camp. On 9 Muharram, Shamir (Shimr) Zu'ljawshan arrived with peremptory orders to ibn Sa'd to annihilate Husayn or hand over the command to him. Ibn Sa'd, therefore, disposed his forces in battle order but yielded to Husayn's request for a respite of one night in which to offer prayers and vigils. Husayn took the opportunity to urge his followers to leave him alone but none left. After morning prayers, Husayn delivered a moving sermon emphasizing his relationship to the Prophet. He warned his enemies of Divine retribution for shedding the blood of innocent people. Thereupon Hurr, who was responsible for directing Husayn's army to Karbalā, deserted ibn Sa'd's army and joined Husayn's force. He also urged ibn Sa'd's army to let Husayn leave Karbalā safely. None listened. Then Hurr, obtaining Husayn's permission, fell upon ibn Sa'd's troops and died fighting valiantly. From the morning of the 'Āshūra (10th) till late afternoon, Husayn's seventy-two followers, who had been deprived of water for the last three days, fought valiantly but the ten-thousand enemy troops massacred them by sheer weight of numbers. The last but one martyr was Husayn's little baby, 'Ali Asghar, who was prostrated by thirst. Husayn showed him to his enemies and begged for water for him. A large number of the enemies were moved to tears but a ferocious archer killed the baby and injured Husayn's arms by his arrow-shot. Husayn took leave of his family, whispered the secrets of the *Imāma* to his bedridden son 'Ali (whose first name was the same as that of his brother) and fought the enemy gallantly. They retreated and Husayn dismounted from his horse to offer late afternoon prayers. The enemy troops re-assembled again and Shamir severed Husayn's head before he could raise it from his last prostration. The heads of his followers were cut from their corpses and raised on spears. Their bodies were then roughly trampled by horses. By nightfall, Husayn's tents had been pillaged and even the head coverings belonging to the revered ladies of the Prophet's family had been snatched.¹⁴¹

On 12 Muharram ibn Sa'd left with his troops for Kūfa, taking the ladies, and Husayn's son 'Ali as captives. The bodies of Husayn and his followers were later buried by the neighbouring tribe. In the streets of Kūfa and at ibn Ziyād's court the fearless speeches by Husayn's sister, Zaynab, apprising the people of Yazid's atrocities, shocked them all.

141 Tabari, II, pp. 360-87; Ibn Asir IV, pp. 62-81; Mufid, pp. 343-63.

The ladies and the severed heads were then sent to Damascus. There again Zaynab's oratory at Yazid's court moved the mobs to tears and made the atrocities the Prophet's family had endured known to the entire Islamic world. About a year later the women were released and sent to Medina where again relations and sympathisers filled the Prophet's capital with their wailing and tears.¹⁴²

The Shi'i leaders, such as Sulaymān bin Sūrad, who had taken the lead in inviting Husayn to Kūfa, were ashamed of their inaction. Towards the end of 61/681, they convened a meeting at which they decided to annihilate Husayn's murderers in order to expiate their failure to help him. They called themselves *Tawwābūn* (penitents). Sulaymān was elected leader. The death of Yazid, in 64/683, stepped up the progress of the *Tawwābūn* movement for revenge and the restoration of power to the Ahl al-Bayt. Those Kūfans who had earlier forsaken Husayn rallied round the *Tawwābūn*. The government had also passed out of the hands of Mu'āwiya's direct descendants when Marwān bin al-Hakam (64-65/684-85) had seized power on the death of Yazid's son, Mu'āwiya II, six months after his father's demise.

In Mecca itself, 'Abdu'llāh ibn Zubayr had deposed Yazid. Medina was now ruled by an Ansār leader, 'Abdu'llāh bin Hanzala, but then Yazid's Syrian army killed him. Next they besieged Mecca. They catapulted stones into the sacred precincts of Ka'ba which itself caught fire splitting the black stone into three pieces. The subsequent news of Yazid's death disheartened the Syrians, however, and they withdrew. 'Abdu'llāh ibn Zubayr declared himself caliph and Egypt, Southern Arabia and Kūfa accepted his rule. At the end of Zu'l-hijja 72/May 692, Hajjāj bin Yūsuf as-Saqifi, a governor under Marwān's son, 'Abdu'l-Malik (685-705), besieged Mecca. He bombarded the city and Ka'ba with stones for six months. In October 692, 'Abdu'llāh ibn Zubayr was killed and his body impaled on a gibbet.¹⁴³

In Kūfa, Mukhtār bin Abi 'Ubayda as-Saqafi re-invigorated the movement demanding vengeance for Husayn's cold-blooded murder. Mukhtār's father and uncle were supporters of Imām 'Alī and the Shi'is in Kūfa recognised Mukhtār as their leader. When Muslim bin 'Aqil was killed, Mukhtār was absent from Kūfa but, on his return, he was imprisoned because of his sympathy for the Ahl al-Bayt. After the tragedy at Karbalā he managed to obtain his release through the intercession of his brother-in-law, 'Abdu'llāh, the son of the second caliph, 'Umar. He joined ibn Zubayr out of political expediency and defended Ka'ba against the

142 Ibn Asīr, IV, pp. 82-88; Mahallātī, *Zindagāni Hazrat Fātima Zahrā' wa dukhtarān-i ān hazrat*, pp. 210-55; Mufid, pp. 363-72; Kulaynī, II, pp. 362-68.

143 Tabarī, II, pp. 417-588; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 166-67; Ibn Asīr, IV, pp. 207-10.

Syrian invasion. Ibn Zubayr, however, frustrated Mukhtār's mission of revenge on Husayn's murderers. Consequently Mukhtār returned to Kūfa and began to mobilize support for the war against the Umayyads, who had brutally massacred Husayn and his followers. Husayn's son, 'Ali known as Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, who had returned to Mecca, gave him no encouragement and his uncle, Muhammad al-Hanafiyya, remained uncommitted. Mukhtār, however, interpreted Muhammad's attitude as indicating approval, and claimed that Muhammad was the Mahdī (the rightly-guided one), the son of *Wasi* (the heir i. e. 'Ali). Furthermore, he (Mukhtār) had been appointed by him to be his (Muhammad's) confidant (*amin*), minister (*wazir*) and commander (*amir*) with orders to fight against the *mulhidin* (heretics) and to avenge the massacre of the Mahdī's family and defend the weak. By the 'weak' Mukhtār meant the *mawālis* (Iranian converts) and the neglected non-Arab Muslims. The Mahdī, according to Mukhtār, was sent to restore justice among all classes. The reign of terror unleashed by the Umayyad governors led Mukhtār's contemporaries to believe unquestioningly in his messianic mission.¹⁴⁴ Many of Sulaymān's *Tawwābūn* joined Mukhtār but Sulaymān's devoted followers were not discouraged. The latter left for Karbalā in Rabi' II 65/November 684, visited the graves of Imām Husayn and other martyrs and spent several hours mourning their Imām's tragic martyrdom.¹⁴⁵ Near the Syrian border town, 'Aynu'l-Warda, ibn Ziyād's army, consisting of 30,000 troops, fell upon the *Tawwābūn* army. Their number had been reduced from 16,000 to 3,000 by the defections. Nevertheless they fought fiercely for three days. Only a small number returned from the battle. Sulaymān and the *Tawwābūn* leaders were also killed.¹⁴⁶

Sulaymān's followers had been mainly Arabs. Mukhtār's subsequent military success depended mainly on his combination of Arabs and non-Arabs. He abolished the existing social disparity between Arabs and other races and distributed the booty among them equally. The Arabs had forbidden the *mawālis* to ride horses and to fight with swords, but Mukhtār restored these rights as soldiers to them.¹⁴⁷ In Safar 67/August 686, Mukhtār defeated 'Ubaydu'llāh ibn Ziyād and killed him. The other murderers of Husayn and his followers were also hunted down and slaughtered. Mukhtār ruled Kūfa and parts of Iran for some months but, in Shawwāl 67/April 687, he was killed by Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik's forces.¹⁴⁸ Mukhtār was always proud of having avenged the atrocities wreaked upon the Prophet's family.

He was succeeded by his admirer, Abū 'Amra Kaysān of the Bajīla tribe.

144 Tabarī, II, pp. 568-660; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, I, pp. 199, 201.

145 Tabarī, II, p. 548; Balāzurī, V, 209.

146 Ibn Asīr, IV, pp. 211-28, pp. 558-60; Balāzurī, V, pp. 210-12.

147 Balāzurī, *Ansāb*, V, pp. 216-70.

148 Ibn Asīr, IV, pp. 229-41.

The Bajila believed that the three caliphs preceding 'Alī were infidels while Mukhtār had condemned only those who waged war against 'Alī. Kaysān also claimed that Muhammad al-Hanafiyya had been appointed his *wasi* (heir) by 'Alī. Muhammad al-Hanafiyya, who repudiated these extravagant claims, died in 81/700–701. A section of Kaysān's followers introduced the belief that Muhammad al-Hanafiyya was still alive and was concealed (*ghayba*) in the mountains west of Medina from where he would return (*raj'a*) as the Mahdī. Another section of the Kaysāniyyas believed that he had died and his successor was his son Abū Hāshim. The irreligious and brutal reign of the Umayyads stepped up the need for a belief in the messiah.¹⁴⁹ Although some Arabs also rallied round the Kaysāniyyas, the neglected *mawālīs* formed the backbone of the movement.

The political unrest in the wake of Husayn's martyrdom also reinforced the Shī'i *Ghulāt* (extremist) movement (singular *Ghālī*). According to the hostile Sunnī traditions, Shī'ism itself was founded by the *Ghulāt* leader 'Abdu'llāh bin Sabā'. Some Sunnī traditions, however, admit that 'Abdu'llāh was the founder of only the *Ghulāt* Shī'i group. According to most Sunnī sources he was a Yemenite Jew who had converted to Islam. He propagated the theory that 'Alī was Divine. He ('Alī) had not died but had been lifted to the clouds, and the thunder was his voice. 'Alī strongly condemned them and severely punished their leaders. Modern researchers have rejected stories of ibn Sabā's Jewish origin. He was transformed into a mythical figure and all sorts of fantastic beliefs were associated with him.¹⁵⁰ The followers of Mukhtār, Kaysān and Muhammad al-Hanafiyya are also said to have held incredibly exaggerated beliefs about their own leaders. The influence of the sixth Shī'i Imām, Ja'far as-Sādiq, undermined the *Ghulāt* tendencies and more moderate Shī'i beliefs flourished under his leadership.

Imām Husayn's Successors

The Kaysāniyya and the *Ghulāt* movements posed a great threat to Shī'ism and Imām Husayn's successors but their far-sighted religious and social policies in conjunction with their intellectual superiority staved off a confrontation. Husayn's only surviving son, 'Alī known as Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn and al-Sajjād, was born in 38/658. After his father's martyrdom, Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn showed phenomenal endurance. Neither provocation nor humiliation undermined his patience and he very effectively demonstrated to his enemies the importance of Ahl-i Bayt. In Medina he rejected the tempting offers of political adventurism in the name of revenge for

149 Nawbakhti, Abū Muhammad al-Hasan bin Mūsa, *Firaq a'sh Shī'a*, Najaf 1959, pp. 44-45, 48-49.

150 E. I.², I, p. 50.

Imām Husayn's martyrdom. Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin showed the world clearly that Imām Husayn's revolutionary movement had not been motivated by a desire for political gain but was designed to re-establish the forsaken spiritual and ethical values in Muslim political and social life.

In 62/681, the people of Medina rebelled against Yazīd but Zaynu'l-'Ābidin remained neutral and moved to a village near the city. Marwān, the Medina governor, was unable to stay safely in the capital. The only person he could find to offer protection to his wife was Zaynu'l-'Ābidin, who sent her safely to Tā'if escorted by one of his sons.¹⁵¹ When the people of Medina were later defeated by Yazīd's commander, Muslim bin 'Uqba, and were forced into slavery, Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin was not asked to take the oath of allegiance. Husayn's martyrdom had brought about a radical change in 'Umayyad policy towards Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin and his successors. They were secretly martyred but were not openly tortured.

Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin re-invigorated the intellectual revolution which his grandfather, 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, had launched. Both Shi'i and Sunni scholars of *hadīs*, *fiqh* and Qur'ānic exegesis rallied round him. He related traditions on the authority of his father 'Alī, his uncle Hasan, his father Husayn, and ibn 'Abbās. Some of these are even cited in Sunni *isnāds* (chains of transmitters). Jābir bin 'Abdu'llāh Ansārī the prophet's devoted companion was the Imām's ardent supporter, Sa'id bin al-Jubayr of Kūfa, Yahya bin Umm at-Tiwāl, Muhammad bin Jubayr bin Mut'im, Sa'id the traditionist, Abū Hamza Sābit bin Dinār and Furāt bin Ahnaf al-'Abdī were Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin's sincere admirers.¹⁵²

Many eminent followers of Ahl al-Bayt, who had joined ibn-Zubayr or Mukhtār, recanted and swore allegiance to Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin. When the Imām visited Mecca the crowd of pilgrims gave way to let him kiss the Black Stone. Even Caliph 'Abdu'l-Malik's son Hishām had to cut a way through the crowds to reach the Black Stone. When a Syrian dignitary saw the crowds giving way to Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin he pretended not to recognise this respected person. The famous poet, Farazdaq, spontaneously recited a splendid ode (*qasida*) which begins as follows :

“This is he whose footprint is known to the valley of Mecca,
He whom the Ka'ba knows and the most frequented sanctuary.
This is the son of the best of all the servants of God.
This is the pious, the elect, the pure, the eminent.”

151 Tabarī, II, p. 1178.

152 Tabarī, II, p. 1183; Abī 'Umar Kashshī, *Ma'rifa Akhbār al-rijāl*, Bombay, n.d., pp. 27-30; Mufid, pp. 380-91.

'Abdu'l-Malik was deeply upset when he heard of this and imprisoned Farazdaq. Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn sent the poet a gift of money but he refused it. He informed the Imām that he had written the *qasīda* in partial expiation of his own sins. Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, however, urged him to accept it for he could not take back what he had already given away. Farazdaq's *qasīdas* are only a passing tribute to the spiritual eminence of Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. The collection of the Imām's prayers and invocations in *al-Sahīfa al-Sajjādiyya* (The Scroll of Sajjād), also known as the "Psalms of the Family of the Holy Prophet", is the epitome of spiritual enlightenment for all religious communities. Those who read the Imām's invocations, either in the original Arabic or in the correct translations, are themselves transported to the realm of spiritual ecstasy and bliss.

Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn died in 95/714 during the reign of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd I (86-96/705-15) and was buried in the cemetery in Baqī' near the graves of his grandmother Fātima, and uncle Imām Hasan. Before he died, Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn bequeathed to his son, Muhammad al-Bāqir (b. 57/676), the spiritual scrolls of his ancestors and clearly designated him the Imām (through the *nass*).¹⁵³

Imām al-Bāqir's mother was Imām Hasan's daughter, Fātima. Imām al-Bāqir had witnessed the Umayyad brutality at Karbalā and had endured the atrocities perpetrated by the Umayyads on his grandfather's family. During the thirty-four years of his father's *imāmate*, he had built up a reputation for learning, scholarship and the ability to guide his followers to the path carved out by his father. Imām al-Bāqir's half-brother, Zayd, born of a lady from Sind (Indian sub-continent now in Pakistan), however, did not agree with his political neutrality. He believed that a government which did not impose Divine commands on the *umma* (community) deserved to be overthrown by force and the ethical rule of Islam restored. Nevertheless, he never challenged al-Bāqir's *imāmate*. It was only after his death that Zayd's followers evolved the Zaydiyya theology and its theory of *imāmate*.¹⁵⁴ Many Shi'i adventurers, however, left Imām Muhammad Bāqir and joined Zayd. Similarly some of Zayd's followers joined Imām Bāqir. A large number of scholars studied under the Imām. His title "al-Bāqir" means "the one who

153 'Abdu'llāh Ismā'il al-Sāwī (ed.) Farazdaq, *Dīwān*, Cairo, 1936, I, pp. 847-48; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 302-3; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, Cairo, 1948, II, pp. 429-32; Ahmad bin 'Abdu'l-Karīm, *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfiyya*, Cairo, n.d., I, pp. 153-54. Farazdaq's challenging verses are quoted in almost all the early *sūfi* sources. Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyatū'l-awliyā'*, Cairo, 1938, III, p. 139; Nicholson, pp. 76-77; Mufīd, pp. 380-90.

154 Ibn Sa'd, V, pp. 211, 325-27; Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātilū't-Tālibiyyīn*, Cairo, 1949, pp. 127-51; Mufīd, pp. 403-5.

splits knowledge open". According to ibn Khallikān, it means "the ample" because Imām al-Bāqir knew so much.¹⁵⁵ The Sunnī *isnād* (chain of transmitters) drew upon al-Bāqir, as well as Sunnī scholars such as Abū Hanīfa (d. 150/767) and Muhammad bin Minkadir, Qatāda bin Di'āma, 'Abdu'llāh bin Mu'ammār al-Laysī and the Khārijite Nāfi' bin Azraq sat at the Imām's feet.¹⁵⁶ Other Sunnīs discussed legal problems with him. Al-Bāqir's own Shī'is regarded him as the exponent of the legal school of the Ahl al-Bayt which culminated under his son in the Ja'fariyya school of *fiqh*. Below is an excerpt from one of his invocations to God as given by Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī Hujwiri in his monumental *sūfic* treatise, *Kashfu'l Mahjūb*.

"O my God and my Lord, night has come, and the power of monarchs has ceased, and the stars are shining in the sky, and all mankind are asleep and silent, and the Banu Umayya have gone to rest and shut their doors and set guards to watch over them; and those who desired anything from them have forgotten their business. Thou, O God, art the Living, the Lasting, the Seeing, the Knowing. Sleep and slumber cannot overtake Thee. He who does not acknowledge that Thou art such as I have described is unworthy of Thy bounty, O Thou whom nothing withholds, from any other thing, whose eternity is not impaired by Day and Night, whose doors of Mercy are open to all who call upon Thee, and whose entire treasures are lavished on those who praise Thee: Thou dost never turn away the beggar, and no creature in earth or heaven can prevent the true believer who implores Thee from gaining access to Thy court. O Lord, when I remember death and the grave and the reckoning, how can I take joy in this world? Therefore, since I acknowledge Thee to be One, I beseech Thee to give me peace in the hour of death, without torment, and pleasure in the hour of reckoning without punishment."¹⁵⁷

In 114/732 al-Bāqir died and was buried in the Baqī' cemetery near his father's grave. Before his death he designated his talented son, Ja'far, as the next Imām.

Ja'far was born on 17 Rabi' I 83/20 April 702. His mother, Umm Farwa, was the daughter of al-Qāsim bin Muhammad bin Abī Bakr. Umm Farwa's mother 'Asmā' was the daughter of 'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin

155 Ibn Khallikān, IV, p. 176; Mufīd, pp. 393-400.

156 S. H. M. Ja'fari, *Origin and early development of Shī'a Islam*, London, 1979, p. 255.

157 Nicholson, p. 78; Kulaynī, II, pp. 372-77.

Abī Bakr.¹⁵⁸ Qāsim was one of Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidin's companions and one of the seven early *faqīhs* (jurists) in Medina who surpassed all their contemporary scholars in intelligence and learning. He transmitted many *ahādīs* from the Prophet's companions. The *tābi'ūn* (those who had seen any of the Prophet Muhammad's companions) conveyed *ahādīs* from Qāsim.¹⁵⁹ The homes of both his father and mother were the rendezvous of intellectuals. Ja'far saw the last twelve years of his grandfather's and nineteen years of his father's *imāmate*. When his maternal grandfather died in 101/719-20, Ja'far was eighteen years old. Besides the Divine knowledge he inherited as an Imām, Ja'far's mastery of *ahādīs* surpassed all the leading intellectuals in Medina. After his father's death, he remained Imām for thirty-four years, dying in 148/765.

Imām Ja'far's life coincided with momentous political upheavals and intellectual activity. The last five Umayyad caliphs, Hishām (105-125/724-743), al-Walid II (125-126/743-44), Yazid III (126/744), Ibrāhīm (126-127/744), Marwān II al-Himār (127-132/744-750) and the first two 'Abbāsīd caliphs as-Saffāh (132-136/749-754), al-Mansūr (136-158/754-775) ruled during his *imāmate*. Imām Ja'far, however, remained indifferent to the political upheavals. He respected his uncle Zayd but he also urged him to give up all ideas of a political uprising and predicted his failure and death. Zayd would not listen. He and his followers fought heroically against the governor of Iraq in Safar 122/January 740. After his defeat and death all the eminent Shī'ites were ordered to curse Zayd and dissociate themselves from his party. Only Imām Ja'far was exempted, nevertheless he never hesitated to proclaim that Zayd belonged to his family and was the best among them.¹⁶⁰

Three years later Zayd's son, Yahya, led an uprising in Khurāsān but he too was defeated and killed by the Umayyad governor. Neither he, nor the Kaysāniyya leaders, such as Bayān bin Sam'ān at-Tamīmī and 'Abdu'llāh bin Mu'āwiya (a great-grandson of 'Alī bin Abī Tālib's brother, Ja'far at-Tayyār Zu'ljanāhayn) succeeded in eliciting Imām Ja'far's support. Subsequently the more prominent Kaysāniyya leaders and their followers were massacred. Muhammad al-'Abbās, a descendant of 'Abbās bin 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, organized another anti-Umayyad movement. He died in 125/743.¹⁶¹ His son and successor, Ibrāhīm, and Ibrāhīm's representative in Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, managed to keep

158 *Maqātilu't-Talibīyīn*, pp. 87, 89; Tabarī, III, 2509; Ya'qūbī II, p. 381. Even the Naqshbandiyya *sūfīs* who traced back their spiritual ancestry from Abū Bakr were proud of their connections with Imām 'Alī through Imām Ja'far. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, *Sharh Rubā'iyāt*, Tashkent Ms., I, 675a; Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 320-20.

159 Ibn Sa'd, V, pp. 187-90.

160 Tabarī, II, 1700-1709.

161 Tabarī, II, pp. 1879-87, III, pp. 27, 30.

certain details of their organization secret. They did not divulge the name of their leaders and the movement was organized in the name of *al-riẓā' min Āl-Muhammad* (a member of the Prophet Muhammad's family who would be agreed upon).¹⁶² Under Abū Muslim's dynamic leadership, an Arab tribal anti-Umayyad movement was transformed into a Khurāsānian popular uprising; with peasants, artisans and *mawālīs* constituting its main strength. Abū Muslim and his associates adopted black uniforms as a mark of mourning for the martyrdom of the Prophet's family. Black flags were raised to appeal to messianic expectations. Despite this, Caliph Marwān's army took Ibrāhīm captive and imprisoned him in Harrān, where he died in 132/749. The Umayyad, however, were defeated later.¹⁶³

Abū Salama Hafṣ, a Kaysānite leader and a leading *mawla* in Kūfa, who had been proclaimed as *wazīr Āl-Muhammad* (the minister of the Prophet's descendants) decided to establish the rule of an Imām from 'Alī bin Abī Tālib's dynasty. Three people were on his list. At the top was Imām Ja'far, the second was 'Abdu'llāh bin al-Hasan al-Musanna bin Hasan bin 'Alī bin Abī Tālib, known as al-Mahaz, and the third choice was 'Umar bin 'Alī Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. When Imām Ja'far received Abū Salama's letter he burnt it in the flame from a lamp and told the messenger to tell his master what he had seen as its reply.¹⁶⁴ Imām Ja'far also warned 'Abdu'llāh al-Mahaz against Abū Salama, whose followers were neither Shi'is nor Khurāsānis. 'Abdu'llāh was very disappointed at Imām Ja'far's reaction. He soon learned, however, that the Imām's warnings were timely. Abū Salama was first made vizier and then killed.

Abu'l 'Abbās as-Saffāh (132-136/749-754), the first caliph of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, inaugurated his reign with a speech in the Kūfa mosque. Emphasizing his close relationship to Prophet Muhammad, he pointed out that the Umayyads had been tolerated only temporarily by God but then were replaced by His chosen rulers, the 'Abbāsīds. He promised to increase the stipends to Kūfa residents but threatened that, where his enemies were concerned, he would be a ruthless shedder of blood. His speech was finished by his uncle, 'Abdu'llāh bin 'Alī, who said that the Umayyads had been cruel and oppressive to the sons of their uncle ('Alī). They had also unjustly deprived the Muslims of their rights to *fay* (title on land unconditionally surrendered), *sadaqāt* (charitable taxes) and *ghanima* (booty). He thanked God for giving the 'Abbāsīds the people of Khurāsān as their *Shi'is* (partisans) and the Muslims them-

162 M.A. Shaban, *The 'Abbāsīd revolution*, Cambridge 1970 p. 155.

163 Tabarī, III, pp. 27-34

164 Muhammad al-Jahshiyarī, *Kitābu'l-wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb*, Cairo, 1938, p. 86; Ibn at-Tiqtaqa, al-Fakhrī, *fi'l ādāb as-Sultāniyya*, Cairo, 1921, p. 109.

selves should be grateful that their caliph was descended from Hāshim (the great-grandfather of Prophet Muhammad and the common ancestor of both the 'Alids and the 'Abbāsids). With messianic overtones he urged them to be obedient and to remember that the power given to them by God would endure until they handed it over to Jesus, son of Mary, before the day of Resurrection.¹⁶⁵

The 'Abbāsids evolved an orthodox Sunnī policy designed to elicit the support of the Sunnī 'ulamā' and *sūfis*. On ceremonial occasions, and on the day the new caliph received the oaths of allegiance, they never failed to wear the Prophet's mantle. They were proud of the authority their ancestor, 'Abbās, had exercised over Zamzam (holy well near Ka'ba) both during the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods. The 'Abbāsids ridiculed the 'Alid's pride in their maternal connections and asserted that uncles, fathers, and fathers-in-law were superior to a daughter's offspring. To them their control over Zamzam, descent from the Prophet's family and (right to) the caliphate, were indisputable.¹⁶⁶ 'Alī's descendant pleaded that 'Alī had been the Prophet's *wasi* (heir) and the Imām and their mother, Fātima, had been the Prophet's daughter.

Once in power, the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, slaughtered their rivals mercilessly. Abū Salama was assassinated and even Abū Muslim Khurāsānī, one of their most loyal supporters, was not spared. Muhammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyya (100/718-145/762) who had been declared to be the Mahdī by his father, 'Abdu'llāh al-Mahaz, refused to take the oath of allegiance to as-Saffāh's successor, al-Mansūr (136-158/754-775). The people of Medina supported him. Even the founder of the Mālikī school of *fiqh*, Mālik bin Anas (d. 179/795), declared that, since the 'Abbāsids had used force to obtain the oath of allegiance, it was not binding. The Mu'tazilites and the Zaydites were also sympathetic but, in Ramazān 145/December 762, the supporters of an-Nafs az-Zakiyya were massacred by the 'Abbāsīd forces. Nafs az-Zakiyya was also killed. His brother Ibrāhīm organized an abortive revolt in Kūfa and Basra. About 15,000 volunteers rallied round his standard. The founder of the Hanafiyya school of *fiqh*, Abū Hanīfa (d. 150/767) and the celebrated *sūfi* and *faqih*, Sufyān as-Sawrī (d. 161/777-78) issued *fatwas* in favour of Ibrāhīm. His army was, however, no match to the trained 'Abbāsīd forces, and all of them were massacred. The 'Alid bid for power was frustrated.¹⁶⁷ Imām Ja'far had not supported the 'Alid uprising although he sympathised with it. Al-Mansūr nevertheless suspected the Imām of complicity and persecuted him but Imām Ja'far retained his equanimity.

165 Tabarī, III, pp. 27-37.

166 Tabarī, III, pp. 211-12.

167 Tabarī, III, pp. 200-201; Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, XIII, pp. 380-82, 422-24; *Maqātilu't-Talibiyin*, pp. 365-67.

The Imām's spiritual and intellectual leadership was undisputed. Both Sunni and Shi'i scholars considered him as-Sādiq (truthful) and the Imām was invariably referred to by this title. Whenever Mālik bin Anas quoted a *hadis* or ruling of *fiqh* from Imām Ja'far he added *siqa* (worthy of belief) and the Imām's name. Imām Abū Hanīfa also discussed problems of *fiqh* with him. As-Sādiq analysed all the problems of *fiqh* dispassionately before giving the viewpoint of the school of Ahl al-Bayt. The *ahādīs* and *fiqh* rulings of the school of Ahl al-Bayt crystallized under him. Imām Ja'far's guidelines for testing the authenticity of *ahādīs* are infallible. According to him, everything that agreed with God's book should be accepted and whatever was contrary should be rejected. The Imām promoted the development of Shi'i *kalām* (speculative theology) and *hikma* (philosophical enlightenment). His polemical discussions with materialists, atheists, Jews and Christians are based on spiritual realities. Eminent *sūfis* sat at his feet. Hujwiri says, "He (Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq) is celebrated among the *sūfi* Shaykhs for the subtlety of his discourse and his acquaintance with spiritual truths and he has written famous books in explanation of *sūfism*. It is related that he said, whoever knows God turns his back on 'other' (than God) and is cut-off from worldly things because his knowledge (*ma'rifat*) is pure ne-science (*nakirāt*), in as much as ne-science forms part of his knowledge and knowledge forms part of his ne-science."¹⁶⁸

Imām as-Sādiq reconciled the mutually antagonistic theories of *jabr* (compulsion) and *tafwiz* (free-will). The followers of *jabr* believed that people were not free to choose their own actions as these were created and directed by God. Human beings were only inanimate instruments. By contrast, the followers of *tafwiz*, believed that God had given man free-will and exerted no influence on his choice. Both schools quoted Qur'ānic verses to support their arguments. Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq declared that there was neither absolute compulsion nor absolute free-will. All transactions should follow a middle course (*La Jabr wa la tafwiz bal amr bayn al-amrayn*). The Imām's middle-of-the-road policy is the basis of Shi'i rational philosophy. It reminds all human beings that God has made them responsible for their own actions and has ordered them to behave righteously and refrain from evil. God will reward the righteous and punish the wicked. According to the Imām's philosophy, human beings were not forced to sin, although they had the power to do either good or evil.¹⁶⁹ The *bayn al-amrayn* (between two extremes) theory of the Imām associates man's freedom of choice for good or evil with the perception of Divine satisfaction or dissatisfaction. One of

168 Nicholson, pp. 78-79; Kulayni, II, pp. 79-81, 277-84; Mufid, pp. 408-35.

169 Ya'qūbi II, p. 381; Kashshī, *Rijāl*, p. 224.

Imām as-Sādiq's *hadīs* in *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfi* explains the doctrine thus:

A man asked Imām as-Sādiq: does God force man to sin? The Imām replied in the negative. The man then asked: Was man left free to do what he pleased? The Imām again replied in the negative. The man next asked the Imām as to what man should do. The Imām replied, "The *lutf* (grace) of your Lord is between the two extremes."¹⁷⁰

During the thirty-three years of his *imāmate*, Imām as-Sādiq taught about 4,000 scholars who spread his teachings to many parts of the Islamic world. Most of them lived in Kūfa and Basra. Only a few devoted scholars kept in constant touch with him. Some students were so overwhelmed by their teachers' personality that, under the influence of the *Ghulāt* of Kūfa, they ascribed supernatural power to both Imām Ja'far and Imām Bāqir. For example, Abu'l-Khattāb claimed that Imām as-Sādiq had appointed him as his *wasi* (heir) and *qayyim* (executor). He asserted he had been trained by the Imām in *al-ism al-a'zam* (the Greatest Name of God not known to all) which endowed him with supernatural power. The knowledge he said he had gained from al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq was incredible. Imām as-Sādiq condemned Abu'l-Khattāb and predicted his execution. Abu'l-Khattāb met his doom in 138/755-56.¹⁷¹

The authentic teachings and activities of Imām as-Sādiq and his predecessor present them as God-fearing people. They were superior to other descendants of Imām 'Alī only because of the *nass* (clear designation as a successor) in their favour, the knowledge they inherited as Imāms and the Divine protection they enjoyed against any sort of error (*'isma*).

Imām as-Sādiq had many sincere disciples, as we shall soon see. They reinforced the intellectual and spiritual traditions of their Imāms. One of them, Jābir bin Hayyān, the father of early Arabic alchemy, referred to Imām as-Sādiq in his writings as "My master" and "A mine of wisdom". Jābir also wrote treatises on logic, philosophy, the astrolabe and medicine. He propagated the vision of the world on a supernatural and cosmic scale as taught by the Shī'i Imāms.¹⁷² Abū Bakr Muhammad bin Zakariyya Rāzī¹⁷³ (d. 313/925) translated treatises by Jābir; philos-

170 Kulaynī, II, pp. 281-83.

171 The *Umm al-Kitāb* whose authorship is ascribed to Abu'l-Khattāb claims that it contains teachings of Imām al-Bāqir, Jābir bin 'Abdu'llāh Ansārī and Jābir al-Ju'fī. Ivanow, Notes on *Umm al-Kitāb* in *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1932.

172 Badāwī, *Aristotelis De anima* in *Islamica*, XVI, 1954, Introduction; H. Corbin, Le livre du glorieux de Jabir ibn Hayyan, *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, 1950, pp. 47-114; Kraus, P., Studien zu Jabir ibn Hayyan, *Isis*, 1931, pp. 7-30.

173 The famous physician, al-chemist and philosopher, G. S. A. Ranking, The life and works of Rhazes, *International Congress of medicine*, London, 1913, pp. 237-68; P. Kraus, Razeana, *Orientalia*, N. S. 1935, pp. 300 sqq, pp. 224-25.

ophers Avicenna and Abu'l 'Ali Miskawayh drew heavily upon Jābir's encyclopaedic works. The intellectuals in Renaissance Europe read these books and, in subsequent centuries, they were translated into Latin, German, French and English.¹⁷⁴

The Imām appointed his most-trusted disciples to be his *wakils* and defined their spheres of activity. This was strictly confidential and, sometimes, even the *wakils* themselves did not know who their colleagues were. For example, Nasr bin Qays al-Lakhmi, who worked as a *wakil* for as-Sādiq for about twenty years was unaware that there were any other *wakils*. Their duties included spreading the Imām's teachings to the Shi'is in their region and collecting *khums*¹⁷⁵ for remittance to the Imām.

In Shawwāl 148/November-December 765, Imām as-Sādiq was poisoned by Caliph al-Mansūr who could no longer tolerate his popularity and influence with all sections of the Islamic community. He was the last Imām to be buried in the Baqi' cemetery at Medina.¹⁷⁶ He had five sons. Fātima was the mother of Ismā'il and 'Abdu'llāh. Her grandfather was Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. Three other boys, Mūsa al-Kāzim, Ishāq and Muhammed were born of his second wife Hamīda Khātūn, Ismā'il died five years before his father. Imām as-Sādiq showed his dead son's face to the public while he lay in his grave. The growing popularity of the *Ghulāt* gave rise to the belief that Ismā'il had not died. Some of them, known as Ismā'ilis, propagated the theory that Ismā'il's son, Muhammad, was the Mahdī, the promised redeemer of the world. The movement was secretly spread through *dā'is* (the missionaries).¹⁷⁷ In 280/893, an Ismā'ili leader, Abū 'Abdu'llāh a'sh-Shi'i (d. 298/911) established an Ismā'ili Fātimid dynasty in North Africa.¹⁷⁸ His successors seized Fustāt (old Cairo) in 359/969. They ruled over Egypt and Syria until 567/1171.

Imām as-Sādiq nominated his third son, Mūsa al-Kāzim as his successor. He passed over his second son, 'Abdu'llāh Aftāh, because of the Divinely inspired religious knowledge Mūsa possessed. This decision confused some of the Imām's followers and they rallied around 'Abdu'llāh Aftāh. They were known as the Aftāhiyyas. 'Abdu'llāh, however, died less than

174 E. I.², pp. 357-60.

175 One-fifth of the annual savings.

176 Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 381-83, *Kitāb Firaq a'sh-Shi'a*, pp. 62-79; Ruska, J. F. *Arabische Alcemisten*, II, *Cafar al-Sādiq, der sechste Imām*, Heidelberg, 1924, 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Sayyid al-Ahl, *Dja'far bin Muhammad*, Beirut, 1954.

177 *Firaq a'sh-Shi'a*, pp. 88-89.

178 al-Maqrizī, *al-Muqaffa* translated by E. Fagman, *Centenario Michele Amari*, I, pp. 35-40, 47-53, 67-78 based on *Ifitiā al-da'wa* by al-Qāzī al-Nu'mān written in 346/957-8.

two and a half months after his father.¹⁷⁹ Mūsa al-Kāzim's *imāma* was now firmly established among the Shi'is on the basis of the *nass*.

Mūsa al-Kāzim (he who restrains his anger) was the seventh Imām of the Isnā 'Ashariyyas. He was born on 7 Safar 128/8 November 745. He spent the first twenty years of his life with his father. Al-Mansūr (136-158/754-775) was caliph during the first ten years of his *imāmate*. Mansūr's successor, al-Mahdī, ruled from 158/775 to 169/785. Al-Hādī was caliph for only one year but his successor, ar-Rashīd (170-193/786-809), was a strong ruler.

'Alid revolutions were still a threat to the government. Their underground organizations were wide-spread. Mansūr had shifted his capital from Kūfa to his newly founded city, Baghdād. Under the early 'Abbāsids the town had developed into a strong centre of Sunnī *hadīs*, *fiqh* and *sūfism* with fertilising influence pouring in from Iran and the Hellenistic world. During Mūsa al-Kāzim's *imāmate*, Medina remained a centre of Shi'i intellectual life. Caliph Mahdī summoned the Imām to Baghdād, intending to imprison him, but he was so impressed with al-Kāzim's piety and learning that he took no further action. Ar-Rashīd, however, was very jealous of the Imām's popularity.¹⁸⁰ The Imām's enemies sent anonymous letters to ar-Rashīd making allegations of rebellion against him. While answering these accusations, the Imām said that not a single *dirham* was received by him as *kharāj* (land revenue) but that Abi Tālib's descendants accepted unsolicited gifts from their devotees. This was made lawful by Allāh for the Prophet.¹⁸¹ God prohibited the payment of *sadaqa* (alms) to the Prophet's progeny; *khums* had been stopped by the early caliphs. Unsolicited gifts were, therefore, their only source of livelihood. Ar-Rashīd then asked him to explain why he did not stop his Shi'is addressing him as the Prophet's son when his ancestors were 'Ali and Fātima. The Imām begged ar-Rashīd to excuse him from answering this question. Ar-Rashīd insisted and the Imām recited the following verse :

“And We bestowed upon him Isaac and Jacob; each of them We guided; and Noah did We guide aforetime, and of his seed (We guided) David and Solomon and Job and Joseph and Moses and Aaron. Thus do we reward the good.

And Zachariah and John and Jesus and Elias. Each one (of them) was of the righteous.”¹⁸²

179 *Firaq a' sh-Shi'a*, pp. 98-99; Tūsī, Muhammad bin al-Hasan, *Ghayba*, Najaf, 1965, pp. 62, 134, 145.

180 Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 414-15; Ibn Asīr, IV, pp. 393-96; *Maqātilu' t-Tālibiyyīn*, pp. 499-505.

181 Ibn Khallikān, IV, pp. 393-96.

182 Qur'ān, VI, 85, 86.

The Imām asked the Caliph to name the father of Jesus. Ar-Rashīd replied that Jesus was born of the Divine word and Gabriel. The Imām said that as Jesus was included in the progeny of Prophets through his mother Mary, Ahl al-Bayt were included in Muhammad's progeny through their mother Fātima. When the Prophet held *mubāhila*¹⁸³ with the Christians of Najrān, only Fātima, 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn were with him.

Ar-Rashīd kept the Imām under surveillance in Baghdād and then imprisoned him. Mūsa never lost his patience. Finally, he was released but the intrigues of his enemies allowed him no peace. He led the life of an ascetic and looked after his large family and many dependants as well as he could in his straitened circumstances. Mūsa entertained his guests and provided them with the best food he could procure. He devoted most of his time to prayers and invocations.¹⁸⁴

He met and communicated with his disciples with the utmost caution although he was greatly concerned for their welfare. His disciples loved and respected him. Some of them worked for Mahdī and ar-Rashīd. They were deemed the Imām's fifth column. They often fell under suspicion because of their loyalty to the Imām but they never betrayed him. The Imām's *wakīls* (agents) were also deeply devoted to him. In 179/795, ar-Rashīd seized Muhammad bin Abī 'Umyar, the Imām's *wakīl* in Baghdād. Torture and the threat of death failed to frighten Muhammad who told them nothing about the organization. His sister also served a four-year prison sentence. Another agent, 'Alī bin Yaqtīn, was arrested and kept in jail for the rest of his life.¹⁸⁵

Mūsa al-Kāzīm discouraged his followers from working for their rulers. He said that he would prefer to be thrown off a tower and smashed into pieces to serving them and walking on their carpets. If a government servant could, however, help a believer in his difficulties, such as having him released from prison or enabling him to satisfy his creditors, God might be merciful to him. The exegesis of the Qur'ānic verses made by the Imām reveal profound ethical values.

In Ramazān 179/November-December 795, ar-Rashīd performed *'umra* at Mecca. On his return he visited Medina with his entourage. Facing the Prophet's tomb, he said, "Peace be upon Rasūl of Allāh, my uncle's son." Mūsa Kāzīm was also there. He said, "Peace be upon you, my father!"¹⁸⁶ Ar-Rashīd was annoyed and sent him to Baghdād via Basra. He remained in prison for four years and died in 183/799. Accord-

183 *Supra*, p. 9.

184 Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 414-15; Kulaynī, II, pp. 384-402.

185 An-Najāshī, *Kitābu'r-rijāl*, Tehran, n.d., p. 209, 250; *Firaq a'sh-Shī'a*, pp. 52-56, 82-84, 101-3, 125-27; *Murūj az-zahb*, VI, pp. 224, 227.

186 Ibn Khallikān, IV, pp. 393-96; Mufīd, pp. 436-56.

ing to Divine *nass* his son, 'Alī, known as ar-Rizā', became his successor. Ar-Rashīd showed the dead Imām's face to all who knew him intimately and made them sign his death certificate. Nevertheless a section of Imām Mūsa Kāzim's disciples claimed that the *imāmate* stopped with al-Kāzim and that he would rise as the Mahdī (the guided one). They related traditions attributed to Imām as-Sādiq concerning *al-Qā'im* (the Redresser of wrongs; the one who will rise) and *ghayba* (occultation) and applied them to Imām Mūsa al-Kāzim. This group was known as the Wāqifiyyas. Between 183/799 and 202/817, ar-Rizā' convinced some of the Wāqifiyya leaders, such as ar-Rawwāsi, of his *imāmate*, however, and the group gradually dissolved.

Imām 'Alī ar-Rizā' was born at Medina in 148/765-66. Like his father he also spent long hours in prayer and invocations to God. After assuming control of the *imāmate*, he lived at Medina under surveillance during the reigns of ar-Rashīd and his son and successor, al-Amīn (193-198/809-813). According to an arrangement made by ar-Rashīd, al-Amīn acknowledged his brother al-Ma'mūn's right to succeed him and his virtual sovereignty over the eastern half of the caliphate. One year after his accession, however, he violated the agreement.¹⁸⁷ A civil war broke out between the two brothers which ended with the defeat and death of al-Amīn. Al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833) became caliph. His intimate knowledge of 'Alid influence in Khurāsān impelled him to evolve some permanent solution. Both haphazard conciliation and ruthless persecution had failed to crush the 'Alid revolutionary leaders. Consequently, Ma'mūn settled at Merv but the rebellion of Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm at Kūfa in 200/815-16 appalled him. Muhammad invited people to obey the Qur'ān and *sunna* and choose one of the Prophet's descendants as their ruler. The 'Alids in Iraq, Syria and Hijāz joined the revolution. Ibrāhīm bin Mūsa bin Ja'far started fighting in Yemen and Zayd bin Mūsa bin Ja'far organised the revolt in Basra. Only 'Alī ar-Rizā' continued to lead an apolitical life devoted to prayer. The rebellions were crushed.¹⁸⁸

Al-Ma'mūn decided that Imām 'Alī ar-Rizā''s support might permanently pacify the 'Alids. He summoned him from Medina and ordered that he should be brought via Mecca, Qādisiyya, Basra, Ahwaz and Nishāpūr, avoiding the Baghdād-Kūfa-Qum highway in order to maintain secrecy. Ar-Rizā' stayed at Nishāpūr, an important intellectual and commercial centre, for some months. It is said that 24,000 scholars noted down *ahādīs* dictated by the Imām. One of them said :

187 *Firaq a'sh-Shi'a*, pp. 79-81.

188 *Ya'qūbī*, pp. 448, 453-54.

“The confession of faith, ‘There is no God but Allāh’ is a bastion and an entrenchment. One who enters this stronghold is safe from Divine retribution.”¹⁸⁹

The Imām arrived at Tūs from Nishāpūr via Sanābād and Sarakhs. At Tūs, Ma‘mūn gave the Imām a warm welcome and urged him to become his heir apparent. Initially Imām ‘Alī ar-Rizā‘ resisted the offer but, realising its flimsy nature, accepted it on the condition that he was not associated with the administration. Ma‘mūn agreed. On 2 Ramazān 201/24 March 817, ‘Alī ar-Rizā‘ was invested as the heir apparent and coins were struck in his name. The green garments of the ‘Alids replaced the black one of the ‘Abbāsids. The documents of investiture indicate that the decision was a political one and did not undermine the Shī‘i principles of the Divine appointment of Imāms. No allusion was made to the question of the succession after Imām ‘Alī ar-Rizā‘. In order to strengthen relations between them, the caliph gave his daughter to ‘Alī ar-Rizā‘ in marriage and promised another to his son who was then only a boy. Ma‘mūn tried to involve ar-Rizā‘ in the administration. He consulted him frequently but was unable to inject Prophet Muhammad’s ideals of piety and righteousness into the government.

When ‘*id*’ came, Ma‘mūn urged the Imām to lead the prayers and recite the *khutba*. Imām ar-Rizā‘ refused but then yielded to Ma‘mūn’s persistent requests on the condition that he could lead the prayers in the same way as had his great grandfather, the Prophet. Ma‘mūn agreed. The announcement of the Imām’s acceptance of Ma‘mūn’s invitation enhanced the ‘*id*’ festivities. The women and children sat on the roof of their houses awaiting the Imām’s cavalcade. Civil and military officers lined the route. The Imām had a bath, dressed like the Prophet and left the house with a staff in his hand. As he walked he recited *takbīr* (‘Allāh is great’) four times. After each ten steps he stopped and recited *takbīr* and *zīkr* (repetition of God’s name). The crowd copied the Imām and there was a great uproar. The vizier, Fazal bin Sahl, protested that, by marching in this fashion, the Imām might spark off a revolution in the ‘*id*’ grounds. Ma‘mūn consequently halted the Imām and asked him to return to his house.¹⁹⁰

Imām ‘Alī ar-Rizā‘’s nomination as heir apparent gave Ma‘mūn’s enemies an excuse to make Mahdī’s son Ibrāhīm, as caliph in Baghdād. Ma‘mūn sent an army to crush the rebellion and himself marched from Merv to Tūs on his way to Baghdād. He ordered Imām ‘Alī ar-Rizā‘ to follow him. At the end of Safar 203/September 818, ‘Alī ar-Rizā‘ was

189 ‘Azīzu’llāh ‘Atā Yazdī, *Akhbār wa āsār Hazrat Imām Rizā‘*, Tehran, n.d., p. 88.

190 *Ibid*, pp. 98-101; Mufid, pp. 461-77.

given poisoned grapes to eat and he died. Ma'mūn shed crocodile tears, prayed at his bier and buried him near his father's grave in Sanābād near Tūs. The Imām's tomb (Mashhad), which became an object of Shī'i pilgrimage, gave its name to the town in which it is situated. Ibrāhīm's rebellion failed and he disappeared. Ma'mūn entered Baghdād and declared the era of reconciliation with the 'Alid closed by reverting to black as the colour of his standards.¹⁹¹

Like his ancestors, Imām 'Alī ar-Rizā' fostered the development of spiritual and intellectual activity around him. Before his superiority in these spheres was established, he is said to have given answers to about 15,000 complex religious issues. In Merv he confidently discussed spiritual problems with the leaders of various religious communities, including the Mu'tazilas and converted them to the Ahl al-Bayt point of view. He collected the *ahādīs* of the Prophet transmitted by his father and many eminent *sūfis* learnt *ahādīs* from him. A commentary was written on the medical portions of his *ahādīs*. To him *jabr* (predestination) and *tashbih* (anthropomorphism) were sins of infidelity. He rejected the Mu'tazilī doctrine that heinous sins would not be forgiven by Allāh. The Imām preached that invocations to God were the armour of the believer, the pillar of faith and the light of heaven and earth.

Before his death Imām ar-Rizā' had designated his eight years old son Muhammad al-Jawād (known as at-Taqī, born 195/810) as the ninth Imām. The Wāqifiyyas did not accept his *imāmate* but, according to the Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is, at-Taqī's youth did not affect the mission of the Divinely appointed Imāms, for prophets such as Yahya (John) son of Zakariyya (Zacharias) and Jesus were also minors. In Baghdād where he was summoned by Ma'mūn, the Imām impressed the Caliph's courtiers with his precocity. He gave mature replies to the most intricate religious problems. Ma'mūn married his daughter to him and allowed him to visit Medina. The couple were summoned to Baghdād again and lived there until Ma'mūn's death. His successor, al-Mu'tasim (218-227/833-842) allowed the Imām to return to Medina but again recalled them to Baghdād and they lived there under strict surveillance. In 220/835, at-Taqī was poisoned. He was buried near his grandfather's grave in the Quraysh cemetery of Karkh.¹⁹² This complex came to be known as Kāzmayn and grew into a very important Shī'i pilgrimage centre.

Baghdād was the military and bureaucratic centre of the 'Abbāsids. Some officers were Shī'is or had Shī'i sympathies but they practised strict *taqiyya* (prudential concealment) and never divulged their religious

191 *Ibid*, pp. 189-215; Ya'qūbī, pp. 448, 453-54; *Maqātilu't-Tālibiyyīn*, pp. 566-68; Ibn Khallikān, II, pp. 432-3; Kulaynī, II, pp. 88-103, 402-13.

192 Ya'qūbī, II, p. 84; Ibn Khallikān, II, pp. 315-16.

attitudes. Karkh, in the vicinity of Kāzmayn, was inhabited by Shi'i families from Kūfa and developed into a predominantly trade and intellectual centre. The Shi'i merchants in Karkh helped their co-religionists. They, too, practised *taqiyya*. During al-Mu'tasim's reign it became more difficult for the Shi'is to contact their Imāms. As governor, Mu'tasim had formed his own guard of 4,000 servile Turks, experts in horsemanship and archery. When he became caliph himself, he recruited Slav and Berber slaves in addition to the Transoxianians who comprised the majority of the royal guard. Al-Mu'tasim transferred his capital to Sāmarra on the bank of the Tigris. Naturally the tenth and the eleventh Imāms were kept under close surveillance there or imprisoned.

The tenth Imām, 'Alī al-Hādī, known as an-Naqī was born at Medina in 212/827-28. When he became Imām he was also eight years old. He was allowed to live quietly in Medina spending his time in prayer and teaching until 243/857. During this time al-Mu'tasim was succeeded by al-Wāsiq but he reigned only from 227/842 to 232/847. His heir, al-Mutawakkil (232-247/847-861) ruthlessly persecuted the 'Alids. In 236/851 he destroyed Imām Husayn's tomb at Karbalā and ploughed up the site.¹⁹³ In 243/857 Imām an-Naqī was summoned from Medina to Sāmarra and, like his predecessors, was falsely accused of leading an insurrection. He was kept under close surveillance, but Mutawakkil could find no excuse to kill him. He was insulted and tortured and the miserable quarters he had been assigned were frequently ransacked by Turkish guards but no objectionable material was ever discovered. Ibn Khallikān says that it was reported to the caliph that the Imām had a quantity of arms, books and other objects for the use of his followers concealed in his house. One night he sent some members of the Turkish guards to break into the Imām's house when he least expected such intrusion. They found him alone and locked up in his room, wearing a hair shirt, his head covered with a woollen cloak, facing Ka'ba, chanting some verses of the Qur'ān expressive of God's promises and threats and having no other carpet between him and the earth than sand and gravel. He was carried off in that attire, and brought, in the depth of night, before al-Mutawakkil, who was then engaged in drinking wine.

When the caliph was convinced that the reports he had received were malicious he offered the Imām a drink from his cup. The Imām refused. Mutawakkil then insisted that the Imām sing some verses. The Imām could not disobey. Verses on the ultimate end of human life so deeply moved Mutawakkil that tears flowed from his eyes on to his beard. He was honourably sent home.¹⁹⁴

193 Ibn Khallikān, VII, p. 55.

194 Ibn Khallikān, II, pp. 434-35; Mufīd, pp. 480-506.

The relentless vigilance of Mutawakkil's spies had made the Imām very cautious about allowing his disciples to call on him. Normally he met only his immediate family and associates. One of his *wakils* (deputies), Abū 'Amr 'Usmān bin Sa'id al-'Umari (d. 260 or 261/874-75) had started working as a servant of the ninth Imām Muhammad at-Taḳī, when he was only eleven years old. He gained the Imām's confidence and was promoted as gate-keeper. Imām an-Naḳī also trusted him and appointed him his chief *wakil*. Later Abū 'Umar became a butter-seller (*sammān*) in Karkh. The Shī'is went to his shop and paid him their *khums*. The money was then forwarded to the Imām in butter containers.¹⁹⁵

Al-Mutawakkil died in 232/847. His successors were unable to halt the increasing decline in 'Abbāsīd power. Nevertheless his successors, al-Muntasir (247-248/861-62), al-Musta'in (248-252/862-866) and al-Mu'tazz (252-255/866-869) were equally vindictive to the Imāms. During al-Mu'tazz's reign, Imām an-Naḳī died of poison in 254/868. He was buried near his house in Sāmarra. Of his two sons, Hasan and Ja'far, Imām an-Naḳī designated Hasan as his heir on the basis of *nass*.

Hasan, known as al-'Askari because of his long residence in the '*askar* (military camp) of Sāmarra, was born in Medina in 232/846. He moved to Sāmarra with his father. When he became the Imām he was twenty-two years old. The growing expectations of the rise of the twelfth Imām al-Mahdī, greatly alarmed the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. Consequently al-Mu'tazz and al-Muhtadi (255-256/869-870) imprisoned al-'Askari. For two years he was kept in solitary confinement. This so seriously impaired his health that he looked like an old man of seventy. He was eventually released by al-Mu'tamid (256-279/870-892). During his imprisonment, his organizational duties were carried out by Abū 'Amr 'Usmān who had been confirmed by Imām al-'Askari as his principal deputy. Al-'Askari devoted the time spared from prayer and invocation to intellectual pursuits. Before his death in 260/873-74, he had completed an exegesis of the Qur'ān. The *ahādīs* transmitted through his principal *wakil* had also been written down. Al-'Askari was buried in Sāmarra beside his father's grave.

Fear of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs, who were determined to kill al-'Askari's sons and to destroy the line of the Imāms, had led the Imām to keep the birth of his son, Muhammad, strictly secret. Muhammad was born on the fifteenth night of Sha'bān 255/29 July 869 of Narjis Khātūn of Byzantine who had sold herself into slavery in order to become the Imām's wife. Only al-Hakima, the daughter of at-Taḳī was invited to witness the birth.¹⁹⁶ According to the Shī'i savants, al-Mufid (336/947-

195 Tūsi, *Ghayba*, p. 214; *Murūj az-zahb*, VII, pp. 207, 238-39.

196 Ibn Bābūya, *Kamāl al-Dīn wa tamām al-ni'ma*, Tehran, 1959, II, pp. 96-98.

413/1022) and Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsi (385/995-96-460/1067), Muhammad went into occultation (*ghayba*) shortly after his birth. Other early sources state that this happened following his father's death i. e. 260/873-74.

According to ibn Bābuya, *ghayba* does not mean 'adam (non-existence). It means concealment from enemies and unreliable friends.¹⁹⁷ Early evidence indicates two forms of Imām Muhammad's *ghayba*. *Al-Ghaybat al qasira* or the *ghaybat al-sughrā* (short occultation) ended in 329/940-41. During this period, the Imām's duties were carried out by his four successive agents, or deputies, called *al-sufarā'*. They were the channels for Shi'i communication with the Imām. This duty made them *bāb* (a gateway) for access to the Imām's views. The *sufarā'* also collected *khums* through their sub-agents. Some of them had been appointed by the eleventh Imām.¹⁹⁸ The first *safir* was Abū 'Amr 'Usmān bin Sa'id al-'Amrī. He performed the last rites of Imām al-'Askari under the direction of the twelfth Imām and communicated with him. He died only a few months after Imām al-'Askari.¹⁹⁹ His successor was his son, Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Usmān al-'Amrī, who had been appointed a *safir* by Imām al-'Askari. Abū Ja'far worked as a *safir* until his death in 304/916-17 or 305/917-18.

Abū Ja'far Muhammad had studied under his father. He learnt *ahādīs* from both the tenth and eleventh Imāms. Abū Ja'far wrote a book entitled the *Kitāb al-ashriba* (Book about Beverages). He was a far-sighted organizer, powerful debater and was exceedingly helpful to the Shi'i community. Under his leadership the controversies surrounding the twelfth Imām were finally settled. Indeed it was a very critical period in the history of Shi'ism. According to Hasan bin Mūsa an-Nawbakhti, after al-'Askari's death, fourteen different factions holding divergent views on the Mahdī emerged.²⁰⁰ The historians Shahrastāni (d. 548/1153) enumerates eleven²⁰¹ and al-Mas'ūdī mentions twenty factions.²⁰² Some of these groups believed that Hasan al-'Askari had not really died and would re-appear as the Mahdī. Others thought that he had died but would rise again. A few considered that the *imāmate* had been transferred to al-'Askari's brother Ja'far. Many believed that a child named Muhammad had been born to Imām al-'Askari who had died at

197 *Ibid*, I, 149.

198 Nu'mānī, Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 360/970-71), *Kitāb al-ghayba*, Tabriz, 1963, p. 91; Kulaynī, II, 430-50; Mufid, pp. 507-30.

199 Tūsi, *Ghayba*, pp. 214-16; *Kamāl al-Dīn*, II, p. 251.

200 *Fīraq a'sh-Shi'a*, pp. 119-23.

201 Shahrastāni, *al-milal wa al-nahl*, Cairo, 1948-49, I, 172.

202 Tārif Khālidī, *Islamic historiography: The histories of Mas'ūdī*, Albany, 1975, pp. 157-58.

the age of two. Some said that, as the prophethood had ended with Muhammad, so the *imāmate* came to an end after al-'Askari. Other factions combined several of these ideas. It was an uphill task for the *safīr*, Abū Ja'far Muhammad, to convince the Shi'is of the twelfth Imām's *ghayba* but his patience and prudence crowned him with success. The forty-two years of his *sifārat* were very fruitful for the crystallization of the views on occultation. Abū Ja'far Muhammad transmitted important *ahādīs* and invocations from the twelfth Imām as well.

Abū Ja'far's successor, Abu'l-Qāsim al-Husayn bin Rūh an-Nawbakhtī (d. 326/937-38) was an astute and influential leader. The Nawbakhtis were committed Isnā 'Asharites. Abu'l-Qāsim had established friendly relations with Caliph al-Muqtadir's influential vizier, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī bin Muhammad al-Fūrat. The early years of an-Nawbakhtī's *sifārat* were a great success but he was betrayed by one of his deputies, Muhammad bin 'Alī al-Shalmaghānī who was an eminent scholar and author. Before long he became Abu'l-Qāsim Nawbakhtī's rival. When he failed to obtain the position as *safīr* he apostatized and proclaimed himself to be the twelfth Imām.²⁰³ In 312/924-25 Abu'l-Qāsim was imprisoned by Caliph al-Muqtadir (295-320/908-932) for inability to pay tax dues. Nevertheless, a note from the twelfth Imām in favour of Abu'l-Qāsim Nawbakhtī soon disillusioned al-Shalmaghānī's followers and they dispersed. After his release from prison, Abu'l-Qāsim re-established his influence. Al-Shalmaghānī went underground.²⁰⁴

After Abu'l-Qāsim's death in 326/937 'Alī bin Muhammad al-Sāmarrī succeeded him. He died in 329/940-41. Before his death, he produced a note from Imām Mahdī that he (Sāmarrī) would die in six days time and that he should not appoint a successor, since *al-Ghaybat al-Tāmma* or *al-Ghaybat al-Kubra* (complete occultation) was going to take place. This did not mean the death or non-existence of the Imām but implied the end of the appointment of the *safīrs* and their mediation between the Shi'is and the Imām. The Mahdī would reveal himself by Divine command at the end of time.²⁰⁵ He would be the messianic Imām al-Mahdī (the one guided by God to the truth), *al-Qā'im* (the redresser of wrongs), *al-qā'im bi 'amr Allāh* (the Upholder of God's commands), the *Qā'im bi as-sayf* (the one who would rise with the sword to wreak vengeance on the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt). According to a tradition of Imām Bāqir he would distribute goods equally among the people and would establish justice among his subjects.²⁰⁶ The titles *Sāhibu'l 'amr* (the master of the

203 Tūsi, *Ghayba*, pp. 218-22; *Kamāl al-Dīn*, II, p. 114.

204 Tūsi, *Ghayba*, pp. 187, 242-44, 252-54; *Kamāl al-Dīn*, II, pp. 364-67.

205 Tūsi, *Ghayba*, II, pp. 242-45; *Kamāl al-Dīn*, II, p. 193; Nawbakhtī, *Ghayba*, p. 91.

206 Nawbakhtī, *Ghayba*, p. 124; Mufid, pp. 524-40.

authority)²⁰⁷ and *al-Hujja* (the Proof) are also ascribed to Mahdī.²⁰⁸

The beginning of the *Ghaybat al-Tamma* coincided with the death in 329/940-41 of Muhammad bin Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī, the compiler of the Shi'i *ahādīs* collection entitled *al-Usūl min al-Kāfi*. This work is different from the monumental collection of Sunni *ahādīs*, *al-Sahīh* by al-Bukhārī, Muhammad bin Ismā'il bin Ibrāhīm bin al-Mughira (194-256/810-870) and those of their followers. The Sunni *ahādīs* are confined to the Prophet's sayings transmitted by his family members or companions but the Shi'i *ahādīs* comprise statements made both by the Prophet and the Imāms. According to the world view contained in the Shi'i *ahādīs*, the Imām's mission is the continuation of the prophetic cause. Kulaynī's *Usūl* draws upon the best available sources. Although some supernatural elements reported by *Ghulāt* have been incorporated into it, the *Usūl al-Kāfi*, on the whole, adequately caters to the religious and intellectual needs of the Shi'is during the period of the *Ghaybat al-Kubra*.

Fortunately for the Shi'is, in 322/934, the Shi'i Būyid (Buwayhids) dynasty was established in Fārs and Khuzistān. The Būyid rulers obtained the position of *amīru'l-umarā'* (supreme commander) from the 'Abbāsīd caliphs but then kept them under their control until their own fall in 454/1062. In the early tenth century A.D., Kulaynī was the leader of the Shi'is in Ray (near Tehrān) and Qum and contributed to the development of the Qum school of Shi'i religious and intellectual life. Before his death Kulaynī moved to Baghdād. In 381/991-92 Sabūr bin Ardashīr (d. 416/1025-26), the vizier of Būyid Bahā'u'd-Dawla Firūz (388-403/998-1012) established a library in Karkh containing some ten thousand volumes. It was destroyed by the Seljūq Sultan, Toghril Beg (429-455/1038-63) in 450/1058-59²⁰⁹ but, for about half a century, it served the intellectual needs of those Shi'is who had moved to Karkh to take advantage of the library. The Shi'i savants and jurists took the occasion to write scholarly works on *hadīs*, *fiqh*, Qur'ānic exegesis and the *kalām* which became the sound basis for future generations of Shi'is. The Shi'i jurists freely discussed their doctrines and beliefs both with their opponents and skeptical Shi'is and tried to remove their objections and doubts. Naturally these Shi'i jurists became the sole leaders of the community. Their influence penetrated even into the 'Abbāsīd court at Baghdād.

The Imāmate

The five fundamental principles of the Shi'i religion are: *al-tawhīd* (affirmation of God's unity); *al-'adl* (belief of Divine justice); *al-nubūwīwa*

207 Kulaynī, II, pp. 117-26, 449-68.

208 Nawbakhtī, *Ghayba*, p. 7; *Kamāl al-Dīn*, II, pp. 361-62; Tūsi, *Ghayba*, p. 122.

209 Ibn Asīr, IX, p. 350.

(belief in prophecy); *al-imāma* (belief in the *imāmate*) and *al-ma'ād* (belief in the day of Judgement). The *imāma* is not an article of faith for the Sunnis. They consider it a political institution and have relegated discussion on *imāma* to the sphere of *kalām*.

To the Shi'is, the *imāma* is rationally linked with belief in God, His Justice and the prophethood. The *ahādīs* in *al-Usūl min al-Kāfi* assert that the *imāma* disseminates the Prophet's mission after his death. Like prophethood it is proclaimed by God at a fixed time. Thus the *imāma* is the covenant of God and His Prophet with a series of people until it reaches its rightful owner.²¹⁰ The Imām is God's deputy (*khalīfat-Allah*) and the Prophet's vicar (*khalīfat ar-Rasūl*). He is the *hujja* (proof) of Divine existence and the existence of His revelation. The earth cannot be void of God's *hujja*. God vested the *imāma* by *nass* (an explicit designation) among the descendants of Imām Husayn.²¹¹ After Imāms Hasan and Husayn it would not be vested in two brothers.²¹²

The Imāms are *rāsikhūn fī'l 'ilm* (firmly founded in knowledge). Only Prophet Muhammad was superior to them.²¹³ The Imāms were the custodians of the Prophet's gnosis. According to the Prophet Muhammad, he was the city of knowledge and 'Alī was its gate-way. 'Alī's successors possessed Divinely inspired knowledge. They interpreted the inner meanings of the Qur'ān both esoterically and exoterically, and authoritatively explained the clear (*muhkamāt*) and the allegorical (*mut-ashābihāt*) verses.²¹⁴

The Prophet's light inhabited the Imāms and their flesh and blood were the Prophet's flesh and blood. According to the *tathīr* verse, the Imāms were cleansed of all impurities and were made absolutely holy. They were like Noah's Ark; whoever boarded it (followed the Imāms), obtained salvation. The Imāms, like the prophets, could not perform their duties unless they were infallible (*'isma*). Any consensus reached without the participation of these infallible (*ma'sūm*) Imāms was therefore void. Under special circumstances they practised *taqīyya* (prudential concealment).²¹⁵

The prolonged *ghayba* of the twelfth Imām is justified on the grounds that a proof (*hujja*) of God's existence, whether present to the eye, or concealed, is indispensable to the preservation of the correct spirit of the faith. According to the *Kitāb al-ghayba*, by Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm bin Ja'far al-Nu'mānī (d. 360/970-71), the Imām's concealment was

210 Kulaynī, Chapter 41; *hadīs*, 6, Chapter 60; *hadīs* 3.

211 Kulaynī, Chapter 64; *hadīs* 2.

212 Kulaynī, Chapter 63; *ahādīs*, 1, 3, 4.

213 Kulaynī, Chapter 22; *hadīs*, 2.

214 Kulaynī, Chapter 22; *hadīs*, 1.

215 Kulaynī, Chapter 52; *hadīs*, 2.

designed to test the steadfastness of his followers and to save the Imām from being forced to offer allegiance (*bāy'a*) to tyrants. The twelfth Imām, unlike his predecessors, would not practise *taqiyya*, but would manifest truth by overthrowing the unjust rule of God's enemies.²¹⁶ Sharif al-Murtazā (d. 436/1044-45) wrote that during the Imām's occultation (*ghayba*) many of his friends reached him and obtained his assistance. Those who were unsuccessful did not sin either because of their awareness of his existence and the imperative duty of obedience to him. The benefits people obtained from their preparations to receive the Imām when he re-appeared were of far-reaching importance.²¹⁷

The Pillars of Shī'ism

As mentioned earlier, some members of the Quraysh tribe were jealous of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt, even during his lifetime. A number of the Prophet's companions who had embraced Islam before 'Umar, who accepted Islam in the sixth year of the prophethood, were steadfastly devoted to the Prophet's family throughout their life. Their leaders included: Abū Zarr bin Jundab al-Ghifārī, 'Ammār bin Yāsir, Salmān al-Fārsī and al-Miqdād bin 'Amr al-Aswad. A short history of each follows.

Abū Zarr was interested in Divine Unity even before he became a Muslim. After the Prophet's declaration of his mission, 'Alī took him to the Prophet and Abū Zarr embraced Islam. He was the fourth dignitary to profess Islam. He made remarkable efforts to convert his tribe. His ardent dedication to asceticism, piety and renunciation had won the deep admiration of the Prophet who compared him with Christ. The third caliph, 'Usmān, was appalled at his condemnation of his government's materialism and corruption and expelled him to Syria. There he came in conflict with the governor, Mu'āwiya, over the latter's greed for riches. Mu'āwiya's protests against Abū Zarr's presence in Damascus, led 'Usmān to recall him. When Abū Zarr arrived in Medina, 'Usmān ordered him to justify his remarks that the Prophet had said "God is a dervish and 'Usmān is rich". Abū Zarr's explanation did not satisfy 'Usmān. 'Alī urged 'Usmān not to persecute Abū Zarr because of Mu'āwiya's complaints but 'Usmān sent him to the Rabaza desert, far from Medina. The caliph's orders to the people of Medina to refrain from seeing him off were ignored by 'Alī. He and 'Ammār gave Abū Zarr a touching send off and 'Alī ordered his two sons, Hasan and Husayn, his brother, 'Aqīl, and his nephew, 'Abdu'llāh, to accompany

216 *Ghayba*, pp. 91, 110-11, 118.

217 Sharif al-Murtazā, *Risāla fi'l ghayba*, Aachedina, *Islamic Messianism*, Albany, 1981, pp. 134-35.

Abū Zarr to Rabaza. Subsequently, Abū Zarr died there in miserable circumstances.²¹⁸

'Ammār bin Yāsir Mālik Abu'l-Yaqzān was from Southern Arabia. He was associated with the Banū Makhzūm clan of the Quraysh. He was also one of the early converts to Islam and had been tortured and persecuted mercilessly by the Meccan infidels. He belonged to a small number of the Prophet's companions, who, at his orders, had moved to Ethiopia. At the time the brotherhood was established between the Muhājirūn and the Ansār in Medina, the Prophet paired him with the ascetic Huzayfa bin al-Yamān. The Prophet repeatedly asserted 'Ammār's truthfulness and piety. 'Ammār fought valiantly in the Prophet's wars against the Quraysh and the Jews. At the battle of Yamāma in 21/641, 'Ammār lost an ear. 'Umar appointed him governor of Kūfa where he exhibited a remarkable gift in town planning. After the Prophet's death, 'Ammār's life-mission was to preserve the teachings of Islam in the form the Prophet had introduced them. He opposed 'Usmān for his departure from equity and social justice uncompromisingly and spear-headed the movement to suppress nepotism and bureaucratic tyranny. He volunteered to deliver the Prophet's companions' letter urging 'Usmān to reform and act like a righteous caliph. The caliph read a few lines of the letter and threw it away. 'Ammār assured him that he was his well-wisher and that he should read the letter and reform his policies. 'Usmān, however, ordered his slaves repeatedly to beat 'Ammār. 'Usmān himself kicked 'Ammār and left him unconscious. 'Ammār's relations and tribesmen were shocked. They declared they would wreak vengeance on 'Usmān if 'Ammār succumbed to beating. The Prophet's companions were also appalled. When Abū Zarr was informed of the incident, he stepped up his campaign of assailing 'Usmān and Mu'āwiya. 'Ammār, however, gradually recovered. 'Usmān's supporters claimed that the caliph was justified in disciplining 'Ammār because he was disrespectful. According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari, this defence was absurd, for Sunni scholars permitted the *mujtahid* to oppose the *khalīfa* in accordance with his *ijtihād*. For example, 'Umar was fiercely critical of Abū Bakr's failure to take action against Khālid bin Walid, who had killed Mālik bin Nuwayra. 'Ammār was performing *ijtihād* and 'Usmān's disciplinary action violated the laws of the Sunni *shari'a*.

The Prophet had informed his companions that from head to toe 'Ammār was the personification of faith. According to Jalālu'd-Dīn Suyūti, paradise was eager to receive 'Alī, Salmān, 'Ammār and Miqdād.

218 Ibn Sa'd, IV, p. 161; *Isti'āb*, II, pp. 666-67; Nu'aym al-Isbahānī, *Hilyatu'l-awliyā'*, Cairo, pp. 1932, I, pp. 162-70; Kashshī, pp. 16-19; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, Tehran, 1299/1882, pp. 94-97; Mufid, pp. 19, 28, 29, 348.

As described earlier 'Ammār fell fighting Mu'āwiya in the battle of Siffin in 37/657. The Prophet had foretold that 'Ammār would be killed by tyrants and sinners. This occurrence convinced 'Alī's friends of the righteousness of his cause and embarrassed Mu'āwiya's supporters greatly. When 'Ammār was drawing his last breath, he asked for water. A woman presented him with water mixed with milk. The Prophet had predicted that 'Ammār's last drink would be water, mingled with milk. 'Ammār's face brightened and he died fully assured of his high position in paradise.²¹⁹

Salmān Fārsī belonged to an Iranian *dahqān* (village chieftain) family. From his youth he had avidly sought the true religion. He had renounced his Zoroastrian faith and researched into Judaism and Christianity. Salmān had arrived in Mecca before the Prophet Muhammad's declaration of his prophethood. His studies had convinced him of the imminent advent of the last of the prophets foretold by early scriptures. When the Prophet Muhammad declared his mission, Salmān embraced Islam and became a favourite in the Prophet's household. The Prophet bestowed on him the singular honour of calling him a member of his Ahl al-Bayt. Salmān was devoted to 'Alī while 'Alī praised Salmān's spiritual perfection, piety, asceticism and intellect. Sullamī, the celebrated *sūfi* historian, included Salmān among the thirty-four members of the *ahl al-suffa* who had dedicated their lives to prayers and fasting. This group lived on the platform of the Prophet's mosque at Medina. Nevertheless, Salmān took part in the Islamic wars and it was at his suggestion that the Prophet dug a moat to protect Medina against the sudden attack of the Quraysh in 5/627. Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsi has written in the *Amāli* that one of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq's companions, Mansūr bin Rūh, asked the Imām to tell him the reason for his frequent lectures on Salmān Fārsī. The Imām said, "Don't say Salmān Fārsī (of Fārs). Call him Salmān Muhammadi (of Muhammad). Three distinctive features of his are responsible for my admiration. Firstly Salmān sacrificed his own wishes to those of 'Alī. Secondly, Salmān was the friend of the poor and ignored the rich. Thirdly, Salmān loved knowledge." According to an early source, 'Umar told Salmān that the Banū Hāshim had refused to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr because of their pride in their relationship to the Prophet Muhammad and considered themselves superior to others. 'Umar then asked Salmān why he had opposed Abū Bakr. Salmān said, "I am their (Ahl al-Bayt's) Shī'a in this world and hereafter. I oppose those who oppose them and refuse to make *bay'a* with others."

219 Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 7; *Istī'āb*, II, p. 434-37; Kashshī, pp. 19-24; *Wāqi'āt Siffin*, p. 364; Tabarī, V, p. 187, IX, p. 210; *Hilyatu'l-awliyā'*, I, pp. 189, 140-144; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 91-94; Mufīd, pp. 19, 189, 192.

Salmān died at Madā'in in 36/656-57.²²⁰

Like Abū Zarr, 'Ammār and Salmān, Miqdād bin 'Amr did not belong to Arab aristocracy. One Aswad bin 'Abd Yasūs of the Banū Hāshim's rival Banū Makhzūm tribe adopted him as a son. Miqdād was one of the early seven converts to Islam and an ardent supporter of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. The Prophet deeply appreciated Miqdād's readiness to fight against the hypocrites who had entered the Prophet's ranks. Once the Prophet appointed him as the head of a political mission. After his successful return he urged the Prophet to exempt him from political and administrative duties and leave him alone with his ascetic life. He deeply lamented the hardships the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt suffered after his death. When 'Alī was not chosen as Caliph after 'Umar's death, Miqdād as mentioned earlier joined 'Ammār in protesting against the gross injustice of the panel appointed by 'Umar to select the caliph. According to him only Banū 'Abdu'l-Muttalib were the members of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt.²²¹ He frequently told 'Usmān that as soon as he gained strength he would fight against Quraysh with the same zeal as he exhibited in the war against infidels at Badr. 'Usmān persecuted him but after his death in 33/653 he lamented his sad demise. To Zubayr, 'Usmān's attitude was ridiculous and he taunted him in an expressive verse.²²²

Shī'ī Companions of the Prophet

Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī says that all those who had visited the Prophet could not be called as his companions. Companions were only those who remained steadfast in their faith throughout their life and were endowed with justice. Consequently the *munāfiqs* (hypocrites) who associated themselves with the Prophet could not be called his companions. The eminence of the companions depended upon their seniority in embracing Islam, on fighting *jihād* under the Prophet's standards and on laying down their lives for him.²²³ Shī'as of 'Alī, according to the Qāzī, occupied a distinctive position among them. They were several hundred but the Qāzī chose hundred among them for detailed descriptions. According to him, among the remaining companions of the Prophet there were not even ten who could match the hundred Shī'as of 'Alī.²²⁴ Some of them are mentioned below.

Khālīd bin Sa'id bin al-'Ās bin Umayya bin 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd

220 Ibn Hishām, I, p. 223, II, p. 126, III, p. 240; Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 9; *Istī'āb*, I, p. 571; Kashshī, pp. 4-14; Mufīd, pp. 64, 232, 296.

221 Tabarī, I, pp. 2786-89.

222 Ibn Asīr, III, 71; *Hilyatu'l-awliyā'*, I, 139, 174; Mufīd, p. 48.

223 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 56-59.

224 *Ibid*, p. 117.

Manāf, known as Abū Sa'id was an Umayyad and one of the early converts to Islam. In a vision he saw himself standing near a fire. His father was going to throw him in it. The Prophet beckoned him to come to him to save himself. Khālid woke from his nightmare and set off for the Prophet's house. On the way he met Abū Bakr and told him of his decision. Abū Bakr accompanied him and both got converted to Islam. Khālid's father expelled him from his house and ordered his brothers to persecute him but Khālid would not reverse his decision. The Prophet gave him meals. Later on he moved to Ethiopia. Two of his brothers also embraced Islam. Khālid took part in the battles of Khaybar, Hunayn, Tabūk and in the conquest of Mecca. The Prophet appointed him tax collector for the Yemen. His two brothers also worked as tax collectors. Early in Abū Bakr's reign, Khālid resigned and settled in Medina. He often publicly declared that 'Alī was the Prophet's rightful successor. He was the only member of his clan who fervently opposed Abū Bakr's elevation to the caliphate. He died in 13/635.²²⁵

Huzayfa bin al-Yamān was another early convert to Islam. To him Islam was an asylum to the poor, the weak and the slaves to whom it granted freedom. He valiantly fought at Uhud and was very active in the battle of Ahzāb. The Prophet made Huzayfa and 'Ammār brothers. Huzayfa was known as the keeper of the Prophet's secrets and had learned the names of the *munāfiqs* (hypocrites) from the Prophet. 'Umar and 'Usmān frequently raised the question of disloyalty among the Prophet's companions with Huzayfa but, although he described their characteristics and revealed their number, he never named the *munāfiqs*. The Prophet taught him several chapters on gnosis which he elaborated under 'Alī's guidance. 'Alī told Huzayfa to keep the Prophet's secrets strictly to himself or else people would rebel and become infidels.

When 'Alī was compelled to become caliph at Medina, Huzayfa was seriously ill at Kūfa. Immediately he heard the news of 'Alī's elevation to caliphate he rushed to congregational prayers and addressed the people. He said:

“Gentlemen! Some people have made *bay'a* with 'Alī. You must be pious and support and strengthen 'Alī. By God! From the beginning until the end 'Alī has been devoted to the truth. After the Prophet he has been the best among mankind and, until the Day of Judgment, none will be able to surpass him in spiritual eminence. I thank God that he has been able to see the day of his rise to the caliphate.”

225 Ibn Hishām, I, pp. 243-272, 346, III, pp. 414, IV, pp. 197, 251, 322; *Istī'āb*, I, p. 154; *Ansābu'l-ashraf*, I, p. 588; Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, II, 58; Mufīd, pp. 110-12.

Huzayfa prophesied to his two sons (Safwān and Sa'd) that in a very short time, 'Ali would be involved in warfare. He asked them to help him for he could swear by God that 'Ali would be on the right path and his enemies in the wrong. Both Huzayfa's sons obeyed their father's instructions. In 36/656-57 Huzayfa died in Madā'in. Before his death he uttered the following words:

“O God! You know that I always preferred poverty to affluence, misery to distinction and death to life. A friend is coming to you empty-handed.”²²⁶

Bilāl bin Riyāh was an Ethiopian slave in Mecca. He was one of the early converts to Islam. The Quraysh brutally tortured him when he changed his religion but Abū Bakr bought and freed him. In the first year of the *hijra* the Prophet commissioned Bilāl to call the Muslims to prayers because he had such a sweet voice. His appearance before the Muslims five times a day reminded them of the Prophet's determination to uproot the prevailing racial and tribal chauvinism. After the Prophet's death, Bilāl stopped calling the people for prayers. He refused to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr. 'Umar, holding Bilāl's leather jacket, asked him why he did not show any gratitude to Abū Bakr. Bilāl replied that if Abū Bakr had bought his manumission for God's sake, he should, for God's sake, leave him alone. Had he been freed to fight in the religious wars, he would have been prepared to do his duty. He was not, however, going to make *bay'a* with a caliph who had not been appointed by the Prophet. Finally, unable to bear 'Umar's continuous pressure, Bilāl retired to Syria. He died of plague in Damascus.²²⁷

'Adī, the son of the poet and the pre-Islamic knight, Hātim of Tayy tribe, embraced Islam around 9 or 10/630-31. He was commissioned to collect taxes from the Tayy and Asad tribes by the Prophet. 'Adī disliked 'Usmān intensely and fought under 'Alī at Jamal where he lost an eye. His three sons were killed by Mu'āwiya's army in the battle of Siffin. 'Adī was famous for his ready wit and oratory. When 'Alī died he visited Mu'āwiya, who remarked that 'Alī had been unjust to him for he ('Adī) had lost three sons in the war but 'Alī had lost none. 'Adī retorted that in fact it was he who was unjust to 'Alī for 'Alī was dead and he was still alive.

226 Ibn Hishām, II, p. 135, III, pp. 36, 250; Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 8; *Istī'āb*, I, p. 105; Abū Tālib Makkī, *Qūṭu'l-qulūb*, Cairo, 1933, I, p. 23, 31; Nu'mānī, *Ghayba*, p. 75; *Hilyatu'l-awliyā'*, I, p. 172; Kashshī, p. 24; *Murūj u'z-zahab*, I, 23; *Jawāmi'u'l-kilām*, p. 23; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 99-100; Mufīd, pp. 68-69.

227 Ibn Hishām, I, pp. 399, II, pp. 126, 220, 273, 328, III, pp. 388, 392, IV, pp. 33, 198; Kashshī, p. 26; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 115; Mufīd, 129.

'Abdu'llāh ibn Zubayr requested Mu'āwiya to allow him and his Quraysh associates to engage 'Adī in debate and so teach him a lesson. Mu'āwiya, aware of 'Adī's gift for oratory, was reluctant but could not refuse ibn Zubayr's persistent requests. Ibn Zubayr asked 'Adī as to when he had lost his eye. 'Adī replied that he had lost it on "the day when your father fled from the field of battle (of Jamal) and was killed in a very miserable condition. It was the day on which al-Ashtar struck your (ibn Zubayr's) anus with his spear and drove you from the field." 'Adī then composed some extempore verses condemning ibn Zubayr who retired discomfited. 'Adī settled in Kūfa and effectively resisted the atrocities perpetrated by Mu'āwiya's governor in Kūfa, Ziyād bin Abīhī. 'Adī died in 68/687-88.²²⁸

Although Hujr bin 'Adī al-Kindī al-Kūfi was only a youth when he met the Prophet, intellectually he was mature and very precocious. He was sincerely devoted to 'Alī. The governor of Kūfa, Ziyād bin Abīhī, drafted a petition saying that Hujr was a rebel who abused Mu'āwiya. All the Kūfa leaders signed it. This led to his execution in 50/670.²²⁹

Abū Rāfi' Ibrāhīm converted himself to Islam in Mecca and moved to Medina after the Prophet's *hijra*. On one occasion when he went to visit the Prophet, he found him asleep. Then his eyes fell on a snake in the corner of the room. He did not wish to kill the snake lest the act might disturb the Prophet in his sleep. Instead, he himself lay between the snake and the Prophet so that the snake might bite him and not the Prophet. When the Prophet awoke he asked Abū Rāfi' the reason for sleeping in that unusual manner. Abū Rāfi' related the story of the snake. The Prophet ordered him to kill it. Then the Prophet put a hypothetical question regarding reaction of Abū Rāfi' towards those who might choose to fight 'Alī while he was on the right path and they were on the wrong one. Abū Rāfi' replied that *jihād* against 'Alī's enemies was imperative. Even those who were unable to fight, he added, must condemn 'Alī's enemies.

When 'Alī assumed the caliphate and the war against Mu'āwiya started, Abū Rāfi' sold his land and property in Khaybar and, together with his sons, joined 'Alī. He was then eighty-five years old. 'Alī appointed him his treasurer and Abū Rāfi' never left the Imām's side. After 'Alī's martyrdom, Abū Rāfi' moved to Medina with Imām Hasan. As he had sold his land and house previously, Hasan gave him half of his house and some land to farm.²³⁰

'Abdu'llāh bin Budayl bin Waraqa' al-Khuzā'i and his father came

228 Ibn Hishām, IV, pp. 256, 271; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 106-7.

229 *Maqātilu't-Tālibiyyin*, p. 105; Mufid, pp. 12, 282.

230 Ibn Hishām, II, p. 136; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 107-8; Mufid, pp. 48, 58, 467.

from the Yemen. They embraced Islam after the conquest of Mecca. When the Prophet died, 'Abdu'llāh followed 'Ali. At the battle of Siffin, 'Ali appointed him to command the foot soldiers. He put on two suits of armour and carried two swords. He and his forces slaughtered the soldiers surrounding Mu'āwiya and penetrated close to his tent. Then Mu'āwiya's army turned, pelted him with stones and cut him down with a shower of arrows. When Mu'āwiya was informed of 'Abdu'llāh's death, he remarked that the Khuzā'is were such a die-hard lot of devotees of 'Ali that even their women would not hesitate to fight him, let alone the men.²³¹

'Amr bin al-Hamiq al-Khuzā'i professed Islam after the truce of Hdaybiyya. He remained constantly in the Prophet's company and memorized his *ahādīs* by heart. Some years after the Prophet's death he settled at Kūfa. He was one of the four besiegers of 'Usmān's house and entered it. He fought valiantly in the battle of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrwān. After 'Ali's death he fearlessly tried to halt Mu'āwiya's campaign to vilify 'Ali. Ziyād, the governor of Kūfa ordered his arrest but he fled to Mūsāl. He took shelter in a cave but a snake bit him and he died. His head was severed and paraded in various towns.²³²

Burayda bin Husayb al-Aslamī was deeply devoted to 'Ali. When he was informed of the Prophet's death, he organised his people and planted his standard in front of 'Ali's door. 'Umar asked him why he opposed Abū Bakr when everyone else had sworn allegiance to him. Burayda, pointing to 'Ali's house, said that unless the lord of that house made *bay'a* with Abū Bakr, he was not prepared to do so. At the battle of Siffin, Burayda's prowess amazed 'Ali's enemies. In 51/671, ibn Ziyād expelled him from Basra. He and other leaders from Basra and Kūfa, numbering about fifty thousand, moved to Khurāsān and settled there. Burayda took part in the wars in Merv and helped consolidate Muslim rule there. In Khurāsān the immigrants inculcated love for the Ahl al-Bayt among the local converts and made the region pro-Shī'i. Burayda died in 63/683.²³³

Usāma bin Zayd and his mother Umm Ayman were deeply devoted to 'Ali. He was about eighteen to twenty years old when the Prophet died. Before his death, the Prophet commanded him to lead the expedition to Syria. He ordered his senior companions, including Abū Bakr and 'Umar to serve under him. Despite Usāma's efforts, they, however, refused to leave Medina. When Abū Bakr became caliph he ordered Usāma to march against Syria. Usāma retorted that first of all those who

231 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 110-11.

232 Kashshī, pp. 31-35; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 111-12.

233 Mufid, pp. 29, 111, 112; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 92.

had been ordered by the Prophet to serve under his standard and had been cursed for disobeying him should be told to implement the Prophet's commands. Usāma added that both Abū Bakr and 'Umar had been ordered to serve under him and they should comply with the Prophet's orders. Abū Bakr lost his temper and dismissed him. He was replaced by Khālīd bin Walīd. Usāma died towards the end of Mu'āwīya's reign.²³⁴

Mālik bin Nuwayra was the chief of the Banū Yarbū clan of the Banū Hanīf tribe. His tribe, and Mālik in particular, were famous for their bravery. There was a proverb "*fata wa-la ka-Mālik*" (a gallant warrior, no doubt, but not comparable with Mālik). Hanīf tribe was also renowned for its eloquent way of conversation. After Hanīf tribesmen were converted to Islam, the Prophet ordered Mālik to collect canonical taxes (*sadaqāt*) from his tribe, who lived in the desert. When Abū Bakr assumed control of the caliphate, Mālik visited Medina. He entered the Prophet's mosque where he found Abū Bakr delivering a sermon from the Prophet's pulpit. Mālik was shocked and said to Abū Bakr, "Don't over-burden yourself with responsibilities you cannot discharge. Sit in the corner of your own house and beseech God's forgiveness for your sins. Hand over the duties to the rightful owner. Are you not ashamed of yourself for usurping a place which God and his Prophet assigned to someone else? Have you forgotten the day at Ghadīr Khumm when you greeted 'Alī as Amīru'l-mu'mīnīn (commander of the faithful) and Lord of the Muhājīrs and Ansār? If you do not allow the truth to return to the centre, your affairs will become very difficult." Abū Bakr ordered him to be quiet as he was neither one of the early converts nor had he fought *jihād* for Islam. Mālik asked what part Abū Bakr had played in *jihād* that he showed such superiority over others. He added that in Islamic and pre-Islamic times, Abū Bakr's clan, the Banū Taym, had led a miserable life and were subordinate to others. Abū Bakr could tolerate Mālik's presence no longer and, at his orders, his servants kicked Mālik out of the mosque. When Abū Bakr returned home he ordered Khālīd bin Walīd, Mālik's inveterate enemy from pre-Islamic days to attack Mālik's tribe and kill him for his failure to pay *zakāt*. The tribe itself was to be taken captive. Mālik was not frightened of Abū Bakr. He wrote verses defending himself. In a verse he said:

"If the thing turns out badly, we shall bring a remedy, crying;
long-live the faith of Muhammad."

234 *Supra*, p. 19; Ibn Hishām, II, pp. 11, 345, 407, IV, pp. 278, 298, 319; Kashshī, p. 26; Mufīd, pp. 128, 130, 134, 180, 181; *Majālisu'l-mu'mīnīn*, p. 107.

Khālīd at the head of one hundred men, took Mālik by surprise but still did not have the courage to engage him in open warfare. Instead, he asked the tribe to give his forces hospitality for the night as they would be moving on the next day on an expedition. Mālik agreed and entertained Khālīd and his men. At midnight, Khālīd killed Mālik, who was asleep, and made short work of the rest of the tribe. On the same night Khālīd had sexual intercourse with Mālik's widow. Next day, accompanied by his army, he left with the booty and prisoners for Medina. 'Umar, who had been friendly with Mālik from pre-Islamic times, was filled with rage at the wanton destruction of Mālik's tribe. He abused Khālīd for killing Mālik treacherously, taking Muslims as captives and committing adultery with Mālik's widow. Abū Bakr intervened and urged 'Umar to keep quiet as he had only obeyed his orders. Jābir bin Yazīd Ju'fī states that Khūla, the daughter of Ja'far Banū Hanīf, who was a most respectable lady, cried out facing the Prophet's tomb that his people had taken the innocent Banū Hanīf captives as if they were Daylamite rebels. Their only fault was that they loved Ahl al-Bayt. Abū Bakr replied that they had been punished for not paying *zakāt*. Khūla replied that even if the men had sinned the women had done no wrong and yet were treated as slave girls. Abū Bakr had no answer. 'Alī came to Khūla's rescue and married her. Their son, Muhammad ibn Hanafiyya (from the Hanīf tribe) attained considerable prominence. The other captives were returned to Mālik's brother.

Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī discusses the cold-blooded murder of Mālik at length on the basis of Sunnī sources and refutes any defence of Abū Bakr. Drawing upon Ahmad bin A'sam Kūfī's history, the Qāzī says, that on the pretext of *Ridda* (apostasy), Abū Bakr crushed the pro-'Alī tribes to deprive him of their support. Many of these tribes had pleaded with Abū Bakr's commanders that they could only pay *zakāt* to the authority appointed by God and the Prophet (i. e. 'Alī) and not to Abū Bakr.²³⁵

Some of the Prophet's leading companions from the Khazraj and Aws tribes of Medina, known as Ansār, were resolute adherents of 'Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt. One of them, Jābir bin 'Abdu'llāh Ansārī led a long life. Starting with Badr he took part in eighteen of the Prophet's battles. After his death he followed 'Alī and fought in the battle of Siffin. Then, putting a black turban on his head he lectured on religion in the mosque at Medina. During his lectures he would cry out, "O Bāqiru'l-'Ilm" "(O Deeply versed in knowledge)". The Medinites said that he had grown senile and talked nonsense. Jābir protested and asserted that the Prophet had predicted he would visit a member of the Ahl al-Bayt who would

235 *Supra*, p. 27; Ibn Hishām, III, p. 268, IV, p. 271; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 52-56, 114-15.

resemble him (Muhammad) exactly. After Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn's return from his imprisonment in Syria, Jābir had lost his eyesight. Nevertheless he began to attend the Imām's lectures and enthusiastically disseminated his teachings. When Jābir found a boy standing near Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn's house Jābir asked him his name. He replied "Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Husayn bin 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib". Jābir kissed the boy's head and face and said that the Prophet had ordered him to convey his ancestor's greetings to Muhammad. Muhammad Bāqir told his father of Jābir's visit. Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn asked Muhammad Bāqir not to leave the house as people would flock round him and the Ahl al-Bayt would then be involved in more difficulties. Jābir often visited al-Bāqir to learn some of his wisdom.

Jābir moved freely about the streets in Medina and visited the Medinite assembly. Everywhere he went he preached that, except for the Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī was the most superior person in the world. Those, who did not believe this, were infidels. Addressing the Ansār, he told them that they should teach their children to love 'Alī's family. Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672/1274) says that when Jābir was bedridden Imām Bāqir called on him and asked him: "How do you feel?" Jābir replied, "I have reached the condition in which I prefer old age to youth, illness to health and death to life." Imām Bāqir corrected this saying, "It is better to say if God makes me old, I prefer old age to youth and love old age; if He makes me young I love youth; if He makes me ill I love illness; if He cures me I love good health; if He kills me I love death; if He keeps me alive I love life." Jābir cried out, "The Prophet rightly said that I would meet one of his descendants named after him, who will analyse intellectual problems like a bullock which breaks and ploughs land". Jābir died at a ripe old age in 73/692.

One of the Prophet's companions, Sa'd bin 'Ubāda al-Ansārī, was the leader of the Khazraj tribe and was deeply devoted to 'Alī. Under the presumption that 'Alī was not interested to assume the responsibility of the caliphate, he after the Prophet's death, despite his illness rushed to the hall of Banū Sā'ida in order to prevent the Quraysh from seizing power. The rivalries of the Aws and Khazraj and the division among Khazraj themselves made Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Abū 'Ubayda successful. Illness also prevented Sa'd from asserting himself. Sa'd, however, refused adamantly to make *bay'a* with Abū Bakr and 'Umar did not force him to do so in order to avoid war.

Sa'd's son, Qays, told 'Umar that his father had taken an oath that he would not make *bay'a*. If he were killed the Khazraj tribe would

236 Ibn Hishām, II, pp. 39, 71, 246, III, pp. 52, 217, 233, 404, IV; Kashshī, pp. 27-30; Mufīd, pp. 24-27, 250-252, 261, 351, 381; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 116-17.

be plunged into war and there would be a blood-bath. One day in the Medina bazaar, 'Umar urged Sa'd either to make *bay'a* or else leave the city. Sa'd retorted that it was unlawful for him to live in a city ruled by 'Umar and moved to Damascus with many of his tribesmen. In Damascus Sa'd travelled widely. One day he was killed by an arrow. The people were told that he had been killed by a genie. Nevertheless it was believed that Khālid bin Walid (d. 21/642) had arranged his murder.²³⁷

Of Sa'd's six sons, Qays was a seasoned warrior with a generous disposition. On the day of the victory over Mecca he and his father took turns in holding the Prophet's standard. Subsequently Qays joined 'Alī and supported him bravely in the battles of Jamal and Siffin. At the battle of Siffin he recited the following self introduction:

“God be praised. We belong to the army that fought under the standard whose right-side was adorned with Gabriel and whose left side was adorned with Michael. Mu'āwiya and his tribe fought under the standard which was controlled by the Prophet's arch enemy Abū Jihl.”

Qays led his troops into the middle of Mu'āwiya's army and slaughtered about half a dozen pre-eminent enemy commanders. He thought he had killed Mu'āwiya himself. Later it was revealed that Mu'āwiya had commanded his army from a distant mound. Mu'āwiya made desperate attempts to win over Qays but failed. After 'Alī's assassination, Qays supported Imām Hasan. When 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās was lured over to Mu'āwiya's side, Qays assumed command of his troops and, exhorting them to fight, added that there was no reason for them to be discouraged by ibn 'Abbās' desertion as his father ('Abbās) was also a coward. Hasan's peace treaty with Mu'āwiya was a great disappointment to Qays. Although Mu'āwiya had agreed to grant an amnesty to the Imām's supporters, he was so angry with Qays that he never forgave him. The Imām had to intervene personally on Qays' behalf. Imām Hasan ordered Qays to swear allegiance to Mu'āwiya but Qays replied that he and his father were proud they had withheld their *bay'a* from a tyrant. Eventually Qays capitulated but the reconciliation was superficial. When Mu'āwiya visited Medina after a pilgrimage to Mecca, none of Qays' tribe welcomed him. Their absence was noticed and questioned by Mu'āwiya. He was told that the Ansārs had been reduced to a miserable condition and had no horses to ride. Mu'āwiya asked what had happened to their camels. Qays, who had overheard

237 Ibn Hishām, II, pp. 52, 58, 74, 112, 192, 298, III, 79, 237, 345, IV, 26, 147, 235; Kashshī, p. 72; Mufid, pp. 38, 64, 92; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 101-2.

the conversation, replied that they had been destroyed during the Prophet's wars against Mu'āwiya's father.²³⁸

Abū Ayyūb Khālid bin Zayd al-Kulayb Ansāri belonged to Banū Najjār. His mother belonged to the Khazraj tribe. Abū Ayyūb occupied a very prominent position among the Prophet's companions. When the Prophet migrated to Medina he stayed in Abū Ayyūb's house. He fought valiantly in the battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawān. In the battle of Siffin he cut a path close to Mu'āwiya's tent. Mu'āwiya, castigating his troops for cowardice, asked if their hands had been tied as they had not covered his horse with handfuls of dust. A Syrian hero, Mutarrafi' bin Mansūr, boasted that he would imitate 'Alī's troops and would lead his men up to 'Alī's tent and make short work of him. Mutarrafi' set off at a gallop. Abū Ayyūb came forward and severed his head so neatly that it separated from his body only, when his horse moved. After Imām Hasan and Mu'āwiya made peace, Abū Ayyūb went to fight *jihād* in Byzantine. He died in 52/672 in Constantinople. According to his will his body was buried under the walls of the city.²³⁹

Ubayy bin Ka'b belonged to a branch of the Khazraj tribe. He swore allegiance to the Prophet with eighty other men, before his (the Prophet's) *hijra* to Mecca, at 'Aqaba on the left side of the road leading from Mina to Mecca. He took part in the battle of Badr. Ubayy wrote down the *wahī* (Divine revelation) as it was revealed and was one of the early experts in Qur'ānic recitation. Abū Bakr's appointment as caliph at Saqifa upset him and he refused to swear allegiance to him. He died during 'Umar's reign.²⁴⁰

Al-Bara'a bin 'Āzib al-Ansāri was another leader of the Khazraj tribe. He strongly resisted official pressure to accept Abū Bakr's caliphate. He fought at Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawān and then settled in Kūfa. He died in 72/691 during ibn-Zubayr's rise to power.²⁴¹

Al-Bara'a bin Mālik took part in the battle of Uhud and other wars. He fought valiantly in *rida* wars but was never reconciled to Abū Bakr's caliphate.²⁴²

Khuzayma bin Sābit of the Aws tribe refused his allegiance to Abū Bakr. Because of his high reputation for integrity, the Prophet called him "Zu'sh-Shahādatayn" (one whose testimony is worth that of two men).

238 Kashshī, p. 73; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 103-5; Mufid, pp. 192, 286.

239 Ibn Hishām, II, pp. 66, 114, 125, 150, 205, III, pp. 347, 393; Ibn Sa'd, VI, p. 15; Mufid, p. 52; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 100-101.

240 Ibn Sa'd, III, p. 498; *Istī'āb*, I, pp. 65-66.

241 Ibn Sa'd, IV, p. 364; *Istī'āb*, I, pp. 65-66; Kashshī, pp. 30-31; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 109; Mufid, pp. 39, 250.

242 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 108-9.

It was he who urged Sa'd bin 'Ubāda to become caliph as he believed that 'Alī was not interested to become the caliph. Khuzayma claimed that no Quraysh was qualified to become caliph. After 'Ammār's death at the battle of Siffin, Khuzayma fell fighting fiercely for 'Alī.²⁴³

'Usmān bin Hunayf also belonged to the Aws tribe. He was one of 'Alī's senior devotees. 'Umar appointed him a revenue officer for Iraq. 'Alī made him governor of Basra. Talha and Zubayr expelled him from there, however, and he joined 'Alī's forces. In the battle of Jamal he and his associates fought fiercely around 'Ā'isha's camel.²⁴⁴ His brother Sahl bin Hunayf had taken part in the battle of Uhud and had fought steadfastly. When 'Alī left Medina for Basra to fight Talha and Zubayr, he appointed Sahl his deputy in Medina. In the battle of Siffin he was invincible. He served 'Alī as governor of Basra and died there during 'Alī's lifetime.²⁴⁵

Abu'l-Haysam Mālik Ansāri was one of the leaders at the first and second 'Aqaba ceremonies of allegiance to the Prophet. He fought bravely under 'Alī but was martyred at the battle of Siffin.²⁴⁶

Ghurfa al-Azudī al-Ansāri was a favourite of the Prophet Muhammad who blessed him for his piety. He was one of those companions of the Prophet whose main concern was prayer and meditation on the platform of the Medina mosque. Nevertheless, he took part in the battle of Siffin. According to him, when 'Alī set off for Siffin, he made a detour to Karbalā and foretold the subsequent tragedy there.²⁴⁷

Nu'mān bin 'Ajlān Ansāri was an eminent poet and composed verses condemning Quraysh who deserted 'Alī. He served as one of 'Alī's tax collectors at Bahrayn.

Many other companions of the Prophet belonging to the Ansār's tribe rallied round 'Alī but made *bay'a* with Abū Bakr under duress.

The Leading Shi'is among the Tābi'in and the Tabā' Tābi'in

The *tābi'ins* were the first generation of Muslims following the Prophet's companions. The *tabā' tābi'ins* were their descendants or the second generation of Muslims after the Prophet.

Among the prominent *tābi'in* who were devoted to 'Alī was Muhammad bin Abi Bakr. His mother, Asmā' bint 'Amīs, was the widow of Ja'far

243 Ibn Sa'd, IV, pp. 378-79; *Isti'āb* II, p. 448; Kashshī, pp. 35-36; Mufid, p. 20; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 100.

244 *Isti'āb*, III, p. 1033; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 98-99; Mufid, pp. 187, 192.

245 Mufid, pp. 55, 62; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 99.

246 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 97-98.

247 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 109-10.

bin Abū Tālib. After Ja'far's martyrdom in the battle of Mu'ta in 8/629 Abū Bakr married Asmā'. Muhammad was born in 10/632. After Abū Bakr's death, 'Alī married her. Muhammad was brought up by 'Alī as his own son. He took part in the siege of 'Usmān's house but Nā'ila did not accuse him of murder. He was governor of Egypt. Towards the end of 'Alī's reign he was killed by Mu'āwiya's troops.²⁴⁸

Uways Qarani was deeply devoted to 'Alī. He was one of the greatest ascetics of Islam. The illness of his old mother prevented him from calling on the Prophet but the latter always blessed Uways and praised his asceticism and perception of the Divine unity. In accordance with the Prophet's will, 'Alī and 'Umar gave his *khirqa* (cloak) to Uways. 'Umar was so deeply impressed with Uways' asceticism that he exclaimed "Who can buy this caliphate for a piece of bread?" Uways replied, "O 'Umar! Only a fool would buy what you are selling. Throw it away. Let some deserving person have it." According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari, Uways tended to reproach 'Umar for buying and selling the caliphate when, according to reason, the Imām should be appointed by God. 'Umar had violated both reason and the *shari'a* by buying the caliphate from Abū Bakr and selling it to 'Usmān. The Qāzī goes on to say that had 'Umar been sincere in selling the caliphate, Talha, Mu'āwiya and Zubayr would have sacrificed their lives to buy it, let alone getting it for a piece of bread. Then 'Umar asked Uways why he had not seen the Prophet. Uways said, "Have you seen the Prophet?" 'Umar gave a positive answer. Uways retorted, "Were the Prophet's eye-brows joined or separated?" 'Umar couldn't answer. According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh, Uways' question was designed to expose 'Umar's ignorance of the Prophet.

The Qāzī remarks that one day when Uways was washing himself in the Euphrates, he was alarmed by the beating of drums. He was told that 'Alī was marching against Mu'āwiya. Uways remarked that he preferred serving 'Alī to prayers and rushed to join 'Alī's army. He was killed fighting against Mu'āwiya's army.²⁴⁹

Mālik bin al-Hāris al-Ashtar an-Nakha'i was an indefatigable warrior. During 'Usmān's reign, he spearheaded the movement among the warrior class for the payment of *fiy'* (booty consisting of landed property) to be made according to the Prophet's rules. He was one of the group of important leaders who besieged 'Usmān's house. Mālik supported 'Alī ardently and collected troops from Kūfa to fight at the battle of the Camel against 'Ā'isha's forces. When 'Alī's ambassador, Tirimmāh bin 'Adi, called on Mu'āwiya, the latter boasted that he had collected an

248 Mufid, p. 380; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 119.

249 Kashshī, pp. 65-66; 'Attār, Farīdu'd-Dīn, *Tazkiratu'l-awliyā'*, Tehran, 1336 Shamsī, pp. 26-34; Nicholson, pp. 83-84; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 120-21.

army as numerous as the grains of millet in a field. Tirimmāh replied that in 'Ali's army there was a rooster called Ashtar, who would consume every speck with his beak. Mālik was very successful in his campaign to recruit soldiers from Kūfa to fight in 'Ali's army at Basra. His exploits as 'Ali's commander were remarkable. 'Ali said that Ashtar occupied the same position under him as he had under the Prophet Muhammad. Ashtar's patience, asceticism, and dedication to prayers and fasting were unique. He frequently walked through the Kūfa bazaar dressed like an ordinary labourer. On one occasion someone who did not recognise him, hit him with a bunch of bean plants. When he was told that his victim was Ashtar, he ran after him to apologise. As Ashtar was praying in the mosque the man waited for him to finish before apologising. Ashtar urged him to forget all about it as he had just then been praying to God to forgive the man who had hit him.

When 'Ali appointed al-Ashtar to succeed Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr as the governor of Egypt and its provinces, he gave him detailed instructions regarding gubernatorial duties. 'Ali's letter is a unique socio-political document. It is a charter of freedom for the working-classes and the neglected sections of society. For example 'Ali wrote:

“Investigate the situation of the land-tax in a manner that will rectify the state of those who pay it, for the correctness of the land-tax and the welfare of the taxpayers is the welfare of others. The welfare of others will not be achieved except through them, for the people, all of them, are dependent upon the land-tax and those who pay it. Let your care for the prosperity of the earth be deeper than your care for the collection of land-tax, for it will not be gathered except in prosperity. Whoever exacts land-tax without prosperity has desolated the land and destroyed the servants (of God). His affairs will remain in order only briefly.”

“So if your subjects complain of burden, of blight, of the cutting off of irrigation water, of the lack of rain, or of the transformation of the earth through its being inundated by a flood or ruined by drought, lighten (their burden) to the extent you wish their affairs to be rectified. And let not anything by which you have lightened their burden weigh heavily against you, for it is a store which they will return to you by bringing about prosperity in your land and embellishing your rule. You will gain their fairest praise and pride yourself at the spreading forth of justice among them. You will be able to depend upon the increase in their strength (resulting) from what you stored away with them when you gave them ease; and upon their trust, since you accustomed them to your justice towards them through your kindness to them. Then perhaps matters will arise which

afterwards they will undertake gladly if in these you depend upon them, for prosperity will carry that with which you burden it. Truly the destruction of the earth only results from the destitution of its inhabitants, and its inhabitants become destitute only when rulers concern themselves with amassing (wealth), when they have misgivings about the endurance (of their own rule) and when they profit little from warning examples.”²⁵⁰

'Ali's guidelines to Mālik al-Ashtar regarding the treatment of merchants and craftsmen are as revolutionary as those for farmers. He wrote:

“Then make merchants and craftsmen—those who are permanently fixed, those who move about with their wares and those who profit from (the labour of) their own body—your own concern, and urge others to do so, for they are the base of benefits and means of attaining conveniences. They bring (benefits and conveniences) from remote and inaccessible places on land, sea, plains and mountains, and from places where men neither gather together nor dare to go. (The merchants and craftsmen) are a gentleness from which there is no fear of calamity and a pacificity from which there is no worry of disruption. Examine their affairs in your presence and in every corner of your land.

“But know, nevertheless, that in many of them is shameful miserliness, detestable avarice, hoarding of benefits and arbitrariness in selling. This is a source of loss to all and a stain upon rulers. So prohibit hoarding (*ih̄tikār*), for the Messenger of God—may God bless him and his household and give them peace—prohibited it. Let selling be an open-handed selling, with justly balanced scales and prices which do not prejudice either party, buyer or seller. As for him who lets himself be tempted to hoard after you have forbidden him (to do so), make an example of him and punish him, but not excessively.”²⁵¹

Al-Ashtar was the best man to implement 'Ali's rules but he never even reached Egypt. In 37/658 Mu'āwiya's agents killed him while he was still enroute.²⁵²

Zayd bin Sūhān al-'Abdī was another devoted follower of 'Ali. 'Ā'isha wrote him a letter saying:

250 *Nahj al-balāgha*, translated in W. C. Chittick, *A Shi'ite anthology*, London, 1980, p. 75.

251 *A Shi'ite anthology*, p. 75.

252 Kashshī, p. 44; Mufid, p. 264; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 121-24.

“This letter is from 'Ā'isha, wife of the Prophet, to her son, Zayd bin Sūhān. As soon as you get this letter, prevent the people in Kūfa from joining and helping 'Ali. Soon, further orders will be sent to you.”

Zayd wrote in reply:

“You have ordered me to act against God's orders. You, for your part, have forsaken God's commands.”

Zayd was mortally wounded in the battle of Jamal. When 'Ali blessed him, Zayd replied:

“May God reward you, O Commander of the Faithful. By God! those who do not know God cannot recognize you. By God! I fought your enemies without any misgivings. As I had heard the Ghadir *hadīs* from (the Prophet's wife) Umm Salima, I know that those who forsake you destroy their chance for a happy ending on the Day of Judgement. For fear of punishment on that day, I could not desert you.”

Zayd died from his wounds.²⁵³ His brother, Sa'sa'a bin Sūhān al-'Abdī had embraced Islam during the Prophet's lifetime but had never seen him. He was an eloquent orator and a learned and deeply religious man. His tribe, the 'Abdu'l-Qays, was devoted to him. Like his brother Zayd, Sa'sa'a loved 'Ali. When Sa'sa'a fell ill, 'Ali called on him. He remarked that Sa'sa'a should not exploit his visit to increase the number of his followers. Sa'sa'a replied, “By God! I consider your visit an act of God's grace to me.” He was in the party of the displaced leaders of Kūfa who visited Medina to complain about 'Usmān's governors. 'Usmān ordered the group to select a representative. They chose Sa'sa'a but 'Usmān refused to negotiate with him on the ground of his youth. Sa'sa'a said that knowledge depended on its acquisition; it had nothing to do with age. He represented the complaints on the basis of Qur'anic verses. Ultimately, 'Usmān lost his temper and expelled him from his house.

Sa'sa'a fought in the battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawān. Mu'āwiya tried to exclude Sa'sa'a from the amnesty granted in the peace treaty with Imām Hasan. Sa'sa'a twice mounted the pulpit to curse 'Ali, in obedience to Mu'āwiya's orders, but he mentioned 'Ali in such a manner that in fact, Mu'āwiya was cursed instead. To make matters worse,

253 Kashshī, pp. 44-45; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 124-25.

the assembly, according to the ritual said, "Amen" each time. Sa'sa'a never missed an opportunity to criticize Mu'āwiya in a subtle manner. According to Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, Sa'sa'a was able to defend 'Alī better than all his other followers.²⁵⁴

Muhammad bin Abī Huzayfa 'Atba bin Rabī'a bin 'Abd Shams bin 'Abd Manāf belonged to the Umayyad aristocracy and was one of the leaders of anti-'Usmān movement in Egypt. When he fell into Mu'āwiya's hands he did not kill him because of family considerations but threw him into prison. After some time, Mu'āwiya summoned Muhammad to court and said that the tyrants had killed innocent 'Usmān and he and his friends were seeking revenge for his death. Muhammad should, therefore, be ashamed of his friendship with 'Alī. Muhammad replied that he was one of his (Mu'āwiya's) relatives and knew him most intimately. "By God ! you (Mu'āwiya) are responsible for 'Usmān's assassination. 'Usmān had made tyrants like you his governors. The Muhājirūn and Ansār had urged 'Usmān to dismiss you and your associates as they were tyrants and violated the Prophet's *sunna*. 'Usmān refused and met his doom because of your misdeeds. Talha and Zubayr had incited the people to kill 'Usmān." "O Mu'āwiya!" Muhammad added, "Islam has not changed you. You wrongly blame me for loving 'Alī. Conversely the *munāfiqūn* (hypocrites) and Abū Sufyān's followers who flocked around the Prophet to save their lives have sold their faith to you and grown wealthy. You and your followers are not ignorant of their misdeeds. By God ! So long as I am alive I shall love 'Alī, deeming it a source of nearness to God." Mu'āwiya lost his temper and sent him back to prison where he died.²⁵⁵

Ju'da bin Hubayra, one of 'Alī's sister's sons, was devoted to 'Alī. During the battle of Siffin, 'Ubayda bin Abū Sufyān taunted him saying he had obtained his heroism from his maternal uncle. Ju'da replied that had 'Ubayda's maternal uncle been like his maternal uncle, 'Ubayda would have forgotten his own father.²⁵⁶

Sa'id bin Qays al-Hamadānī from the Yemen had settled in Kūfa. The Hamadānīs were converted to Islam by 'Alī. Sa'id bin Hamadānī showed remarkable heroism in defending 'Alī from unexpected assaults. His tribesmen, under his leadership, made a concerted attack on Mu'āwiya's army and drove them back to their tents. Sa'id's followers returned to their own tents only because it was time for evening prayers. 'Alī greatly appreciated their chivalry and said that, if he were authorised to distribute places in paradise, he would give the Hamadān tribe the best.

254 Kashshī, pp. 44-45; Balāzurī, *Ansāb*, V, p. 46; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 125-26.

255 Kashshī, pp. 47-48; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 126.

256 Mufid, p. 9; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 127.

Sa'id replied, "O Commander of the Faithful! We fight for God's sake and not to oblige you. We shall obtain our reward from God. Give us the most difficult duties and send us wherever you please. We are at your disposal and love you with our heart and soul."²⁵⁷

Khawāja Rabi' bin Haysam belonged to the group of fourteen ascetics, which included 'Uways. They fought under 'Alī's standards. When Khawāja Rabi' arrived from Ray with a body of four thousand well organized troops, he was sent to fight against Syria. He died in Khurāsān and was buried near Mashhad. Imām Rizā' used to visit his tomb.²⁵⁸

'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin Sūrad fought in the battle of Jamal. In obedience to 'Alī's orders, penetrating into the thick of the battle around 'Ā'isha's camel, he hamstrung its back legs. The camel sat down. When a gentleman from Abū Bakr's tribe, the Banū Taym, asked 'Abdu'r-Rahmān if he had done this, he replied "Yes. Had I not hamstrung 'Ā'isha's camel, no individual from her army would have survived. You may like or dislike me as you please."

Tirimmāh bin 'Adī bin Hātim of Tayy was a chivalrous military leader and an eloquent speaker. When 'Alī returned from the battle of Jamal, he received a letter from Mu'āwiya boasting of his military strength. 'Alī wrote a reply and asked Tirimmāh, who was aware of the route, to deliver it immediately. Tirimmāh willingly agreed.²⁵⁹ When he reached Damascus, he found Mu'āwiya picnicing in a garden with some friends such as 'Amr bin al-'Ās and Marwān bin al-Hakam. Mu'āwiya's friends, who saw him merely as an Arab bedouin travelling on a camel, thought they would have some fun at his expense. They invited him into the garden but soon found they were unable to answer Tirimmāh's repartee. They introduced him to Mu'āwiya but Tirimmāh refrained from delivering 'Alī's letter until Mu'āwiya adopted a more respectful attitude. 'Amr bin al-'Ās suggested that, if the Arab bedouin were bribed, he might report favourably to 'Alī. Mu'āwiya paid him thirty thousand *dirhams*. 'Amr bin 'Ās then asked Tirimmāh his reaction to Mu'āwiya's gift. He replied, "This is the property of the Muslims from God's treasury. I have taken it for distribution among pious people." Then Mu'āwiya began to dictate him reply but Tirimmāh could hardly restrain his laughter at sentences such as his "army was as enormous as a galaxy of stars". When he was asked the reason for his amusement, Tirimmāh replied that 'Alī was like the sun. When he shone, the light of the stars would disappear. Mu'āwiya had great difficulty in completing his letter in the face of Tirimmāh's comments. When he finally departed,

257 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 127.

258 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 127-28.

259 Tabarī, II, p. 304; *Supra*, pp. 84-85, 45; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 198-99.

Mu'āwiya expressed his deep disappointment at his friends' inability to support him in repartee. When Imām Husayn reached near Karbalā, Tirimmāh along with three leaders of Kūfa met the Imām and urged him to seek asylum in the mountains of Tayy tribe and invade Yazid's forces with the Tayy army but the Imām rejected the offer in the interest of his non-violent war against Yazid.

Sa'id bin al-Jubayr of Kūfa was a renowned intellectual and ascetic. He was a scholar in *hadis*, Qur'ānic exegesis and an expert in *fiqh*. Many eminent scholars of *hadis* rallied round Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn through Sa'id's efforts. Nevertheless, Hajjāj, the governor of Basra, could not tolerate his Shi'ism. He sent for him and said, "What do you say about Abū Bakr and 'Umar? Are they in heaven or hell?" Sa'id replied, "When I visit heaven or hell, only then can I talk about its inhabitants." To Hajjāj's question about the virtues and vices of the Prophet's caliphs, Sa'id replied that he was not their advocate.

Hajjāj then asked whom he loved most among the first four caliphs. Sa'id said he loved the one who was God's favourite. Hajjāj asked who was God's favourite. Sa'id said only God knew His favourite. Annoyed with Sa'id's evasive answers, Hajjāj said that he pretended ignorance in order to save his life. He must speak clearly about each caliph. Sa'id replied that neither did he wish to contradict Hajjāj nor to compromise with his beliefs. Sa'id's tactics did not help him. He was executed by Hajjāj in Sha'bān 95/April-May 714. Before long Hajjāj also died. Prior to his death he hallucinated and saw Sa'id saying to him, "O God's enemy! Why did you kill me?"²⁶⁰

Another devotee of the Ahl al-Bayt was Asbagh bin Nubāta who was one of 'Alī's favourites. He was an indefatigable warrior. Asbagh narrated many *ahādīs* but the Sunnī scholars of *rijāl* (biographical works) rejected them because of his Shi'i beliefs.²⁶¹

Muslim al-Majāsha'i was devoted to Imām 'Alī. He was known for his resoluteness and enterprise. Just before the battle of Jamal, Imām 'Alī, taking the Qur'ān in his hand, invited his commanders to volunteer to preach its counsels to the enemy. Muslim stepped forward. Imām 'Alī continued that he had been informed by Allāh, that the hands and head of the hero, who volunteered, would be chopped off and he would be martyred. Muslim hesitated. Again Imām 'Alī repeated the same invitation. Again Muslim came forward but the threat weakened his resolve. The third time he came forward resolutely, took the Qur'ān in his right hand and delivered a sermon before the enemy. Talha ordered his men to chop off Muslim's right hand. Muslim took the Qur'ān in

260 Kashshī, p. 78; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 130.

261 Mufīd, pp. 8, 21, 25, 155; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 130.

his left hand. When this was also severed, Muslim protected the Qur'ān by claspng it to his breast and met his martyrdom.²⁶²

Abu'l-Aswad ad-Du'ālī (Zālim bin 'Amr) of Basra was a poet and scholar. He wrote the principles of syntax in Arabic under Imām 'Alī's direction. In the battle of Siffin he was invincible. When the fighting ceased as a result of Mu'āwiya's stratagem of arbitration on the basis of the Qur'ān, Imām 'Alī nominated ibn 'Abbās to represent his side. Mu'āwiya, however, would only accept Abū Mūsa Ash'ari. Abu'l-Aswad reported that Abū Mūsa was not dependable. He suggested he himself should be appointed 'Alī's representative or else he should be allowed to act as Abū Mūsa's adviser. Mu'āwiya rejected this idea. Later, Mu'āwiya asked him what he would have done had he been appointed arbitrator. Abu'l-Aswad said that he would have collected one thousand eminent muhājirūn and the same number of eminent ansārs. He would have asked them who of the two deserved to become caliph, the most superior person among the muhājirs (i. e. 'Alī) or a member of the *tulaqa* community of Abū Sufyān who had been taken captive by the Muslims. Mu'āwiya thanked God that he had successfully debarred Abu'l-Aswad from the discussions.

Abu'l-Aswad tried to stop Imām 'Alī's governor in Basra, 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās, from deserting his master and appropriating the treasury. Subsequently, 'Alī appointed him governor of Basra in place of ibn 'Abbās. Abu'l-Aswad wrote touching elegies on 'Alī's death. The governor of Kūfa, 'Ubaydu'llāh ibn Ziyād, is said to have told Abu'l-Aswad that his advanced years prevented him (the governor) seeking his collaboration in government. Abu'l-Aswad replied, "If you want me for wrestling, I am no good. If you wish to obtain my guidance, I am still the best." Later ibn Ziyād asked Abu'l-Aswad about his friendship with Imām 'Alī. Abu'l-Aswad said, "Imām 'Alī's friendship has enhanced my prosperity and good fortune in the same way as Mu'āwiya's friendship has enhanced your prosperity and good fortune. There is, however, one difference. I sought 'Alī's friendship for help in the hereafter while you seek Mu'āwiya's friendship for gain in the present world." Abu'l-Aswad's elegy on Imām Husayn's death is very moving and includes a cry for vengeance. He died in 69/688.²⁶³

Zayd bin Wahb al-Juhni left his homeland to visit the Prophet but the Prophet died before he arrived. Zayd became one of 'Alī's favourites. He collected the Prophet's *ahādīs*. He also gathered the sermons Imām 'Alī delivered on Fridays and on 'id days. Some Sunnī scholars consider

262 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 130-31.

263 Muhammad al 'Āmilī, *Nafā'isu'l-funūn*, Tehran. n. d., pp. 22-23; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 138-39.

Zayd's *ahādīs* unreliable but the majority judge them dependable.²⁶⁴

'Ubaydu'llāh ibn Rāfi' was, like his father, Ibrāhīm bin Abī Rāfi', 'Ali's devotee. According to Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsi he was 'Ali's secretary. He compiled 'Ali's judgements in book form. He also wrote a biographical dictionary of the Prophet's companions who took part in the battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrawān.²⁶⁵

Rashid al-Hijri was another of Imām 'Ali's favourites. Imām 'Ali had also told him how ibn Ziyād would torture him to death. When he was taken captive, ibn Ziyād asked him about Imām 'Ali's prophecy regarding his (Rashid's) death. Rashid replied that his hands, feet and tongue would be amputated. Ibn Ziyād decided to falsify Imām 'Ali's prophecy. He had Rashid's hands and feet amputated. Rashid then asked for pen and ink in order to dictate the art of foretelling the future which he had learnt from Imām 'Ali. A crowd flocked round him. He foretold ibn Ziyād's doom. Ibn Ziyād was so upset that he forgot his determination to falsify Imām 'Ali's prophecy and had Rashid's tongue cut off.²⁶⁶

Hāris bin 'Abdu'llāh al-A'war Hamadāni was 'Ali's companion. He lived at one time with 'Abdu'llāh ibn Mas'ūd.²⁶⁷ He was a *faqīh* and a scholar of *hadīs*. The four *Sunan* works of *ahādīs* by eminent Sunni scholars include *ahādīs* transmitted by al-Hāris. He reported that 'Ali had told him that his ('Ali's) spirit visited both his friends and enemies before their death. His friends died hoping for Divine mercy but his enemies died in shame and disappointment. In 60/689 he died.²⁶⁸

Misam al-Tammār belonged to a large clan, whose members were Shi'is. 'Ali asked him what he would do if ibn Ziyād ordered him to curse him ('Ali). Misam said he would refuse. 'Ali then described the tortures he would suffer and located the spots where he would be executed. Throughout his life Misam looked forward to meeting his end the way Imām 'Ali had foretold. Subsequently Misam's refusal to curse 'Ali led to his death in the manner the Imām had predicted.²⁶⁹

'Ali had many other distinguished followers: His slave, Qanbar, who brought the water for his master's ablutions, was martyred by Hajjāj.²⁷⁰ Minhāl bin 'Amar al-Asadi²⁷¹ transmitted *ahādīs* told by Imām

264 Mufīd, pp. 53, 56; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 136.

265 Tūsi, pp. 202-3; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 135.

266 Kashshī, pp. 50-52; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 133.

267 He learned the Qur'ān directly from the Prophet himself and courageously popularized it in Mecca before the Prophet moved from there.

268 Mufīd, p. 171; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 132.

269 Mufīd, pp. 243-46; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 132.

270 Kashshī, pp. 48-50; Mufīd, pp. 156, 157, 248, 249; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 135.

271 Mufīd, p. 266; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 137.

Husayn²⁷². Nu'mān bin 'Ajlān was Imām 'Alī's tax collector in Bahrayn and 'Ummān Abū Jund fought valiantly in the battle of Jamal. 'Alī made Abū'l-Jūsha as one of his standard bearer in Siffin. Abū Qurra al-Kindī and 'Alī bin Rabi'a transmitted *ahādīs* from Imām 'Alī. Abū's-Saffāh was the first of 'Alī's companions to be martyred in the battle of Siffin. Another early victim was Abū Shamir bin Abraha. He was a Syrian who had deserted Mu'āwiya and joined 'Alī's army.²⁷³ 'Abdu'l-'Aziz bin Hāris Ju'fi fought gallantly in the battle of Siffin and contributed greatly to Imām 'Alī's victory.²⁷⁴ Habīb ibn Mazāhir was devoted to Imām 'Alī and was martyred in the battle of Karbalā at an age of seventy. The hopes of martyrdom had so deeply excited him that he did not hesitate to cut jokes even with such senior companions of Imām Husayn as Burayr bin al-Hazīr al-Hamadānī. He had memorized the Qur'ān by heart and recited the whole book each night.²⁷⁵ Muhaqqin bin Abī Muhaqqin fearlessly praised Imām 'Alī at Mu'āwiya's court and assailed him for his love of prestige and position.²⁷⁶

Jābir bin Yazid al-Ju'fi of Kūfa, became Imām Bāqir's disciple. The Imām gave him a book and asked him to memorize its contents but keep them secret. Except for those *ahādīs* he had vowed to keep secret, he publicly transmitted the Imām's *ahādīs* in the Prophet's mosque at Medina. People considered him a lunatic. Jābir said that he had learned another 70,000 *ahādīs* transmitted by Imām al-Bāqir which he never divulged. He complained that Imām al-Bāqir's orders to keep this large number of *ahādīs* to himself laid a heavy burden on him. Imām as-Sādiq blessed Jābir and told him to go to the forest and unburden himself to the trees. The *Ghulāt* (extremists) considered Jābir was their leader but Jābir exhibited considerable moderation. When Hishām (105-125/724-743) became caliph, Jābir grew frightened. He began to pretend he was a lunatic. He died in 128/746.²⁷⁷

Abān bin Taghlīb bin Riyāh bin Sa'id al-Bakrī al-Harirī was an expert in Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, lexicography and Arabic syntax. He studied under Imāms Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, Muhammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far as-Sādiq. Imām al-Bāqir advised him to sit down in the Medina mosque and write *fatwas* to enlighten the Shi'is in matters relating to *fiqh*. Whenever Abān visited Medina, people flocked around him to

272 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 138.

273 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 138.

274 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 133.

275 Kashshī, pp. 52-53; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 132.

276 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 134.

277 Kashshī, pp. 126-31; Najāshī, pp. 99-100; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*. For modern comments on Jābir's *ghulāt* leanings see Ja'firi, *The origins and development of Shi'a Islam*, pp. 301-3; Mufid, pp. 15, 23, 25, 50, 83, 384-96, 409, 544, 550, 553.

listen to *ahādīs* and obtain *fatwas* from him. On one occasion someone asked him how many of the Prophet's companions were Imām 'Alī's followers. Abān said, "Do you wish to measure the superiority of Imām 'Alī by the number of the Prophet's companions who were devoted to him?" The man replied in the affirmative. Abān retorted, "By God! I see no merit in any of the Prophet's companions unless he is devoted to Imām 'Alī."

Ahmad bin Hanbal, ibn Mu'in and Abū Hātim considered Abān a reliable narrator of *ahādīs*. Some Sunnī authors accused him of being a *ghālī* (extremist). According to az-Zahbī, the *tābi'ūn* and *taba' tābi'ūn* Shi'is included both extremists and non-extremists, although all of them were religious, truthful and pious. If their *ahādīs* were to be ignored because of their extremist views, a large *corpus* of the Prophet's traditions would be destroyed.²⁷⁸

Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari says that Zahbī, the author of the *Mizānu'l-I'tidāl*, considered four hundred Shi'i *tābi'ūn* and *taba' tābi'ūn* were *tafziliyya* and believed the majority of them to be truthful and reliable. The *Kitāb al-ansāb* by Sam'ānī states that a large number of learned men among the *tābi'ūn* were Shi'is.

SHĪ'Ī AUTHORS OF QUR'ĀNIC EXEGESIS, HADĪS, FIQH AND KALĀM

First to the Fifth Century of Hijra

The Imāms from Ahl-i Bayt were pioneers in disseminating Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs*, *fiqh* and *kalām*. The Prophet's companions, *tābi'ūn* and *taba' tābi'ūn*, who studied under these Imāms, were encouraged to devote themselves to intellectual pursuit and all were eminent teachers, preachers and debaters. Some were encouraged to write books. The works of Salmān Fārsī, Abū Zarr Ghifāri, Abū Rāfi', his sons 'Ubaydu'llāh and 'Alī, and those of Abu'l-Aswad are well-known. These authors flourished in the first and early second century of Islam and enriched the *corpus* of Islamic religious and spiritual literature. Their works forestalled the earliest Sunnī authors, such as ibn Jarīh (d. 150/767-68), Mujāhid (d. 101 or 104/719 or 722), 'At'a of Mecca (d. between 110 and 114/728 and 732), Mu'mir bin Rāshid as-San'ānī of Mecca (d. between 150 and 154/767 and 771), Mālik bin Anas (d. 179/795), Abū Hanīfa (d. 150/767) and Sufyān as-Sawri (d. 161/777-78). The Imāms maintained strict secrecy concerning some works.

They allowed only competent Shi'i scholars to indulge in religious

278 Kashshī, pp. 212-13; Najāshī, pp. 7-10; Tūsī, *Fihrist al-Tūsī*, pp. 5-6; Ibn Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist*, Cairo, n. d., p. 322; *Majālisu'l-nu'minān*, pp. 139-40.

polemics. For example, Abū Khālid Kābulī, who was formerly a Kaysāni, but later on became a disciple of Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, relates that once he found Abū Ja'far Mu'minu't-Tāq engaged in religious debate with some non-Shi'is. Abū Khālid reminded him that Imām as-Sādiq had forbidden religious polemics. Mu'minu't-Tāq replied, "Has the Imām asked you to stop me?" Abū Khālid replied in the negative but added that the Imām had ordered him not to discuss religion with non-Shi'is. Mu'minu't-Tāq asked Abū Khālid to comply with these orders. Abū Khālid later reported this conversation to Imām as-Sādiq. The Imām smiled and said, "O Abū Khālid! Mu'minu't-Tāq is like a well-trained rooster in polemics. Even if his wings were cut off, he would still fly and find a way to assert his viewpoint. Even though your wings were unclipped, you would be unable to fly."²⁷⁹ It would seem, therefore, that although the Imāms authorised a large number of disciples to teach Qur'ānic exegesis, *ahādīs* and *fiqh*, only selected disciples were allowed to debate religion. Under the Imāms, particularly Imāms al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq, the study of *kalām* (speculative theology) was crystallized in response to the need felt by the scholars of both Sunnī and Shi'i sects to justify their respective ideologies. The Shi'i experts in *kalām* were also proficient in Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs* and *fiqh*.

Some scholars transmitted *ahādīs* from the Imāms and were expert in disseminating the Imām's teachings on *hadīs*, Qur'ānic exegesis and *fiqh*. They were eminent teachers but their own written works are unknown due to the repressive measures adopted by the caliphs against the Shi'is. Secondly a large number of Shi'i works and libraries were destroyed. Nevertheless, early Shi'i bibliographical works such as *Kitāb ar-Rijāl* (*Fihrist Kutub a'sh-Shi'a*) by Ahmad bin 'Alī al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058) and *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (*Fihrist Tūsi*) by Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin Hasan bin 'Alī at-Tūsi (d. 460/1067-68) and other bibliographical works contain titles and details of some works by early Shi'i authors. Some works have been recently discovered and a few of them edited. They form a watershed in Shi'i intellectual activity.

One of these early authors, Abū Mikhnaf Lūt bin Yahya (d. 157/773-74), was an historian and wrote biographical works. His father, Yahya, was Imām 'Alī's companion. According to the *Fihrist* by ibn Nadīm, Abū Mikhnaf was the author of several monographs. The more important among these are the *Kitāb Khutbatu'z-Zahrā'* (*Fātima Zahra's Sermons*), *Kitāb maqtal 'Usmān* (*On 'Usmān's Assassination*), *Kitāb Jamal wa Siffin* (*The History of Jamal and Siffin*), *Kitāb maqtal Muhammad bin Abī Bakr* (*Muhammad bin Abī Bakr's assassination*), *Kitāb maqtal Imām Husayn* (*The*

279 Kashshī, pp. 79-80; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 152.

Tragedy of Karbalā) and *Kitāb Akhbār Mukhtār* (*The History of Mukhtār*).²⁸⁰

Ahmad bin Yahya bin Jābir al-Balāzuri (d. 279/892-93) the author of the *Ansābu'l ashraf* and other authors quote him frequently. He is considered an authority even on controversial issues such as the events at Saqifa. Abū Mikhnaf does not generally borrow from his predecessors but analyses the facts from his own sources. His account of the tragedy of Karbalā is a very carefully written document and is based on personal reports from eye-witnesses. Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin Jarir at-Tabari (d. 311/923-24) draws profusely upon Abū Mikhnaf's *Maqal al-Husayn*. Many later scholars also depended on Abū Mikhnaf for their information. Among modern writers, J. Wellhausen²⁸¹ and Ursula Sezgin²⁸² have made critical studies of Abū Mikhnaf and have emphasized the importance of his works.

'Abdu'llāh bin 'Alī bin Abī Shu'ba was originally a citizen of Kūfa but the family name was changed to Halabi (of Halab) because of their deep involvement with trade and commerce there. 'Abdu'llāh's father and grandfather were devoted to the Imāms. 'Abdu'llāh wrote a book on Shi'i *fiqh* and *hadis* which Imām as-Sādiq corrected. He was the first of Imām as-Sādiq's companions to write such a work. The Imām admired it warmly.²⁸³

Abū Hamza Sābit bin Dinār, known as Abu's-Safiyya, studied under Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn and drank deeply at the fountain of knowledge under al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq. The sources are in dispute over Abū Hamza's association with al-Kāzim. According to Imām ar-Rizā', he was the Salmān Fārsī of his own days. Some Sunnī scholars consider him an authority on *hadis* but others reject him. He occupies a very important position in the *isnāds* (chains of transmission) of Shi'i *ahādīs*. He wrote books on Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadis* and asceticism. Among the Sunnī scholars, Abū Nu'aym (d. 219/834), the author of *Hilyatu'l-awliya'* studied under him. He died at a ripe old age in 150/767.²⁸⁴

Abu'l-Hasan Az-Zurāra bin A'yān b. Sūsan al-Shaybānī al-Kūfī was the grandson of a Greek monk who had embraced Islam. He was originally a disciple of a Zaydite and a Mu'tazila but, later, he and his brothers turned to Imām Bāqir. They also studied under Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. The Imām evinced a great interest in Zurāra and placed him among the four persons he loved best. The other three were Muhammad bin Muslim bin Riyāh, Burayd bin Mu'āwiya al-'Ijli and Ja'far

280 Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist*, pp. 142-43; Mufid, pp. 10, 280.

281 Preface to the *Arab Kingdom and its fall*, Calcutta, 1927.

282 Ursula Sezgin, *Abū Mikhnaf, ein Beitrag zur historiographic der Umayyadisihen Zeit*, Leiden, 1971.

283 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 151.

284 Kashshī, p. 132; Mufid, 27, 387, 414, 526, 543; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 142.

Muhammad bin Nu'mān al-Ahwal. Besides *hadis* and *fiqh*, Zurāra was expert in *kalām*. His early Mu'tazilite training of rationalism was sharpened under Imāms al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq. His book on *istitā'āt* (power) and *jabr* (compulsion) was a pioneering work in *kalām*. He died two months after the death of Imām as-Sādiq. Other sources give 150/767 as the date of his death.²⁸⁵

His brothers, Humrān bin A'yān, 'Abdu'l Malik and Bukayr were also deeply devoted to Imāms Zaynu'l-'Ābidin, al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq. Humrān was a grammarian who earnestly disseminated the Shi'i faith.

'Abdu'l-Malik died during Imām Ja'far's lifetime. The Imām mourned his death deeply and used to say that he had no equal. Their sons and disciples formed a band devoted to the Imāms and popularised their teachings in Kūfa and Medina.²⁸⁶

'Abdu'l-'Aziz bin Ahmad bin 'Īsa al-Jalwaddi al-Azdi was a companion of Imāms al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq. He was a prolific author and wrote on all branches of Islamic learning such as *hadis*, *fiqh*, history and biography. His works on Qur'anic exegesis discuss subjects such as *asbābu'n-nuzūl* (causes of revelation), *nāsikh* (a verse abrogating another), *mansūkh* (a verse abrogated by another), *maqū'āt* (where a verse is read separately from the others), *mawsūl* (where a verse is read in combination with the following one), the rules for reciting the Qur'ān and the distinctive features of the Qur'ān. His works on *hadis* deal with the traditions transmitted by the Imāms and their companions. He wrote on all important topics of *fiqh*. His historical and biographical works comprise separate treatises on the history of the prophets and the Imāms. He also compiled in separate volumes the sermons of the Prophet, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān and 'Ali. Najāshī gives more than one hundred titles of his works but they seem in fact to be chapters of a comprehensive volume.²⁸⁷

Muhammad bin al-Hasan b. Abī Sayyāra of Kūfa came from a family of grammarians. He wrote a book on the vowels and diacritical points in the Qur'ān. Another writer, Muhammad bin Qays Abū Nasr al-Asadi transmitted *ahādīs* from Imāms al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq. He compiled the judgements of Imām 'Alī and wrote a book on the novelties of *ahādīs*. Caliphs 'Umar bin 'Abdu'l-'Aziz (99-101/717-720) and Yazid II (101-105/720-724) sent him on a diplomatic mission to Turkey to negotiate the release of the Muslims held by the Byzantine ruler.²⁸⁸ 'Abdu'llāh bin Maymūn bin Aswad was also a companion of Imāms al-Bāqir and

285 Kashshī, pp. 133-34; Hā'irī, *Muntah al-maqāl*, Tehran, 1320, p. 120; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 147-48.

286 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 148-49.

287 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 149-50.

288 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 150.

as-Sādiq and transmitted their *ahādīs*. He wrote a book on the prophetic mission of Muhammad and another on paradise.²⁸⁹

'Abdu'l-Mu'min bin Abi'l-Qāsim bin Qays of Kūfa and his brother, 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār are regarded as reliable transmitters of *ahādīs* from Imāms al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq. 'Abdu'l-Mu'min also wrote a book on *hadīs*. He died, aged eighty-one, in 147/764-65.

The father of Ismā'il bin Abi Khālid transmitted *ahādīs* from Imām al-Bāqir while Ismā'il conveyed *ahādīs* from as-Sādiq. His book on legal decisions is divided into chapters. Hāris bin al-Mughīra al-Basrī transmitted traditions from Imāms al-Bāqir, as-Sādiq, al-Kāzim and Zayd bin 'Alī. He also authored a book on *hadīs*. Ibrāhīm bin Muhammad bin Abi Yahya Abū Ishāq al-Madanī composed book on the early history of Islam. The historian Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad al-Wāqidi drew profusely upon Ibrāhīm's works.²⁹⁰

Muhammad bin 'Alī bin an-Nu'mān bin Abi Turfatu'l-Ahwal al-Bajli of Kūfa has already been mentioned as a formidable debater and a favourite of Imām as-Sādiq. He was generally known as Abū Ja'far or al-Ahwal. The Shī'is called him the Mu'minu't-Tāq (an orthodox Muslim of Tāq), while the Sunnis nicknamed him Shaytānu't-Tāq (the devil of Tāq). Tāq was a commercial centre in Kūfa. Abū Ja'far owned a shop there where gold and silver were assayed. His mastery in this field had closed the doors of fraud and was responsible for his nickname "the devil". His witty and pungent retorts to Abū Hanīfa of Kūfa show his intellectual depth and learning. An anecdote tells us that once Abū Hanīfa was seated with his companions when he saw Abū Ja'far approaching. He remarked that the devil himself was coming towards them. Abū Ja'far recited the following verse as he came up to them:

"Seest thou not that We have set the devils on the disbelievers to confound them with confusion?"²⁹¹

One day Abū Hanīfa said to Abū Ja'far, "If 'Alī considered himself the rightful successor to the prophet Muhammad, why did he not assert his claim after the Prophet's death?" Abū Ja'far replied that 'Alī feared that the genie friendly to Abū Bakr and 'Umar might kill him as it was said that they killed Sa'd bin 'Ubāda.²⁹²

After Imām as-Sādiq's death, Abū Hanīfa called on Abū Ja'far and remarked sneeringly, "Your Imām has died." Abū Ja'far replied, "Your

289 *Majālis'ul-mu'minin*, p. 151.

290 Tūsi, p. 201; *Majālis'ul-mu'minin*, pp. 150-51.

291 Qur'ān, XIX: 83.

292 *Supra*, pp. 80-81.

Imām won't die until Judgement Day because he is Satan." Abū Ja'far tried to convince Zayd bin Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn of the inadvisability of his uprising against the Umayyads. He criticized the Khawārij pungently and converted them to Shī'ism. He wrote several works on *kalām*, two of which deal with the refutation of the Mu'tazila and Khawārij. The *Kitāb Ihtijāj* discusses 'Alī's *imāma*. The *Kitābu'l-Imāma* analyses the *imāma*. In the *Kitābu'l-Jamal*, he criticizes the uprising of Talha, Zubayr and 'Ā'isha against 'Alī. The *Kitāb Afa'l wa la tafa'l* (on Action) is a study on *kalām*.²⁹³

Abū Muhammad Hishām bin al-Hakam al-Kindī al-Shaybān al-Kūfī was an outstanding scholar of *kalām* and an indefatigable preacher of Shī'ism. His ancestral home was Kūfa but he had founded a commercial centre in Baghdād. In his youth he had been a follower of the Qadariyya²⁹⁴ leader, Jahm bin Safwān (128/746). He visited Imām as-Sādiq but was unable to answer the religious problems posed by the Imām. The impact of the Imām's personality revolutionized Hishām's religious views and he developed an ardent devotion to him. He transmitted *ahādīs* from Imāms as-Sādiq and al-Kāzim. He entered into discussions with the Mu'tazila leaders, such as 'Amr bin 'Ubayd, with great self-confidence and emerged victorious. Yahya, the Bermekid vizier of Hārūnu'r-Rashīd (170-193/786-809), used to discuss the problems of the *Imāmate* with Hishām. One day Yahya said to Hishām, "'Alī used to call 'Umar the *amīru'l-mu'minīn* (commander of the faithful). Was he being honest or lying?" Hishām replied he was an honest man. Yahya asked why 'Alī had then refused to recognise 'Umar as the Imām. Hishām replied that, according to the Qur'ān, God had permitted Abraham to refer to the idols as *ilāh* (god). He quoted the verse: "Then turned he (Abraham) to their gods (*ilāh*) and said: 'Will ye not eat?'" Obviously the idols were not *ilāh* to Abraham. Nevertheless God is not a liar. The same analogy applied to 'Alī's address to 'Umar.

Later Yahya imprisoned al-Kāzim commenting to Hishām that he had thus falsified the Shī'i belief that their faith was dependant on a living Imām. Their Imām had been imprisoned and they would never know whether he was living or dead. Hishām replied that the Shī'is were not concerned whether their Imām was concealed or in occultation. Until they were informed of his death, they would consider him to be alive. Yahya told ar-Rashīd that the Shī'i believed they must obey their Imām. This meant that if their Imām chose to rebel they would all rise against ar-Rashīd. Like other Shī'i leaders, Hishām was persecuted by

293 Kashshī, pp. 122-23; Ibn Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 258; Tūsi, p. 370; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 151-52.

294 Believers in 'Qadar' (free will).

the government. Nevertheless ar-Rashīd invited him to lead the debates condemning the Khawārij. Hishām died in 179/795-96.

Hishām's *al-Altāf* and *Kitāb al-ma'rifa* discuss *kalām*. His *Kitābu'l-Tawhīd* concentrates on Divine monotheism while the *Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā' Aristātālīs fi'l Tawhīd* refutes Aristotle's views on Divine monotheism. The *Kitābu'l-Jabr wa'l-Qadr* is designed to popularize Imām as-Sādiq's middle-of-the-road theory on pre-destination and free will. The *Kitābu'l-Istī'ā'āt* deals with the same problem. His *Kitābu'd-dalāla fi hudūsi'l-ashyā'* comprises metaphysical discussions on God and the universe and forestalls later metaphysical arguments on the subject. His book on *hadīs* is entitled the *Kitābu'l-akhbār*. The *Kitābu'l-Imāma* by him deals with controversies relating to the *Imāma*. His competence as a debater is reflected in his works on the refutation of *zindīqs* (*Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā'z Zanādiqa*), the *ashādu'l-isnayn* (the *isnayn* sect of the Sunnis), and the *ashābu't-tabā'i* (the naturalists). The *Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā'l-mu'tazila fi amr Talha wa Zubayr* destroys the *mu'tazila* defence of Talha and Zubayr. The *Kitāb al-Radd 'alā' min qāla' bi Imāmat al-mafzūl* refutes the rights to the *imām* of the inferior (Abū Bakr and 'Umar) over the superior ('Alī).²⁹⁵

Hishām bin Sālim al-Jawāliqī al-Jūzjānī al-Kūfī hailed from Jūzjān (between the Murghāb and the Āmū Darya in Transoxiana) but had settled in Kūfa. He was a companion of Imāms as-Sādiq and al-Kāzim. After Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq's death, he and Abū Ja'far Mu'minu't-Tāq made earnest efforts to persuade the Shi'is to favour the *imāmate* of al-Kāzim. He took upon himself the responsibility of introducing the Shi'i leaders to al-Kāzim. This had to be done secretly because of the atmosphere of terror created by the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. Al-Kāzim's name was never mentioned openly. He was referred to by titles such as 'Ālim (learned), *faqīh* (jurist) and 'abd sālih (pious slave of God). Jawāliqī secretly preserved the *ahādīs* of Imām al-Kāzim.²⁹⁶

Jamil bin Darrāj an-Nakha'i, who wrote a book on *hadīs*, was another disciple of Imāms as-Sādiq and al-Kāzim. He died during Imām Rizā's lifetime.²⁹⁷ Abu's-Sabbāh Ibrāhīm bin Na'im al-Kanānī of Kūfa was one of Imām Ja'far's and al-Kāzim's companions. He also wrote a book on *hadīs*.²⁹⁸ The persecution of the 'Alids by the early 'Abbāsīd rulers had made it very difficult for the disciples of Imām al-Kāzim to pursue any intellectual activity. Nevertheless the Shi'i scholars did not hesitate to further the progress of their faith. One of al-Kāzim's disciples, Muhammad bin Hakīm, was allowed by his Master to involve himself in polemics

295 Najāshī, pp. 338-39; Ibn Nadīm, pp. 263-64; Tūsī, pp. 355-56.

296 Najāshī, pp. 338-39; Tūsī, p. 356; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 159-60.

297 Najāshī, pp. 98-99; Tūsī, p. 80; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 160.

298 Tūsī, p. 375; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 161.

in *kalām* in the Medina mosque. Muhammad reported these proceedings to the Imām for his approval. He also wrote a book.²⁹⁹

Hasan bin 'Alī bin Fazzāl al-Kūfi believed in the *imāmate* of 'Abdu'llāh Aftāh. In his old age he renounced his Aftāhiyya³⁰⁰ affiliations and became a disciple of Imām al-Kāzim. He transmitted *ahādīs* from Imām ar-Rizā'. He led an ascetic life in a mountain wilderness. The birds were not frightened of him and the wild beasts moved lovingly around him. He had also written a book on *ahādīs* but, during polemics, kept it behind his back. He read from it only to the Imāms' favourite devotees. Nevertheless he wrote books on *ziyārāt* (a prayer book containing greetings to the Prophets and Imāms), a book on *bashārāt* (dealing with happy tidings), a book dealing with the refutation of the *Ghulāt*, a book on *nāsikh* (a verse abrogating another), *mansūkh* (a verse abrogated by another) and treatises on prayers and *mut'a* (marriage for a fixed period). He died in 224/838-39.³⁰¹

Abū Muhammad al-Fazal bin Shāzān bin al-Khalīl al-Azdi was a distinguished Shī'i from Nishāpūr. His father had transmitted *ahādīs* from the ninth Imām at-Taqi, although some sources say that he was also a companion of the eighth Imām ar-Rizā'. He is said to have written 180 books covering a wide range of topics such as *kalām*, philosophy, polemical refutation of different sects and creeds, Qur'ānic exegesis and *ahādīs*.³⁰² I'jāz Husayn Kintūrī describes twenty-two of these books. He also wrote one refuting materialistic philosophers.

Yūnus bin 'Abdu'r-Rahmān al-Yaqtīnī transmitted *ahādīs* from Imāms al-Kāzim and ar-Rizā'. Imām ar-Rizā' considered him very learned and qualified to issue *fatwas*. The Wāqifiyyas offered him a large bribe but he did not desert Imām ar-Rizā', who had appointed Yūnus as his *wakil*, (representative). Imām ar-Rizā' used to say that, as Abū Hamza was the second Salmān in his age, Yūnus was the second Salmān in his (ar-Rizā's) own times. He had forty brothers who daily visited him to pay their compliments. Afterwards he said his prayers and settled down to writing books. He is said to have written one to two thousand volumes in refutation of non-Shī'i sects. They seem to have been short tracts. He had a strong community spirit. Once, when he was told that the Shī'is in Qum frequently abused him, he replied that he forgave all of 'Alī's devotees. Yūnus wrote a book on the exegesis of the Qur'ān, and books on *ahādīs*, *fiqh* and polemical works. He died at Medina in 208/

299 Najāshī, pp. 276-77; Tūsī, p. 290; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 170.

300 *Supra*, p. 58.

301 Najāshī, pp. 26-27; Tūsī, pp. 93-94; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 171.

302 Najāshī, p. 235; Ibn Nadīm, p. 337; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 171-72.

823-24.³⁰³

Safwān bin Yahya al-Bajli of Kūfa transmitted *ahādīs* from Imāms ar-Rizā' and at-Taqī. He was a recognized authority on *fiqh*. He wrote thirty books on *fiqh* and *hadīs*. He was also the author of books on the battles of Jamal and Siffin and Imām Husayn's martyrdom. He died in 210/825.³⁰⁴

Muhammad bin Abi 'Umayr al-Azdi came from Baghdād. He studied *hadīs* under Imāms as-Sādiq and al-Kāzim. According to ibn Batta he wrote ninety-four books. After Imām Rizā's martyrdom, Ma'mūn ordered him to divulge the names of the Shī'is in Iraq but he refused. He was beaten mercilessly but remained silent. Muhammad was imprisoned and suffered considerable financial loss. During his imprisonment his sister buried his books. Only a few of his works, which friends had borrowed before his arrest, survive. His more important extant works include one on *jabr wa qadr*, treatises on *fiqh* and the refutation of anti-Shī'i arguments and books on *hadīs* and the *Imāma*. He died in 217/832.³⁰⁵

Sa'd bin 'Abdu'llāh had travelled far and wide to learn *ahādīs* from many renowned scholars, including Sunnis. He was a prolific author. Najāshī gives a list of some of his works on *hadīs*, *fiqh* and on exegesis of the Qur'ān. Sa'd wrote treatises on 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, and Abi Tālib. He was also the author of a book on the superiority of Qum over other Islamic towns.³⁰⁶

The father of 'Alī bin Mahyār of Ahwaz, was a Christian who later embraced Islam. According to some authorities, 'Alī himself became a Muslim in his youth. He transmitted *ahādīs* from Imām ar-Rizā'. 'Alī was a favourite of Imāms at-Taqī and an-Naqī who appointed him their *wakil* (representative). Their *tawqī'* (letters of authority) are still available. His incessant prostrations made his forehead as knobby as a camel's knees. He was the author of a number of *fiqh* works. He also wrote a book containing biographical notices of the prophets and treatises on the letters of the Qur'ān, commercial practices and craftsmen. He died after 229/843-44.³⁰⁷

Muhammad bin Mas'ūd bin Muhammad 'Ayyāsh as-Sulamī as-Samarqandī, known as 'Ayyāshī, was originally a Sunni and had learnt a large number of Sunni *ahādīs*. When he became a Shī'i, he studied under the scholars and sages in Qum, Kūfa and Baghdād. He spent his patrimony of over 300,000 *dīnārs* in travelling and learning *ahādīs*. His house resembled

303 Najāshī, p. 348; Ibn Nadīm, p. 323; Tūsī, pp. 366-67; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 175-76.

304 Najāshī, p. 148; Ibn Nadīm, p. 325; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 176.

305 Najāshī, p. 250; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 178.

306 Najāshī, pp. 145-461; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 186.

307 Najāshī, pp. 191-92; Tūsī, pp. 152-53; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 181.

a seminary—calligraphists transcribed manuscripts while 'ulamā' collated and commented on them. He wrote several works on Qur'ānic exegesis, the recitation of the Qur'ān, the superiority of the Qur'ān, Arabic literature and medicine. He composed books on the biographies of the first three caliphs and Mu'āwiya. The famous Shi'i *rijāl* (biographical works), Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Kashshī, was one of his pupils. He died in 320/932-33.³⁰⁸

Muhammad bin 'Abdu'r-Rahmān bin Qubbatu'r-Rāzī, known as Abū Ja'far was a *kalām* scholar. In his youth he had been a Mu'tazila but later on he embraced the Shi'i faith. He wrote a considerable number of books on the *imāma* and composed works refuting the Zaydiyyas and leading Mu'tazilas, such as Abū 'Alī Muhammad bin 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb al-Jubba'i (d. 303/915-16), who taught Abu'l-Hasan al-Ash'ari.³⁰⁹

Sa'id bin Hammād bin Mahrān's ancestors came from Ahwaz but had moved to Kūfa. He had two sons Husayn and Hasan. Husayn's grandfather was a *mawlā* (client) of Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. Hasan introduced many eminent scholars to Imām ar-Rizā'. He and his brother wrote about thirty books. Both were recognised as outstanding scholars. They generally composed *fiqh* works. An exegesis of the Qur'ān was also written by them.³¹⁰

Ahmad bin Dāwud bin Sa'id al-Fazārī al-Jūzjānī, known as Abū Yahya, was a Sunni expert on *hadīs*, whose research had prompted him to embrace Shi'ism. His contribution to Shi'i literature is impressive. Besides *fiqh* works, he was the author of books on discussions condemning non-Shi'i sects and he refuted many eminent Sunni *fiqh* scholars.³¹¹

Ismā'il bin Mahrān bin Abī Nasr transmitted *ahādīs* from Imāms as-Sādiq and ar-Rizā'. He compiled the sermons of Imām 'Alī and wrote a book on the merit earned from reciting the Qur'ān. He was accused of *ghulū* (extremism).³¹²

Ismā'il bin 'Alī al-Qummi al-Basri was a learned Shi'i who wrote a number of books defending Shi'i *fiqh*.³¹³

The scholars of the ancient Iranian Nawbakhti family influenced the realms of history, *hadīs* and *kalām* for several centuries. Hasan bin Muhammad bin 'Alī bin al-'Abbās bin Ismā'il bin Abī Sahl bin Nawbakhti was an eminent scholar of *hadīs*. According to Sunni sources, he was a Shi'i-Mu'tazili but Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari disagrees. He contends that

308 Tūsi, pp. 316-17; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 189-90.

309 Najāshī, pp. 290-91; Tūsi, pp. 97-98; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 188.

310 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 182.

311 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 182.

312 Kashshī, p. 363; Najāshī, p. 27; Tūsi, pp. 27-28; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 182.

313 Tūsi, p. 59; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 182.

Shi'i authorities consider him a reliable Shi'a and only the Sunnis baselessly accuse him of Mu'tazila views.³¹⁴

Ismā'il bin Ishāq bin Abī Sahl bin Nawbakhti al-Baghdādī was one of the leaders of the Shi'i *mutakallims* (scholastics) in Baghdād. He also occupied a very distinctive position among the Nawbakhtis and was well patronised by the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. He wrote books on *kalām* and produced a very impressive *corpus* of literature refuting non-Islamic and non-Shi'i sects. His works on *imāma* are very significant additions to this category.³¹⁵

Hasan b. Mūsa bin Nawbakhti was the sister's son of Abī Sahl b. Nawbakhti. Hasan was a Shi'i *mutakallim*, *faqih* (jurist) and philosopher. He was alive during the short occultation of the twelfth Imām which continued until 329/940-41. He was a distinguished scholar of *kalām* and possessed a deep perception of *hadīs* and history. His *Kitāb Fīraq a'sh-Shi'a* is a mine of information on Shi'i sects. His analysis of the fourteen factions that emerged after Imām 'Askari's death is a very important contribution to knowledge. He wrote comprehensive works on the *imāma* and on Imām 'Alī's wars. He was the author of a large work on *Tawhid* and another refuting Aristotle's approach to God. His works condemning different religious groups and non-Shi'i sects display profound scholastic reasoning.³¹⁶

Other less known Shi'i authors include Hasan bin 'Alī bin Ziyād al-Washā who wrote a book on the legal problems explained by Imām ar-Rizā'. Another author, Hasan bin Muhammad Nihāwandī specialized in *kalām* and wrote a book criticizing Sa'id b. Har'ūn Khārijī and another on *imāma*. Hasan b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Saffār al-Basrī composed an authentic work on the rise of *Sāhibu'z-zamān* (The Lord of the Age or the twelfth Imām). Husayn bin Muhammad bin 'Umrān bin Abī Bakr al-Ash'arī al-Qummi was one of Muhammad bin Ya'qūb al-Kulayni's teachers. He was the author of a book on *fiqh* entitled *al-Nawādir*.³¹⁷

Muhammad b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kulayni (d. 329/941), the author of the *Usūl al-Kāfi*, has already been mentioned. His *al-Kāfi* is one of the four canonical books of the Shi'is. Kulayni also wrote *ar-Rasā'il* (treatises on *hadīs*) and the *Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā'l Qarāmita* (The refutation of the Caramathians).³¹⁸

Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Husayn b. Bābuya (Bābuwayh) al-Qummi, the father of the celebrated Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn

314 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 183.

315 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 183.

316 Tūsi, pp. 98-99; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 183.

317 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 384.

318 Najāshī, pp. 292-93; Tūsi, pp. 326-27; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 194-95.

(Shaykh Sadūq), was also an eminent *mujtahid* in Qum and a distinguished Shi'i leader. He was a rich merchant.

Abu'l-Qāsim al-Husayn b. Rūh an-Nawbakhti (d. 326/937-38), who was the third agent of the twelfth Imām during his short occultation, was Abu'l-Hasan's friend. It is believed that Abu'l-Hasan's son Muhammad was born because of the blessing of the twelfth Imām in c. 311/923.

'Alī bin Husayn, who died in 329/940-41, was the author of about ten important works. They include an exegesis of the Qur'ān, the *Kitābu'l-Imāma wa't-tabsīra min a'l-hayra*, the *Kitāb qurbu'l-Isnād* on *hadīs*, *al-sharā'i* on *fiqh*, a book on logic and a book on medicine entitled the *Kitābu't-Tibb*.³¹⁹

His son, Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn b. Mūsa b. Bābuwayh al-Qummi, known as Shaykh Sadūq, was a prolific author. The titles of more than fifty books written by him are known. Some of them have been published. His fame, however, rests on his monumental work, *Man lā Yahzuruhū'l-faqih*, which is regarded as the second canonical book of Shi'i *ahādīs*. It is a very comprehensive work and supplements *al-Uṣūl al-Kāfi*. His *I'tiqādāt* deals with Shi'i beliefs on Divine monotheism, the Divine attributes, Divine essence, *Jabr wa Qadr* (predestination), Creation, the prophets, Imāms and their impeccability, the Prophet Muhammad, justice, resurrection, *Shifā'a* (intercession) and paradise. He wrote several other works on Shi'i beliefs. Among these are the *Dā'imū'l-Islām*, *Risāla fi arkāni'l-Islām*, *Hidayātu't-tālibīn fi'l-usūl wa'l-furū'*, *Kitāb al-Maḥna* and *Hidayat fi'l-usūl wa'l-furū'*. He composed *Kamālū'd-Dīn wa tamām al-ni'ma* on the occultation of the Twelfth Imām and on the Imām's inspirations. Two other works by him on *ghayba* (occultation) are equally important. They are entitled the *Risāla fi'l-ghayba* and the *Kitāb al-ghayba*. His *al-Amālī* is a mine of *ahādīs* on all aspects of life, including keeping oneself fit and the treatment of diseases. The *Amālī* comprises an important category in Shi'i literature. It consists of various lectures by distinguished sages taken down by expert scribes. The *Amālī* of Shaykh Sadūq comprises ninety lectures, beginning from Friday 18 Rajab 367/1 March 978 and ending on 11 Sha'bān 368/14 March 979. It contains thousands of *ahādīs* from the Imāms relating to monotheism, prophethood, *imāma*, articles of faith, Muslims' obligatory and super-erogatory duties, rules of social ethics and the important needs of personal life. Later scholars also wrote *Amālīs*.

Shaykh Sadūq also wrote an exegesis of the Qur'ān. The *Kitābu't-Tawhid* by him deals with Divine monotheism. His works on *ahādīs* embody a variety of themes. Of these the '*Uyūn akhbārū'r-Rizā'*, on the life and sayings of the eighth Imām, 'Alī bin Mūsī ar-Rizā', is a very

319 Najāshī, pp. 198-99; Tūsi, p. 218; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 194.

popular work. It was translated from Arabic into Persian and abridged versions were also compiled. *Al-Misbāh* by Shaykh Sadūq explains and comments on the words and letters of *ahādīs*. *Al-Khisāl* comprises *ahādīs* of ethical importance. *Kitābu'l-musādiqa* deals with the *ahādīs* relating to Islamic ethics. Like *Man lā yahzuruh al-faqih*, the *Mi'rāj* is a very comprehensive collection of *ahādīs*. The *Kitābu'r-Rijāl* comprises the biographies of the Shi'i 'ulamā'. The *Kitāb Fazalū'l-'Alwiyya* and the *Kitāb al-Fazā'il* deal with the achievements of Imām 'Alī and other Imāms. The *Kitāb Ahwāl Abi Tālib*, 'Abdu'l-Muttalib give the biographies of the Prophet's parents and grand-parents. The *Kitāb Akhbār Salmān* and the *Kitāb Abū Zarr* discuss the achievements of Salmān Fārsī and Abū Zarr Ghifārī. Shaykh Sadūq wrote treatises on the piety and asceticism of the Prophet Muhammad and the Imāms. The *Munāzira Ruknu'd-Dawla*, comprising theological discussions between Shaykh Sadūq and the Sunni qāzī at the court of the Būyid Sultan Ruknu'd-Dawla (335-366/947-977), was compiled by Shaykh Ja'far Dūrbasti. Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī has reproduced some of these in the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*. Shaykh Sadūq taught at Baghdād but returned to Ray in his old age where he died in 381/991.³²⁰

Other fourth century scholars also enriched Shi'i literature. Of these, Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Khālid bin 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, known as Abū Ja'far, came from a family which originally lived in Kūfa. After Zayd bin 'Alī's martyrdom, the governor of Kūfa, Yūsuf bin 'Umar, killed one of his relatives, Muhammad bin 'Alī Khālid, although he was only a child. Abū Ja'far's father, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, fled to Barq Raw. He (Abū Ja'far) was the author of a detailed work on *hadīs* entitled *Jāmi' Mahāsin*. He died in 274/887 or 280/893.³²¹

Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Īsa bin 'Abdu'llāh bin Sa'd bin Mālik wrote books on *Tawhid*, the prophethood of Muhammad and on *nāsikh* (a verse abrogating another) and *mansūkh* (a verse abrogated by another).³²² Sa'd bin Mālik, one of his ancestors, was the first dignitary to settle in Qum. Another writer, Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Sulaymān, was an historian, but also wrote books on pilgrimage. He died in 368/978-79.³²³ Ahmad bin Muhammad bin al-Husayn was the author of some one hundred books. He died in 350/961-62.³²⁴

Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Sa'id bin 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, known as

320 Najāshī, pp. 302-3; Tūsi, pp. 304-5; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 195-200; Sa'id Nafisi's introduction to *Musādaqat al-ikhwān*, Tehran, n. d., pp. 1-18; A. A. Fyzee, *Shi'ite creed*, Oxford, 1942; Kamrahī, *Amāli*, Tehran, 1355, Sh.

321 Tūsi, pp. 37-40; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 184.

322 Tūsi, pp. 46-47; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 184.

323 Tūsi, pp. 40-41; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 184-85.

324 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 185.

ibn 'Uqda, was a leading *hadis* scholar. He travelled widely to meet other *hadis* scholars and to learn from them. The Baghdād scholars believed that, except for ibn Mas'ūd,³²⁵ none could beat him at memorising *ahādīs*. Eminent Sunnī scholars studied *ahādīs* under him. Ibn 'Uqda claimed that he had recorded 300,000 *ahādīs* from the Banī Hāshim and Ahl al-Bayt. Six hundred camels were required to carry his books. In the Kūfa mosque he used to lecture on the faults and failures of the first three caliphs and their associates. Although he was a Sunnī, his uninhibited criticisms of the caliphs provoked hostility from a considerable number of Sunnī scholars. His son, Muhammad bin Ahmad, was, however, an Imāmī Shī'ī. He also memorised a large number of *ahādīs*.³²⁶

Ahmad bin Ismā'il bin 'Abdu'llāh was another well-known literary figure. He came from Qum. Many famous scholars were his disciples. He wrote a voluminous work on the history of the 'Abbāsids.³²⁷

The ancestors of Ahmad bin 'Amīr bin Sulaymān bin Sālih bin Wahb were favourites of the Imāms. One of them Hasan, was killed in the battle of Siffin fighting under 'Alī, while Wahb sacrificed his life for Imām Husayn at the battle of Karbalā. Ahmad related *ahādīs* from Imām Rizā'. His son, 'Abdu'llāh, transmitted *ahādīs* from his father. 'Abdu'llāh wrote a book on the legal issues relating to the *imāmate* of Imām 'Alī.³²⁸

Sayf bin 'Umayra an-Nakha'i transmitted *ahādīs* from Imāms Ja'far and Kāzim. He was the author of a book on *hadīs*. 'Abdu'llāh ibn Zayd Ahmad bin Ya'qūb, another writer, was known as Abū Tālib. He was an ascetic and a holy man who took great care to conceal his sanctity. To ensure this objective, at prayer-time he roamed about ruins and synagogues. He was the author of 140 books. A number of them were devoted to *ahādīs* on Ghadir, Fadak and the superiority of Ahl al-Bayt. He died in 356/966-67 at Wāsīt.³²⁹

Muhammad al-Husayn bin Ahmad (d. 340/951-52) lived in Qum. He wrote an exegesis of the Qur'ān and a comprehensive work on *hadīs*.³³⁰

Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm bin Yusuf al-Kātib was known as a Shāfi'ī but secretly followed the Shī'ī faith. He was expert in both the Shāfi'ī

325 'Abdu'llāh bin Ghāfil known as ibn Mas'ūd was one of the earliest Muslims, according to some authorities third after Khadija and 'Alī and according to others sixth. He heard Qur'ān directly from the Prophet and was the first after Muhammad and 'Alī to recite the Qur'ān publicly in Mecca. His version of Qur'ān and his exegesis differed from the official version compiled under Caliph 'Usmān's auspices.

326 Najāshī, pp. 71-72; Tūsi, pp. 42-43; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 185.

327 Najāshī, p. 76; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 185-86.

328 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 186.

329 Najāshī, p. 143; Tūsi, pp. 165-66; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 187.

330 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 187.

and Shi'i schools of *fiqh* and wrote books on them. His Shi'i works include the *Kitāb Isti'dād* on *kalām*, the *Kitāb Istibṣār* on *fiqh*, the *Kitāb Mufrīd* on *hadīs* and an historical work on the condemnation of the 'Abbāsids.³³¹

Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Dāwud bin 'Alī of Qum was a perceptive *faqīh*, an eminent scholar of *hadīs* and a very pious man. He also produced several books.³³²

Muhammad bin Ahmad bin 'Abdu'llāh was another eminent Shi'i *faqīh*. He enjoyed great prestige under the Hamadānids of Mūsāl (293-369/905-979). The Sunnī Qāzī of Mūsāl entered into theological discussions with Muhammad but was rude and stubborn. Muhammad invited him to curse the liars. The Qāzī agreed. Muhammad placed his hands on the Qāzī's palms to solemnize their decision. Both returned home but the Qāzī's hand became swollen and he died. This greatly enhanced the rulers' respect for Muhammad. The latter wrote polemical works refuting the Shi'i Wāqifiyya group and the Sunnī sects. He also wrote books on *hadīs* and *fiqh* and one on *ghayba* (occultation of the Twelfth Imām).³³³

Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Sālim, known as al-Ja'ālī was an outstanding scholar of *hadīs*. He wrote a book on the *hadīs* scholars of the Shi'i sect.³³⁴

Muhammad bin 'Umar bin 'Abdu'l-'Azīz al-Kashshī (d. 376/986-87) was born at Kash in Transoxiana. He studied in Samarqand under al-'Ayyāshī. He was the author of the *Kitāb ma'rīfat al-nāqilin 'an al-a'imma as-Sādiqin*. This work quotes the biographical reports of earlier sources with their chains of transmission. It was abridged by Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Tūsī and entitled *Ikhtiyār ma'rīfatu'r-rijāl*. The *Ikhtiyār*, the *Kitāb fihrist Kutub a'sh-Shi'a* by Abū Ja'far at-Tūsī and the *Kitābu'r-rijāl* by al-Najāshī and Kashshī's *Kitāb ma'rīfatu'l-nāqilin 'an al-a'imma as-Sādiqin* are the pioneering work of Isnā 'Ashariya *rijāl* (biographies).³³⁵

Muhammad bin Ahmad bin 'Abdu'llāh bin Quzā'a al-Safawānī, who died after 346/957-58, was one of the eminent disciples of al-Kulaynī. He wrote two books on ethics entitled *Unsu'l a'lam wa tādībūt-ta'allum* and *Tuhfatu't-tālib*.³³⁶

Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Ja'far Abū 'Alī al-Sawli al-Basrī (d. after 353/961-62), was the author of an important biographical work,

331 Najāshī, pp. 287-88; Tūsī, p. 264; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 188.

332 Najāshī, p. 298; Tūsī, p. 270; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 188.

333 Najāshī, p. 289; Tūsī, pp. 270-71; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 188-89.

334 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 189.

335 Tūsī, p. 309.

336 Tūsī, pp. 270-71; I'jāz Husayn, no. 487.

the *Akhbār Fātima*. He was one of the teachers of the celebrated Shaykh Mufid.³³⁷

Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Junayd al-Kātib al-Askāni (d. 381/991-92) was a prolific author. He wrote works on *fiqh*, Shī'i beliefs, *kalām* and *hadis*. The *Izālatu'l-ahwām 'an qulūbi'l-ikhwān* deals with *ghayba* (occultation). The *Tahzibu'sh-Shī'a li ahkāmū'sh-Shari'a* is a comprehensive work on the fundamental and subsidiary principles of the Shī'i *fiqh*. The discussions in this work are based both on Shī'i and Sunnī sources. Half a dozen other works on Shī'i *fiqh* exhibit the author's wide perception of the subject. He was also the author of a work on the Arabic lexicon.³³⁸

Abu'l-Qāsim Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād, known as ibn 'Abbād, was the Būyid vizier and a man of letters. His father was first a secretary and then a vizier to the Būyid, Ruknu'd-Dawla (335/947-366/977). After his father's death in 334 or 335/946 or 947, ibn 'Abbād worked as secretary to the provincial governors and then became the vizier. He exercised considerable control over the politics of the Būyid princes. Even Nizāmū'l-Mulk Tūsi was impressed by ibn 'Abbād's success as a vizier. He patronized contemporary eminent scholars and benefited from their teachings. He wrote books on religious dogma, history, grammar, lexicography, literary criticism, belles-lettres and composed poetry. He specialized in writing rhymed prose and introduced it into the official correspondence. He died in 385/995 at Ray.³³⁹

Ibn al-'Amīd (Abu'l-Fazl Muhammad bin Husayn) was the son of a wheat merchant in Qum but rose to prominence first as a secretary and later as a vizier to Ruknu'd-Dawla. His *Kitābu'l-mazāhib wa'l-balāgha* is scarce. The copies of his letters which have been discovered reflect his mastery of contemporary religious, social and political matters. He died in 360/970.³⁴⁰

Ahmad Badi' u'z-zamān Hamadāni (d. 398/1008) was a protege of the Būyid vizier, ibn 'Abbād. When he was twenty-two years old he settled in Ray. He invented the genre of Arabic literature known as *Maqāmāt* (Seances). Hamadāni is said to have dictated about 400 *Maqāmāt* but only fifty-two survive. They remained the model for about one thousand years of the Arabic literary style. The *Maqāmāt* reflect the values of contemporary society. The famous Sunnī scholar Harīri³⁴¹ (d. 516/1122),

337 Tūsi, p. 37; I'jāz Husayn, no. 119.

338 Tūsi, p. 267; I'jāz Husayn, nos. 181, 727.

339 Ibn Nadīm, p. 194; Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī, *Masālib al-wazīrayn*, Damascus, 1962, pp. 38-40; Ibn Khallikān, pp. 206-10.

340 *Masālib al-wazīrayn*, pp. 55-56, 212-25; Ibn Nadīm, p. 194.

341 E. I.², III, pp. 106-7.

wrote his *Maqāmāt al-Hariri* (begun in 495/1101) on the model of *al-Maqāmāt al-Badī'iyya* by Badī'u'z-zamān.³⁴²

Another writer, 'Alī bin Muhammad bin 'Alī al-Qummī was one of ibn Bābuya's disciples. His *Kifātu'l asu fi'n nusūs 'alā'l-ā'immat al-Isnā 'Ashrī* is one of the best works on the *Imāma*.³⁴³ Al-Kātib al-Nu'mānī, known as ibn Abi Zaynab, wrote an important book on *ghayba*. His *Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā'l-Ismā'iliyya* is a well argued work on the refutation of Ismā'iliyya sect.³⁴⁴ Abū Mansūr as-Sarām an-Nishāpūri al-Mutakallim produced a comprehensive exegesis of the Qur'ān.³⁴⁵ The historian, Ahmad bin Ibrāhīm bin Ahmad bin al-Mu'allī was the author of two historical works entitled *Tārikhu's-saghir* and *at-Tārikhu'l-kabir*. His *Kitābu'l-firaq* on Islamic sects is also a very important work.³⁴⁶ Muhammad bin Jarīr bin Rustam at-Tabārī composed a detailed work on the *imāma*, the *Dalā'ilul-Imāma*.³⁴⁷

The fifth century of *hijra* is marked by the death of some distinguished Shī'i scholars. Some of them were born in the fourth century and were the custodians of the traditions of al-Kulaynī, ibn Bābuya and their contemporaries. The Būyid dominance (320-454/932-1062) provided a respite to the Shī'is from the persecution of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs. At the Būyid's instigation the 'Abbāsīds appointed a *naqīb* (chieftain) for the Shī'is in Baghdād. In the mid fourth and the fifth centuries, the Shī'i *naqībs* in Baghdād consisted of ash-Sharīf Ahmad and his two sons, ash-Sharīf ar-Razī and ash-Sharīf al-Murtazā and ar-Razī's son, ash-Sharīf Abū Ahmad 'Adnān.

Muhammad bin al-Husayn bin Mūsa bin Ibrāhīm bin Imām al-Kāzim, known as Sayyid ash-Sharīf ar-Razī, was a most distinguished intellectual. His father, ash-Sharīf Ahmad lived in peace and amity with both Sunnis and Shī'is. The inhabitants of Baghdād had faith in his impartiality and submitted their disputes to him for arbitration. Ash-Sharīf ar-Razī was born in 359/970 at the end of the reign of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, al-Mūti' (334-363/946-974). When he was five years old, at-Tā'i (363-381/974-991) became the caliph. Sharīf ar-Razī was a born poet and extremely precocious. At the early age of ten he began to write poetry and teach Arabic syntax and grammar. His piquant mind filled the elderly scholars of his age with amazement. Sharīf ar-Razī studied under both Sunni and Shī'i teachers. He was attached to the court of Bahā'u'd-Dawla Firūz (388-403/998-1012). His poetry transported his

342 Ibn Khallikān, I, pp. 39-41; *Maqāmāt*, Beirut, 1908.

343 Tūsī, p. 229; I'jāz Husayn, no. 2659.

344 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2465.

345 I'jāz Husayn, no. 672.

346 Tūsī, p. 381; I'jāz Husayn, nos. 2538, 4270, 434.

347 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 1101, 2932.

audience to ecstasy. He maintained, however, the impartiality and catholicity inherited by him from his father. He wrote two touching elegies at the death of the famous non-Muslim scholar, Abū Ishāq Sābi. His family, including his brother, Sharif Murtazā, were annoyed that he had immortalized a non-Muslim through his elegy. Sharif ar-Razī remarked that he had admired Abū Ishāq's literary achievements; he was not concerned with his religion. Although Sharif ar-Razī was famous as a poet, he also wrote two books on Qur'ānic exegesis. One is entitled the *Tafsir al-Qur'ān* and the other is known as *Haqā'iqū't-tāwil*. He also produced a book on the Qur'ānic metaphors entitled the *Talkhīsu'l-bayān 'an majāzāti'l-Qur'ān wa ma'āni al-Furqān*. His *Khasā'isu'l a'imma* is a very perceptive account of the life of the Imāms. Sharif ar-Razī's fame, however, rests on his compilation of Imām 'Alī's sermons and aphorisms in the *Nahj al-balāgha*. None of the famous figures in Arabic literature, who were Sharif ar-Razī's contemporaries and near contemporaries, cast any doubt on the authenticity of the sermons and maxims in this book. It was during the age of decline in Arabic literary criticism that Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282-83) and Yāfi'i (d. 768/1366) alleged that *Nahj al-balāgha* did not contain Imām 'Alī's sermons but it was compiled by Sharif ar-Razī himself. Other Sunni scholars uncritically followed them. In fact some of Imām 'Alī's sermons in the *Nahj al-balāgha* such as the Khutba Shiqshiqiyya, which contains pungent criticisms of the first three successors to the Prophet, upset them. Earlier scholars never questioned the authenticity of the Imām's sermons. In 406/1015-16, Sharif ar-Razī died.³⁴⁸ His contemporary, 'Alī bin Nāsir wrote a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha*.

Ahmad bin al-Husayn bin Ahmad al-Nishāpūri al-Khuzā'i, another writer, also died in 406/1015-16. He wrote *al-Amāli fi'l-akhbār* on *hadis*. He also produced books on *fiqh* and the principles of *fiqh*.³⁴⁹

Al-Husayn bin 'Abdu'llāh al-Ghazā'iri Abū 'Abdu'llāh (d. 411/1020-21) composed a book refuting the *Ghulāt*. His *Kitāb yawmu'l-Ghadir* and *Kitābu't-taslim 'alā Amirū'l-mu'minin* deal with the *Imāma*. The *Kitāb mawātin Amirū'l-mu'minin 'Alī* comprises biographies of Imām 'Alī and other Imāms. His *Tazkiratu'l-'āqil wa tanbihu'l-ghāfil* discusses the superiority of knowledge over other pursuits. His *Kitāb Fazl Baghdād* discusses the intellectual life of Baghdād. Al-Husayn also wrote books on *fiqh*, *ahādīs* and *rijāl*.³⁵⁰

348 Ibn Khallikān, IV, pp. 44-49; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 217-19; Muhammad Sulaymān bin Muhammad Rafi' al-Tunkābānī, *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, Lucknow, 1306/1888-89, pp. 197-201.

349 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 381, 1593.

350 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 2624, 2483, 2379, 2608, 3551.

One of the prominent authors of the late fourth century and the early fifth century *hijra* was Shaykh Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad bin Nu'mān al-Hārisi, known as Shaykh al-Mufid. He was born in 336/947-48 or 338/949-50. While he was still a child his father moved to Baghdād. He studied under such eminent scholars as Abī 'Abdu'llāh Bajli and Abī Yāsir. His teachers were unable to face his sharp mind. Both the eminent Ash'ari leader, al-Baqillāni, and the eminent Mu'tazila, 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, avoided entering into polemics with him. The Būyid 'Azudu'd-Dawla Fanā-Khusraw (338-372/949-983) became his patron. 'Ulamā' from distant places flocked to study under Shaykh Mufid. Funds provided by 'Azudu'd-Dawla helped the Shaykh to educate a galaxy of scholars, including Sharif ar-Razi's brother Sharif al-Murtazā. Letters seeking his legal opinion (*fatwas*) were received from Jūzjān, Dināwar, Raqqa, Khwārizm, Egypt and Tabaristān. He died on 3 Ramazān 413/30 November 1022. Sharif al-Murtazā wrote a touching elegy. The eminent Sunni 'ulamā' heaved a sigh of relief. The titles of 132 books written by him are mentioned in early bibliographical works.³⁵¹ They cover all aspects of *tafsir*, *fiqh*, *hadīs*, *rijāl* and *kalām*.

His *Kitāb Tāwil al-Masābih* and the *Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā'l Jubba'i*, are profound philosophical exegeses of the Qur'ān. His *Jawābāt Abī'l-Hasan Sibtu'l-Ma'ani Zakariyya fi i'jāzu'l-Qur'ān* and *al-kalām fi wujūh i'jāzu'l-Qur'ān* discuss the miraculous aspects of the Qur'ān. The *al-Ikhtisās* is a comprehensive work on *ahādīs*. *Al-Irshād* comprises the biographical notices of the Imāms and their contributions to strengthening Islam. Shaykh Mufid wrote a number of books on *Imāma*, such as the *Kitābu'l-Imāma*, the *Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā' ibnu'l Akhshid fi'l-Imāma*, the *Kitābu'r-Radd 'alā'l-Khālidi fi'l-Imāma* and the *al-Mas'ala fi't takhsis al-Imām*. His *Kitābu'l-ghayba* is a very significant contribution to the study of the occultation of the Twelfth Imām. The *Jawābāt al-fāriqayn fi'l-ghayba* and *al-Jawābāt fi khurūj al-Mahdi* are designed to refute the criticisms on *ghayba*. The *Kitāb Imān Abi Tālib* confutes the Sunni theory that 'Alī's father, Abī Tālib did not embrace Islam. Shaykh Mufid's work marshalls arguments to establish 'Abī Tālib's conversion to Islam. Shaykh Mufid's works on *kalām* are very impressive. *Al-Majālisu'l-mahfūza fi funūn al-kalām* and *al-'Uyūn fi'l-mahāsīn* form the basic source material for Sharif al-Murtazā's *Kitāb al-fusūl* on *kalām*. The Shaykh wrote a number of books refuting the anti-Shi'i polemics of such eminent Sunni scholars as al-Jāhiz, as-Sāhib bin 'Abbād, 'Alī bin 'Īsa al-Rumnāni and al-Jubba'i. Al-Mufid's works left an indelible mark on Shi'i scholarship. He also wrote philosophical works such as *al-Kalām 'alā'l-Jubba'i fi'l-ma'dūm* and *al-Kalām fi'l-insān*. His works on *fiqh*, *usūl al-fiqh* and *'aqā'id* (beliefs) were heavily drawn

351 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 200-208; *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, pp. 188-93.

upon by later scholars. Some of them have been discovered and edited.³⁵²

'Alī bin al-Husayn bin Mūsa, known as ash-Sharīf al-Murtazā was the brother of Sharīf ar-Razī and the disciple of Shaykh Mufīd. He became famous as 'Alamu'l-Hudā (the standard of guidance). Like his brother, Sharīf ar-Razī, he was a poet but it was his position as a *mujtahid* (ability to exercise independent judgement) and his mastery of lucid and lively Arabic prose that made him famous.

According to Shī'i sources, Muhammad bin al-Husayn bin 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, the prime minister of the Caliph al-Qādir (381-422/991-1031) fell seriously ill in 420/1029. He had a vision in which he saw Imām 'Alī telling him to ask 'Alamu'l-Hudā to pray for his recovery. The vizier asked the Imām to let him know the full name of 'Alamu'l-Hudā. The Imām replied that it was 'Alī bin al-Husayn. The vizier wrote a letter to Sharīf al-Murtazā telling him of his vision and requesting his prayers. Sharīf al-Murtazā was amazed at the title 'Alamu'l-Hudā used by the vizier. The latter emphasized that it was given by Imām 'Alī and that he had nothing to do with it himself. Sharīf al-Murtazā prayed for the vizier and he recovered. The Caliph al-Qādir congratulated Sharīf al-Murtazā on the title bestowed on him by Imām 'Alī and ordered his secretaries to use it in the royal correspondence. In 436/1044-45, 'Alamu'l-Hudā, enjoying both worldly glory and literary fame, died.³⁵³

The titles of fifty-five of his books are known. His works include a voluminous collection of his poems and two outstanding Arabic literary works. The *Tanzīhul-anbiyā' wa'l-a'imma* discusses the Qur'ānic verses and *ahādīs* which prove the impeccability of the Prophets and Imāms. *Az-zari'a ilā usūl ash-Shari'a* is a very comprehensive work on the principles of Shī'i *fiqh*. The *Mas'ala fi't-tilāq* refutes the Sunnī law on divorce. The Shī'i principles call for the pronouncement of divorce on three separate occasions. Sunnī divorce is implemented by merely pronouncing the word 'divorce' three times. Twenty-eight of Sharīf al-Murtazā's works concentrate on different aspects of Shī'i *fiqh*. The *Kitābū'l-Intisār* discusses *fiqh* problems authoritatively and was profusely drawn upon by later scholars. *Al-Shāfi fi'l imāma* refutes *al-Mughni* by the Qāziū'l-Quzāt 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Hamadāni Mu'tazili (d. 415/1024-25) and comprises a comprehensive discussion on *Imāma*. His *Risāla fi'l-Ghayba* analyses the occultation of the twelfth Imām most incisively. The *Ghurarū'l-fawā'id* gives the biographical notices of eminent poets. It also re-interprets complex *ahādīs* and verses in the Qur'ān. This work was dictated by

352 I'jāz Husayn, see under titles of books mentioned above.

353 Ibn Khallikān, III, pp. 3-7; *Majālisū'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 317-19; *Qisasū'l-'ulamā'*, pp. 193-98.

Sharif al-Murtazā during his pilgrimage to Mecca. *Al-Masā'ilū'l-mawsilyāt* discusses six hundred problems on creation, resurrection and Divine retribution. *Al-Masā'ilū'l-mufarridāt* is a dictionary of problems pertaining to aspects of knowledge and crafts. Sharif al-Murtazā collected a large library in Baghdād. It consisted of about eighty thousand books.³⁵⁴

Ismā'il bin 'Alī bin al-Husayn al-Mufassir al-Samān (d. 443/1051-52), wrote an exegesis of the Qur'ān entitled, *al-Bustān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. It is divided into ten volumes. His *ar-Riyāz fī'l-ahādīs* is a work on *ahādīs* and the *Safīnatū'n-nijāt* deals with the *imāma*.³⁵⁵ Muhammad bin 'Usmān al-Karājki al-Qāzi's (d. 449/1057-58) *Kitābu'r-Ta'ajjub fī'l-imāma min aghlāt al-a'imma* authoritatively explains the position of *imāma*. He also wrote *al-Istitrāf* on the Twelfth imām's occultation. The *Istībsār fī'nass 'alā'l-a'imma-ti'l-āsār* and its commentary by Muhammad deal with the *nass* (Divine injunction) on Imām 'Alī and his descendants.³⁵⁶

Ahmad bin 'Alī bin Ahmad bin 'Abbās bin Muhammad bin 'Abdu-'llāh, known as an-Najāshī (d. 450/1058), was the author of the *Kitābu'r-Rijāl*, also known as the *Fihrist Kitābu'sh-Shi'a*. This is an important Shi'i bibliographical work. He also composed an historical work entitled, the *Kitābu'l-Kūfa*.³⁵⁷

Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin Hasan at-Tūsī, known as Shaykhu't-Tā'ifa (the leader of the Shi'i community) was the author of the third and fourth canonical works on *hadīs*, entitled *al-Istībsār* and the *Tahzību'l-ahkām*. Forty-eight books written by him have been discovered. They vindicate the honour bestowed on Abū Ja'far by the Shi'is and justify his title, Shaykhu't-Tā'ifa. He was born in Ramazān 385/October 995 at Tūs near Mashhad. He later became known as Abū Ja'far III, for both Kulayni and ibn Bābuya were also accorded this title. The name of all three savants was Muhammad. Khurāsān, where Abū Ja'far was born and brought up, was transformed by the Sāmānids (204-395/819-1005) and early Ghaznavids (366-432/977-1041) into a very strong centre of Sunni political and intellectual life. Balkh had developed into the centre of Sunni *fiqh* and *sūfism*. Abū Ja'far obtained his early education from both Shi'i and Sunni teachers. His knowledge of both sects was encyclopaedic and he had developed a comprehensive attitude towards Islam. In 408/1017-18, he moved to Baghdād. Initially, he studied under Shaykh Mufid, but, after his death, he became Sharif al-Murtazā's disciple. He also benefited from the lectures of a large number of scholars.

354 I'jāz Husayn, see under titles of books mentioned above.

355 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 382, 1603, 1660.

356 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 190, 1743, 194, 695, 3381, 3001.

357 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 2453, 2570.

Ahmad bin Husayn Ghazā'iri, Shaykh Najāshī, Shaykh Karājki and the poet, Abu'l-'Alā' Mu'arri were his contemporaries. In Baghdād Abū Ja'far made extensive use of the libraries of Sharif al-Murtazā and that of Shāpūr, son of Ardshir (336/947-416/1025), the vizier of Bahā'u'd-Dawla Firūz the Būyid (388-403/998-1012). The latter consisting of ten thousand volumes was organized on the lines of the academies built by ar-Rashid and al-Ma'mūn.³⁵⁸ After Sharif al-Murtazā's death in 436/1044-45, Abū Ja'far became the Shi'i leader and enjoyed considerable influence in Baghdād. His leadership coincided with the Būyid's fall and the re-emergence of Sunnī domination over the caliphs of Baghdād. The new Sunnī leaders were the Seljūqs of the Qiniq clan of the Oghuz Turkic people belonging to the steppes north of the Caspian and Aral Sea. They expelled the Ghaznavids from Khurāsān. In 429/1038, Toghril Beg (429-455/1038-1063), the founder of the great Seljūq dynasty of Iran and Iraq, seized Nishāpūr and embarked upon a policy of freeing the 'Abbāsīd caliphs from the Shi'i Būyid tutelage in order to re-assert Sunnī orthodoxy in the region. In 447/1055, Toghril Beg stood at the gate of Baghdād at the head of an army of Turkmān tribes, and expelled al-Basāsiri, the Būyid governor from Baghdād.

The bigoted Sunnis were encouraged by al-Qā'im's (422-467/1031-1075) prime minister to destroy the Shi'is. The tombs of Imāms al-Kāzim and at-Taqī in Karkh were set on fire. The valuable property belonging to them was plundered and the rest reduced to ashes. The graves of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and viziers suspected of Shi'i leanings, let alone the tombs of Shi'i sages such as ibn Bābuya and Shaykh Mufid, were also burnt. Sunnī-Shi'i riots broke out. Abū Ja'far's house and his library were incinerated. Shāpūr's library was also reduced to ashes.³⁵⁹ Abū Ja'far took shelter by moving from house to house in Baghdād. Then, next year, he moved from Baghdād to Najaf. The Baghdād centres of Shi'i learning, which Būyid patronage had helped to develop, were destroyed. Abū Ja'far, however, fostered the development of Najaf, which still treasures his traditions, into the new centre of Shi'i scholarship. On 22 Muharram 460/2 December 1067, Abū Ja'far died.³⁶⁰

Besides the monumental *al-Tahzīb al-ahkām* and the *Istibsār*, on *hadīs*, Abū Ja'far made significant contributions to the study of exegesis of the Qur'ān, *fiqh*, *kalām*, bibliography and history. The monument to his fame in exegesis writing is *al-Tibyān fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. It comprehensively assimilates the problems of *fiqh*, *hadīs* and *kalām* and analyses the philological and grammatical problems on the basis of pre-Islamic Arabic

358 Ibn Asīr, IX, p. 350.

359 *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 593, 635, 637-38.

360 *Majālis al-mu'minīn*, pp. 207-8; *Qisas al-'ulamā'*, pp. 201-4.

poetry.³⁶¹ Abū Ja'far's mastery of the earlier works on the Qur'ān, numbering some two-hundred and fifty-two, was remarkable. He also displays his profound insight into the contemporary religious controversies. Abū Ja'far wrote two categories of *hadis* works; some concentrate mainly on *hadis* itself, others are re-orientated to *fiqh*.

Abū Ja'far began writing the *Tahzib*³⁶² after his arrival in Baghdād. The first two chapters, on *tahārat* (cleanliness) and *salāt* (prayers) were written during Shaykh Mufid's lifetime, but the book was completed after his death. It is a commentary on Shaykh Mufid's *Maqn'a*. It contains 1359 *ahādīs*. The *Istibsār*³⁶³ is more detailed. It is divided into three volumes, the first two deal with *'ibādāt* (worship). The third volume discusses *mu'āmla* (public affairs) such as economic and social matters. The first volume contains 300 chapters and 18999 *ahādīs*, the second, 227 chapters and 1157 *ahādīs*, and the third, 398 chapters and 2455 *ahādīs*. In earlier times, Kulaynī had given the chain of transmitters from himself to an impeccable Imām. He omitted the middle links in the chain of transmitters only on rare occasions when he reported directly from the source. Ibn-Bābuya did not mention the chain of transmitters, only the authority who reported from the Imām was given by him. Following Kulaynī Abū Ja'far reproduced the entire chain of transmitters. Abū Ja'far's success in reconciling apparently contradictory *ahādīs* was mainly due to his own moderate approach to controversial matters. His guidelines for distinguishing between reliable and unreliable *ahādīs* is also marked by moderation and sober judgement.

Abū Ja'far's works on *usūl al-fiqh* (the principles of *fiqh*) and *fiqh* incorporate the research by his teachers, Shaykh Mufid and Sharif al-Murtazā. He commenced the *'Uddatū'l-usūl*³⁶⁴ during Sharif al-Murtazā's lifetime and completed it after his death. It is more comprehensive than Sharif al-Murtazā's *al-Zari'a ilā usūlūsh-Shari'a*. The *'Uddatū'l-usūl* is divided into an introduction and ninety-two chapters (*fusūl*). Its definitions are logical and based on lexicographical and scholastic research. The work challenges the Mu'tazila and Ashā'ira judgements and offers alternative Shi'i definitions and theories. It also refutes the beliefs of non-Isnā 'Ashari sects and the Isnā 'Ashari group known as the *Akhbārīs*,

361 First published at Tehran in two volumes between 1360 and 1365/1941-1946; it was republished at Najaf in ten volumes with a comprehensive preface by Āghā Buzurg Tehrānī.

362 First published at Tehran in 1317/1899-1900 in two volumes, then published at Najaf between 1377 and 1382/1957 and 1962 in ten volumes.

363 First published at Lucknow in 1307/1889-90, and then at Tehran in 1375-76/1955-57.

364 First published at Bombay in 1312/1894-95 and then at Tehran in 1314/1896-97 with comments by Mawlawī Khalil Qazwīnī.

who rely solely on the Qur'ān and *ahādīs* for rulings on subsidiary religious principles. They strictly prohibit analogical deductions for authoritative decisions on subsidiary religious laws. To Abū Ja'far this approach was static and deprived Islam of dynamic enlightenment. In his '*Uddatū'l-usūl*', Abū Ja'far rejected the *qiyās* and *istihsān* propounded by Abū Hanifa. Instead, he laid down rules for the critical evaluation of *ahādīs* in order to reach a rational legal judgement, radically different from Sunni *qiyās*.

Abū Ja'far wrote a comprehensive work on *fiqh* entitled the *Mabsūt*.³⁶⁵ It was designed to meet the criticism of Shi'i *fiqh* by the Sunnis who accused the Shi'i jurists of inanity. He claimed that the doors for discovering reality were open in Shi'i *fiqh* while the Sunnis had closed them after the codification of the Māliki, Hanafi, Shāfi'i and Hanbali laws. The *Mabsūt* is divided into sixty-eight chapters covering all aspects of religious, social and economic principles. It analyses thoroughly controversial, legal issues and concludes with his own final and firm judgement for the guidance of posterity.

Abū Ja'far wrote *al-Nihāya fi mujarrad al-fiqh al-fatwa* before undertaking the *Istibsār*. In *al-Nihāya* he took care to reproduce *ahādīs* literally. According to Muhammad bin Idrīs Hilli, the *Nihāya* is a book of *hadīs* and not of *fatwas*. The work reflects Abū Ja'far's unique ability to sift evidences from *ahādīs* and harness them to the service of rational deductions in *fiqh* problems. The work became a text book for higher studies for the Shi'i 'ulamā'. About eight important scholars wrote commentaries on it, the earliest being written by Abū Ja'far's son Abū 'Alī. The most profound commentary was written by Qutbu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Husayn Sa'id bin Habbatu'llāh bin Hasan Rāwandī (d. 573/1178), the author of *Minhāju'l-Bira'a*, a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha*. His commentary of *Nihāya* is entitled the *Mughnī*,³⁶⁶ divided into ten volumes.

The *Masā'ilu'l-khilāf* by Abū Ja'far seeks to discuss the controversial problems of the *fiqh*. Earlier Sharīf al-Murtazā had also written a book on this subject but was unable to complete it. The *Masā'ilu'l-khilāf* by Abū Ja'far exhibit the author's wide perception on all aspects of *fiqh* and on earlier literature written by both the Shi'i and Sunni 'ulamā'. Abū Ja'far also wrote more than half a dozen treatises on different aspects of *fiqh*. His works encouraged the perceptive 'ulamā' to assiduously pursue the course of *ijtihād* which after the codification of four schools of law was closed for Sunnis. Although Abū Ja'far came to be regarded as the leader of the later *mujtahids* called *Usūlīs*, his works on *hadīs* and *fiqh* enjoyed the respect of the *Akhbārīs*. The *Riyāzu'l-uqūl* is a commentary

365 Published in Iran in 1270/1853-54.

366 Iran, undated.

on one of Sharif al-Murtazā's works on *kalām*. Abū Ja'far wrote the *Mufasssah* on various aspects of *kalām*. His *Hidāyatu'l mustarshid* and *Usūlu'l-wahid* discuss Divine monotheism, His essence and attributes.

The *Tibyān*³⁶⁷ by Abū Ja'far reflects his expertise in *kalām*. He compiled an abridged version of *Ash-Shāfi* by his teacher Sharif al-Murtazā. Abū Ja'far deleted the repetitions from the original and strengthened the arguments of Sharif al-Murtazā by his own explanatory notes. Abū Ja'far's *Sharh al-Jamāl* known as *Tamhīd* is a commentary on Sharif al-Murtazā's *Jamāl u'l-'ilm wa'l 'amal*.³⁶⁸ The work seeks to defend the Shī'i beliefs against virulent attacks of the enemies of Shī'ism. Abū Ja'far was an ardent supporter of rationalism. He urged the Shī'is to choose right beliefs through sound reasoning and logical thinking. He did not encourage *taqlid* (blind acceptance) in principles of belief.

Abū Ja'far was also expert in historical, biographical and bibliographical studies. He wrote *al-Fihrist*,³⁶⁹ describing Shī'i authors and their works. The *Kitābu'l-abwāb* by him comprises the biographical accounts of the companions of the Prophet and the Imāms. It also gives notices of the *faqīhs* and *'ulamā'* who came into actual contact with the Imāms. Abū Ja'far edited the *Rijāl*, by Kashshī and entitled it the *Kitāb Ikhtiyār* or the *Mukhtār Rijāl Kashshī*. Kashshī's original *Rijāl* has not survived; only Abū Ja'far's edition is extant.

Another writer on *rijāl* was Ahmad bin 'Alī bin Ahmad bin al-'Abbās an-Najāshī (d. 450/1058). He took advantage of the library facilities in Karkh and Baghdād, (before their destruction in 445/1058-59) to complete the *Kitābu'r-Rijāl*, known as *Fihrist Kutubū'sh-Shī'a*.³⁷⁰ He was also the author of three historical works, the *Kitābu'l Kūfa* and two others.

Sixth to the Tenth Century of Hijra

The contributions of the Shī'i intellectuals to knowledge from the sixth to the tenth centuries in keeping with their earlier traditions was outstanding. Some of the earlier *'ulamā'* were also scientists and mathematicians but, during this period, the number of *'ulamā'* who distinguished themselves in mathematics, philosophy and science, increased sharply. The impact of the *Tahāfutu'l-falāsifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers) by Abū Hāmid Muhammad bin Muhammad Ghazālī (450/1058-505/1111) of Tūs aroused indescribable hostility to philosophy and the sciences in the Sunnī religious groups. The Shī'i *'ulamā'*, however, neg-

367 Published by Tehran University with a Persian translation in 1362-63/1943-45.

368 First published at Iran in 1301/1884 and then in 1383/1963-64 at Najaf with a preface and comments by Sayyid Husayn Āl-i Bahru'l-'Ulūm.

369 Mashhad 1351/1973.

370 Tehran, n. d.

lected neither and greatly enriched the Islamic religious and scientific traditions.

One of the outstanding 'alims of the later fifth and early sixth centuries was Abū 'Alī al-Faḥr al-Ḥasan bin al-Faḥr al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153 or 552/1157). He wrote a Qur'ānic exegesis on the pattern of the *Tibyān* by Abū Ja'far, but his exegesis is more detailed. It is entitled the *Majma' u'l-bayān*. It deals separately with such Qur'ānic sciences as correct recitation, lexicography, diacritical marks, the background and history of revelation, Qur'ānic stories and the inner meanings of words and verses. When Abū 'Alī learned of the existence of the *Tafsīr Kashshāf*³⁷¹ by the Sunnī scholar, Abū'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd az-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), he wrote a shorter exegesis of the Qur'ān called the *Jawāmi'*. In Muharram 543/May-June 1148, he completed the *Jawāmi' u'l-Jāmi'* at the instigation of his son, al-Ḥasan bin al-Faḥr. It occupies a middle position between the two exegesis. Ṭabarsī wrote the *I'lām u'l-warā'*, comprising the biographical notices of the Prophet Muhammad and Imāms. His *al-Ādāb u'l-dīniyya* deals with the rules of religious life.³⁷²

Qutbu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan Sa'īd bin Ḥabbatu'llāh bin Ḥasan Rāwandī (d. 573/1178) was a poet and a literary genius. He was also a scholar of Qur'ānic exegesis, *ḥadīs* and *fiqh*. His *Khulāsat u't-tafsīr* is divided into ten volumes. He wrote a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha* called the *Minhāj u'l-Barā'a*. Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd (died c. 656/1258) drew profusely upon this work. Qutbu'd-Dīn also wrote a commentary on the *Nihāyat u'l-Iḥkām* by Abū Ja'far. It is entitled *al-Mughnī* and is divided into ten volumes. He produced commentaries on about a dozen works of *fiqh*. One of his own compilations of the Qur'ānic laws is called the *Fiqh u'l-Qur'ān*.³⁷³

Rashīdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad bin 'Alī bin Shahr Āshūb al-Māzandarānī (d. 588/1192) is famous for his *M'ālim u'l-'ulamā' wa fihrist kutub sh-Shī'a*. It is an important biographical and bibliographical work which includes about three hundred titles not mentioned in Abū Ja'far's *Fihrist*. His *Manāqib Āl-Abī Ṭālib*, comprising an account of Abī Ṭālib's descendants, has been highly praised by Sunnī scholars such as Majdu'd-Dīn Firūz-ābādī (d. 817/1415) and Jalālu'd-Dīn Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). *Al-Asbāb wa'n-nuzūl 'alā mazhab Ālī'r-Rasūl* discusses the background to the revelation of verses on the authority of the Imāms. The *Mutashābih u'l-Qur'ān* deals with the *mutashābihāt* (ambiguous verses of the Qur'ān). In his *Masālib u'n-nawāsib* he spiritedly refuted the Sunnī objections against the Shī'is.³⁷⁴

371 Zamakhsharī was a mu'tazilite scholar. Bayzāwī (d. 685 or 692/1286 or 1292) condensed it in his *Anwār at-tanzīl*.

372 *Majālis u'l-mu'mīn*, p. 212; I'jāz Husayn, nos. 254, 653, 748, 777, 824, 1960.

373 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 1060, 2011, 3019, 2225.

374 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 2991, 3131, 186, 2720, 2731.

Ahmad bin 'Alī bin Abi Tālib at-Tabarsī (d. around 600/1203-4) (not to be confused with Abū 'Alī-Tabarsī) was an historian and *faqih*. He wrote a history of the Imāms entitled the *Tārikhu'l-a'imma*. His *Kitāb Fazā'ilu'z-Zahrā'* is a very profound biography of the Prophet's daughter, Fātima.³⁷⁵

The pride of the seventh century was Khwāja Nastru'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hasan at-Tūsī. He was a mathematician, an astronomer, a philosopher and an expert in exegesis of the Qur'ān, *hadis*, *fiqh* and *kalām*. He was born in Tūs on 11 Jumāda I 597/17 February 1201. He had inherited the perspicacity of ibn Sīnā or Avicenna (370/980-428/1037) through his ancestors. He obtained his religious education from his father, who was a disciple of Fazlu'llāh bin 'Alī bin 'Ubaydu'llāh al-Husaynī ar-Rāwandī (d. 585/1189). The latter was a disciple of Sharif al-Murtazā. The Khwāja's teacher in the sciences and philosophy was Farīdu'd-Dīn Dāmād, a disciple of Sayyid Sadru'd-Dīn of Sarakhs.

After completing his education, the Khwāja decided to try to strengthen Isnā 'Ashari Shī'ism with the help of Muadu'd-Dīn 'Alqamī Qummī, the prime minister of the last 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Musta'sim (640-656/1242-58). He sent a letter to 'Alqamī together with an Arabic *qasida* praising al-Musta'sim. 'Alqamī, however, offered no encouragement to the Khwāja. Nevertheless, the Nizārī Ismā'ili, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad III (618-653/1221-1255), one of the successors to Hasan-i Sabbāh (483-518/1090-1124) of Alamūt was deeply impressed by the Khwāja's reputation and invited him to Alamūt. The Mongol depredations had made life in that region very precarious, nevertheless the Khwāja moved there. The peace and the vast Ismā'ili libraries helped him to sharpen his intellect. There he translated the *Kitābu't-tahārat* by the philosopher 'Alī ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) into Persian, dedicated it to Amīr Nāsiru'd-Dīn Muhtashim, an Ismā'ili *dā'i* (missionary), and entitled it the *Akhlāq-i Nāsiri*. From the time it was written, to the present, the work has been studied both for its socio-ethical and political discussions and for its elegant literary style. At the instigation of Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad, the finance minister of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad, he translated the *Samra Battimūs* or Ptolemy's book on astronomy.

The last Nizārī Ismā'ili ruler, Ruknu'd-Dīn Khwāshhāh (653-54/1255-56) was unable to repel the Mongol invasion. It is said that the Khwāja persuaded Khwāshhāh to surrender Alamūt in 654/1256. The Khwāja entered the service of the Mongol ruler Hulāgū. After Hulāgū's conquest of Baghdād in 656/1258, the Khwāja visited the holy shrines of

375 Ijāz Husayn, nos. 422, 2549.

the Imāms in Iraq and later called on the Shi'i divine Ja'far bin Abū'l-Hasan bin Sa'id of Hilla.

Hulāgū settled in Āzerbayjān in order to conquer Syria, Egypt and Asia Minor. Tabriz and Marāgha were developed as his capitals. At Marāgha the Khwāja founded an observatory. Besides Muslim mathematicians and astronomers, he invited Chinese astronomers to help him organize the observatory. It became the precursor of the earliest European observatories of Tycho Brahe and Kepler. Copernicus seems to have learnt Tūsi's researches on plenary motion from Greek or Byzantine sources. He forestalled problems surrounding Pascal's triangle. Before his death he visited Baghdād. There he died in 672/1274. He was buried at Kāzmayn.³⁷⁶

The Khwāja's works on mathematics and astronomy comprise both translations of Greek works into Arabic and original contributions. The *Tahrir kitāb Usūl al-hindisa wa'l-hisāb al-mansūb ilā Uqlīdis* is an Arabic recension of the *Elements* by Euclid, who taught at Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy I (306-283 B.C.). Tūsi completed it in 646/1248.³⁷⁷ Five years later he translated the *Spherics* by Theodosius, who flourished in the first century B.C. Tūsi wrote the mathematical works, the *Kitāb al-zarb wa'l qisma* and the *Jamī'u'l-hisāb* in Persian. He composed a mathematical treatise on the functions of the sector entitled *Kashf ul-qinā' 'an asrār al-qattā'* in Persian and dedicated it to Shaykh al-Mu'aiyad bin Husayn.³⁷⁸ The astronomical researches of Ptolemy were translated into Arabic and Persian. One of Ptolemy's works was completed by Tūsi at Marāgha in Rajab 663/May 1265. It is entitled *Tarjama-i Samara-i Batlamyūs* (Batlimūs). The *Megale suntaxis*, called *al-Majisti* by the Arabs and the *Almagest* by the Europeans, was translated into Persian by Tūsi in Shawwāl 644/February 1247. The book, entitled *Tahrir al-Majisti*, comprises a system of astronomy and trigonometry.³⁷⁹ The *Bist bāb dar usturlāb* by Tūsi is a very important work on the astrolabe. On the instigation of Hulāgū, Tūsi commenced compiling the astronomical tables called the *Zij-i Ilkhāni* and completed them in 670/1271-72, under Hulāgū's successor, Abāqā (663-680/1265-1282). Its first *maqāla* (chapter) deals with eras, the second with the movements of the planets and the third and fourth are devoted to astrological observations. About a dozen more works on astronomy by Tūsi made him one of the greatest astronomers of early Islam. He compiled *Tansūq-nāma-i Il-Khāni* on geology, mines and jewels at the instigation of Hulāgū in Persian.

Tūsi's *Tahrir kitābu'l-manāzīr* is a version of Euclid's *Optics*. Tūsi was

376 *Khwandamīr, Habību's-sujar*, Tehran, 1242, III, pp. 105-107.

377 Brockelmann, I, p. 510, *sptbd*, I, p. 499.

378 C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, II, part I, pp. 1-2.

379 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

deeply interested in questions of optics, both geometrical and physiological.³⁸⁰ In 644/1246-47, he wrote a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Ishārāt wa't-tanbihāt* by ibn Sinā. The title of Tūsi's commentary is the *Hall mushkilāt al-Ishārāt*. In it he defended ibn Sinā against the attacks made by Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī (d. 606/1209) in his commentary on Avicenna's *Ishārāt*. Rāzī's commentary is called the *Sharh al-Ishārāt*. Rāzī also wrote the *Lubābū'l-Ishārāt* criticising Avicenna's physics and metaphysics.³⁸¹ Tūsi's defence of Avicenna relegated Rāzī's works to the background. The *Talkhīs Muhassal* by Tūsi is a critical commentary on *Muhassal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa'l mut'akhhirin min al-'ulamā' wa'l hukamā' wa'l mutakallimīn*, (*A Precis of Ideas, Scholars, Philosophers and Mutakallimūn, Ancient and Modern*) by Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī.³⁸²

Tūsi's *Awsāfū'l ashraf* deals with the various stages of spiritual progress. He wrote the *Āghāz wa anjām, al-Fusūlū'l-Nāsiriyya* and the *Risāla fi khalqu'l-'amal*, on Shi'i beliefs, in Persian. His Arabic works on the same subject are entitled the *Risāla fi asbāt al-Lawhū'l-Mahfūz*, the *Kitābū'l-Hashariyya*, the *Qawā'idū'l-'aqā'id* and the *Kitāb Baqā'i u'n-nafs. A'r-Risālat fi'l farā'iz* deals with the Shi'i laws of inheritance. The *Risāla fi asbātū'l-Wājibū'l Wujūd*, in Arabic, comprises a metaphysical discussion on the Necessary Being. Tūsi wrote the *Nuqtā'ū'l-Qudsiyya* and the *Talkhīsū'l-muhassil* in Arabic on *kalām*. Of Tūsi's Shi'i theological works, the *Tajridū'l-'aqā'id*³⁸³ has become immortal because of the glosses and superglosses on it by eminent Shi'i and Sunnī scholars. It is divided into six *maqāsīd* (objectives or chapters) as follows: (1) Fundamental principles; (2) Substance and accident; (3) Proofs of the Creator and His attributes; (4) Prophet-hood; (5) *Imāma*; (6) Resurrection. The work is concise and succinct but the commentaries and glosses are most detailed. The most famous and one of the earliest commentaries on the *Tajridū'l-'aqā'id* was written by the celebrated Jamālu'd-Dīn Hasan bin Yūsuf bin Mutahhar al-Hillī³⁸⁴ in 696/1296. It is entitled *Kashfū'l-murād fi sharh Tajrid i'tiqād*. The *Sharhu Tajridū'l-'aqā'id* by Muhammad b. As'ad al-Yamaṇi at-Tustari (d. after 730/1330) is an important Shi'i commentary. The famous Sunnī scholar, Shamsu'd-Dīn Abu's-sanā' Mahmūd bin 'Abdu'r Rahmān bin Ahmad al-Isfahāni al-Hanafī (d. 749/1348), wrote a commentary on the *Tajrid* entitled *Tasdidū'l qawā'id fi Sharh-i Tajridū'l-'aqā'id*. As it is the earliest Sunnī commentary on the *Tajrid*, it is known, as the *Sharhū'l-*

380 *Ibid.*, pp. 53-60.

381 Cairo, 1326/1908.

382 Al-Husayniyya, Cairo, n. d.

383 Mawlānā Muhammad Ashraf, *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Sālār Jung Museum and Library*, Hyderabad, 1981, no. 1231.

384 *Infra*, pp. 127-32; Sālār Jung no. 1234, Loth, 471/CIV, 594.

Qadīm (The old commentary).³⁸⁵ Sayyid ash-Sharīf al-Jūzjānī (d. 816/1413), the famous scholar of Sunnī *hadīs*, *fiqh* and *kalām* at the court of Timūr (771-807/1370-1405) wrote a gloss on Isfahānī's commentary. It is called *Hāshiyatu 'alā' hāshiyati Sharhi't-Tajrid*.³⁸⁶ The Shi'i Ahmad bin Mūsa al-Khiyālī (d. after 862/1458) was the author of a short gloss on the *Tajrid* entitled *al-Hāshiyatu 'alā't-Tajrid*.³⁸⁷ A detailed commentary was produced by the astronomer, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Alī bin Muhammad al-Qūshchī (d. 879/1474), who enjoyed as high a position among the Sunnī scholars in the ninth century as Jūzjānī and Sa'du'd-Dīn Mas'ūd bin 'Umar at-Tuftāzānī (d. 791/1389) occupied before him (Qūshchī). The book was called *Sharh-i Tajridi'l-kalām*. It is known as the *Sharhi'l-jadīd* (The new commentary).³⁸⁸ Mullā Jalāl Astarābādī, a Shi'i 'alim, wrote another commentary, *al-Hāshiyatu 'alā' Sharhi't-Tajrid li'l-Qūshchī*.³⁸⁹ Another book on Qūshchī's commentary was composed by the celebrated Sunnī scholar of *hadīs*, *fiqh*, *kalām* and philosophy, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin As'ad a's-Siddīqī a'd-Dawwānī (d. 907/1501). It is called *al-Hāshiyatu'l-qadīma 'alā' Sharh-Tajrid*.³⁹⁰ Dawwānī also wrote two other glosses on Qūshchī's commentary. A Sunnī at the court of the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512), Mir Sadru'd-Dīn Abū Nasr Muhammad al-Husaynī ash-Shīrāzī (d. 903/1497) by name, was the author of a gloss on Dawwānī's second gloss on Qūshchī. He dedicated it to Sultan Bāyazīd II.³⁹¹ A gloss on the third chapter in Shīrāzī's commentary, relating to *Ilāhiyāt* (Godhead), was written by an anonymous scholar. It is entitled *al-Hāshiyatu 'alā' Sharhi't-Tajrid*.³⁹² Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Ahmad al-Khizri a'sh-Shī'i (d. 935/1528) wrote a gloss on *Maqṣad* II (*Ilāhiyāt*) on Qūshchī's commentary, called *al-Hāshiyatu 'alā' Sharhi't-Tajrid*.³⁹³ Mirzā Jān Habību'llāh a'sh-Shīrāzī (d. 994/1585), the famous Sunnī scholar of *kalām* and philosophy composed a detailed annotation on Dawwānī's first gloss on Qūshchī's commentary.³⁹⁴ Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī also produced a gloss on Qūshchī's commentary.³⁹⁵ The gloss on Qūshchī's commentary on the fifth chapter of the *Tajrid* (*Imāma*) by Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī

385 Sālār Jung no. 1235; Loth, 406.

386 Sālār Jung no. 1237; Asiatic Society Bengal (Ar.), 834.

387 Sālār Jung, no. 1238.

388 Sālār Jung, no. 1239.

389 Sālār Jung, no. 1244.

390 Sālār Jung, no. 1246.

391 Sālār Jung, no. 1250.

392 Sālār Jung, no. 1251.

393 Sālār Jung, no. 1252.

394 Sālār Jung, no. 1256; 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī Tehran, p. 155.

395 India Office, Delhi Ms., 961a.

is a very important work.³⁹⁶ 'Abdu'r-Razzāq bin 'Alī bin Husayn al-Lāhijī (d. after 1050/1640) wrote a commentary on the first *maqṣad* of *at-Tajrīd* (fundamental principles). It is entitled the *Shawāriqul Islām*.³⁹⁷ The Shi'i, Āqā Husayn b. Jamālu'd-Dīn Muhammad al-Khwānsārī (d. 1099/1688) compiled an annotation on Dawwānī, entitled *Hāshiyat u'l-qadīma*.³⁹⁸ An Indian scholar, Qāzi Muhammad Mubārak bin Muhammad Dā'im al-Fārūqī al-Gopāmawī (d. 1162/1748) wrote a commentary on the Dawwānī's *Hāshiyat u'l-qadīma*.

The numerous commentaries and glosses by almost all the eminent Sunnī scholars in the two centuries following the death of Tūsi show how the *Tajrīd* took the scholarly world by storm. In fact the following intellectual currents and cross-currents crystallised in the *Tajrīd*.

- (a) *Mashshā'i* (Islamic peripatetic) philosophy of ibn Sīnā.
- (b) *Ishrāqī* (Illuminationist theosophy) of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Yahya Suhrawardī Maqtūl (549/1154-587/1191).
- (c) *Kalām* (scholastic theology).
- (d) *Sūfism* of Muhyī'd-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240).

The greatest of Tūsi's pupil was Qutbu'd-Dīn Mahmūd bin Mas'ūd Shīrāzī. He died at Tabrīz in 710/1311. He was the author of many important works but his *Durratut-tāj li ghurratut Dübāj* in Persian, an encyclopaedia of science and philosophy made a very deep impact upon the scholarly world. It was completed by its author in 705/1305-6 and comprises chapters on logic, philosophy, physics, mathematics, Euclid, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, arithmetic, music, metaphysics, religion and *sūfism*.³⁹⁹

His contemporary Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Mahmūd al-Āmulī, a teacher in al-Sultāniya in Uljaytū's reign, was a past-master of sectarian polemics. His principal Sunnī rival was 'Azudu'd-Dīn al-Ījī (d. 756/1355). Shamsu'd-Dīn completed a part of his encyclopaedia entitled the *Nafā'isu'l-funūn fi 'arā'isu'l-'uyūn* in Persian in 735/1334-5. In the reign of Mahmūd Shāh Injū ruler of Fārs and Iraq (743-58/1342-57) the work was completed by him and dedicated to an unnamed vizier. The author states in his preface that he had devoted his whole life to the pursuit of science, and, having visited in his wanderings the eminent scholars, had availed himself of their teaching in every branch of knowledge, and written special works on several sciences.⁴⁰⁰ The *Nafā'isu'l-funūn* is divided into two *qisms* (parts). The first chapter of the first part comprises a discussion on the literary sciences including discussion on epistolary

396 Sālār Jung, no. 1258.

397 Sālār Jung, no. 1259.

398 Sālār Jung, no. 1260.

399 *Durratut-tāj*, Tehran, 1324 Shamsī.

400 *Nafā'isu'l-funūn*, Tehran, 1309/1862, pp. 3-5.

compositions and on collection of revenue and account-keeping. The second chapter deals with legal sciences including discussions on dialectics and forms of contracts and legal instruments. The third chapter deals with *sūfism* including a discussion on *futūwwa*. The fourth chapter deals with the branches of conversational knowledge including discussions on history, biography and genealogy.

The first chapter of the second part deals with practical philosophy including discussions on ethics, the government of the family and the government of the city. The second chapter deals with speculative philosophy including discussion on logic, introduction to metaphysics, mysticism and physics. The third chapter dealing with mathematics discusses geometry, astronomy, arithmetic and music. The fourth chapter deals with medicine, alchemy, magic, interpretation of dreams, physiognomy, astrology, properties of natural objects, veterinary, falconry, agriculture, the art of holding the breath and other austerities practised by the Indian yogis. The fifth chapter on the branches of mathematics comprises discussions on spherology, optics, knowledge of the intermediaries in mathematical course such as Euclid and Almagest, practical arithmetic, algebra, surveying, constellations, compilation of almanacs and astrolabe, geography, numerical diagrams, mechanics, art of divination and games.

Among the seventh century Shī'i scholars, two more deserve a special mention. One of them was Najmu'd-Dīn Abu'l Qāsim Ja'far bin Muhammad Yahya bin Sa'id al-Hillī (d. 676/1277), known as Muhaqqiq-i Awwal (the first savant) and Muhaqqiq Hillī (the savant of Hilla). He was so greatly respected that even Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī travelled to Hilla from Baghdād to call on him and participated in the discussion on *qibla* in his *Sharā'i u'l-Islām*.⁴⁰¹ Some twelve works by Ja'far Hillī are important contributions to the literature on Shī'i *fiqh*. It was, however, the *Sharā'i u'l-Islām* which was the most popular and many eminent scholars commented on it.⁴⁰² The most famous and detailed commentary was compiled by Zaynu'd-Dīn bin 'Alī bin Ahmad bin Muhammad a'sh-Shahidū's Sānī (d. 966/1558). It is entitled the *Masāliku'l-afhām*.⁴⁰³ Another commentator was Muhammad bin 'Alī bin al-Husayn al-Mūsawī al-'Āmilī (d. 1009/1600), who wrote the *Madāriku'l-ahkām fī sharh Sharā'i u'l-Islām* in three volumes.⁴⁰⁴ 'Alī bin 'Abu'l-'Āl al-Kurkī (d. 940/1533 or 945/1538) wrote a gloss on the difficult points in the *Sharā'i u'l-Islām* and called it the *Hāshiya 'alā' Sharā'i u'l-Islām*.⁴⁰⁵ Many

401 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 245.

402 *Sālār Jung*, no. 1081-1088.

403 *Sālār Jung*, no. 1089-1097.

404 *Sālār Jung*, no. 1098-1101.

405 *Sālār Jung*, no. 1102.

other commentaries were also written. Allāma Hilli himself compiled an abridgement of the *Sharā'ī u'l-Islām* and entitled it *al-Mukhtasarū'n-Nāfi'*.⁴⁰⁶

The other notable scholar was 'Alī bin Mūsa bin Ja'far bin Muhammad bin Tā'ūs al-Husaynī (d. 664/1265-66). He was an historian and a *faqih*. He compiled more than a dozen volumes on prayers and invocations for various occasions, as recommended by the Imāms. He wrote a history of the caliphs and the biographies of the Imāms. He was also the author of a commentary on the *Nahj al-balāgha*. An important book on *kalām* written by him is entitled *al-Tarā'if fi ma'rifat mazhabū't Tawā'if*.⁴⁰⁷ His son, 'Alī bin 'Alī known as ibn Tā'ūs was the author of a book of prayers called the *Zawā'idu'l-fawā'id*.⁴⁰⁸

Other writers included Ahmad bin Mūsa bin Ja'far bin Muhammad bin Tā'ūs al-'Alwī (d. 673/1274-75), who was a scholar of *kalām*, *fiqh*, Shi'i theology and *rijāl* (biographies). His *Hallū'l-ishkāl fi ma'rifatū'r-rijāl*, compiled in Rabi' I 644/July 1246, summarises the *rijāl* works of an-Najāshī, Abū Ja'far and Ahmad bin Husayn al-Ghazā'iri.⁴⁰⁹

Another writer, Kamālu'd-Dīn Mīsam al-Bahrānī (d. 679/1280-81) was a disciple of 'Alī bin Sulaymān al-Bahrānī, the author of a philosophical work entitled *al-Ishārāt fi'l-hikmatū'n Nazariyya*. Mīsam bin 'Alī was a philosopher and a scholar of *kalām* who wrote in a polished and elegant Arabic literary style. He wrote a commentary of the *Nahj al-balāgha*, the *Ishārāt* and on Imām 'Alī's poems. He was the author of a treatise on *kalām* and the *imāma*.⁴¹⁰ Another author, Shaykh Razīu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Astarābādī (d. 686/1287-88) was an eminent grammarian. His *Sharhū'l-kāfiyya* on *nahw* (syntax) is a very important work.⁴¹¹

The early eighth century *Hijra* saw considerable development in Shi'i intellectual activity. The main incentive arose from the conversion of the Īl-Khānid, Mahmūd Ghāzān (694-703/1295-1304) to Islam. The famous *sūfi*, Shaykh Ibrāhīm, who converted him, and the Shāfi'i scholars devoted to 'Alī, planted a love for Imām 'Alī and the Prophet's family in Ghāzān Khān. In the state records of Ghāzān's time, 'Alī and his successors are mentioned first, then follow the names of the princes of the blood. Ghāzān founded many hostels for the Sayyids and established endowments for them.⁴¹² Muhammad Khudābanda Uljaytū's (703-

406 Sālār Jung, no. 1104.

407 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2017, 2096.

408 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1627.

409 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1030.

410 I'jāz Husayn, no. 309, 3074, 3181; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 342-43.

411 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1943.

412 *Tārīkh-i Wassāf*, Bombay n. d. p. 316; *Habību's-Siyar*, III, pp. 158-59.

717/1304-1317) conversion to Shi'ism stepped up both Shi'i intellectual activity and religious propaganda. The circumstances surrounding this conversion have been discussed by Hāfiz Abrū in the *Zayl-i Jamī'ū't-tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*. According to him, Uljaytū's stay in Khurāsān had made him a Hanafi. After his accession to the throne, therefore, he fostered the development of Hanafi *fiqh*. The Shāfi'i leaders in Uljaytū's court were frustrated. The influence of their leaders, such as the historian Khwāja Rashīdū'd-Dīn Fazlu'llāh and Qāzi Nizāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l Malik of Marāgha, made Uljaytū's court a battle-field between the Hanafis and the Shāfi'is. Their wranglings appalled the newly converted Mongol nobility. They began to voice their resentment at exchanging the laws of Chingiz for those of the Arabs. Uljaytū, however, kept his temper.⁴¹³ His predicament was resolved by the Shi'i noblemen at his court who urged him to invite the Shi'i 'ulamā' to join him. At their suggestion, Hasan bin Yūsuf bin 'Alī bin Mutahhar, known as Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Allāma Hillī was invited to court.

In the ensuing polemical discussions with 'Allāma Hillī, the Sunnī 'ulamā' were unable to justify their belief in the caliphate. On the subject of *fiqh*, 'Allāma Hillī successfully demonstrated that all the four schools of Sunnī law had developed at least a century later than the Shi'i codes. Only the Shi'i Ja'fariyya law was imbued with the true traditions of the Prophet and the Qur'ān.⁴¹⁴ Before long, Uljaytū was convinced that at least the Shi'i divorce law was more practical and discouraged easy divorce. It is said that before Uljaytū was formally converted to Shi'ism, he had divorced his dearly loved wife by repeating the appropriate words three times in a fit of temper. Uljaytū regretted this action but all the authorities of the four schools of Sunnī law required that she should be married to someone else and the marriage be consummated. Her husband could then divorce her and only then Uljaytū could re-marry her. Only Shi'i law required confirmation and re-confirmation of the intention to divorce on three separate occasions. In about 709/1309-10, Uljaytū grew convinced of the truth of Shi'i theology and Shi'ism became the state religion.⁴¹⁵ In 716/1317, the *amīr* of Mecca made a pact with Uljaytū to follow a policy favouring the Shi'is.⁴¹⁶

Hillī wrote the *Nahju'l-haqq wa kashfu's-sidq* to refute the Sunnī doctrines and legal system.⁴¹⁷ He was also the author of the *Minhāju'l karāma fī*

413 Hāfiz Abrū, *Zayl Jamī'ū't-tawārīkh*, Tehran, n. d. pp. 48-50; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 445-48.

414 *Habību's-Siyar*, III, pp. 197-98.

415 Ja'far Wijdāni, *Alfayn*, Tehran n. d. pp. 17-30.

416 E. I.²

417 Sālār Jung, no. 1309.

ma'rifa al-Imāma. Both works were dedicated to Uljaytū. In his preface to the *Minhāju'l-karāma*, drawing upon the Prophet's tradition that those who did not learn about their contemporary Imām, died in a state similar to pre-Islamic days, he claimed that his book was designed to emphasise the basic Islamic teachings and the pivotal position of the doctrine of *imāma*. The first chapter deals with the attitude of various Islamic sects towards the *imāma*. The second chapter reiterates the necessity of obedience to the Imāmiyya faith. The third chapter demonstrates 'Alī's right to succeed the Prophet. The fourth outlines the history of the twelve Imāms and the fifth marshalls arguments regarding the usurpation of the caliphate by the Prophet's immediate successors.⁴¹⁸

'Allāma Hilli (Hasan bin Yūsuf bin 'Alī bin Mutahhar al-Hilli) was born on 19 Ramazān 648/15 December 1250. He was taught religious studies by his own father, Shaykh Sadīdu'd-Dīn Yūsuf bin Mutahhar, and the Muhaqqiq Awwal, Najmu'd-Dīn Abū'l Qāsim Ja'far bin Sa'id Hilli. He studied philosophy and the sciences under Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsi.⁴¹⁹ Al-Hilli wrote more than seventy books. They cover Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, *kalām*, *rijāl* (biography), philosophy, rhetoric and linguistics. In the *Nahju'l-haqq wa kashfū's-sidq*,⁴²⁰ Hilli summarized *at-Tibyān* by Abū Ja'far and the *Kashshāf* by Zamakhsharī. The *Istiqsāu'l-i'tibār fi tahrīr ma'āniū'l-akhbār* by him deals with *hadīs* criticism and points out its importance to the *Usūlis*.⁴²¹ The *Misbāhu'l-anwār* is a classified collection of *ahādīs* on the Ahl al-bayt. The classification is based on the division of the problems of *fiqh*.⁴²² The *Mubādī'ū'l-wusūl fi 'ilmū'l-usūl* is a collection of all the important problems of *usūl al-fiqh*.⁴²³ The *Tahzību'l-wusūl ilā 'ilmū'l-usūl* comprises a concise discussion on the principles of Shi'i *fiqh*.⁴²⁴ Many important scholars wrote commentaries on it. The one by Amīdu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Muttalib bin Muhammad al-Hilli (d. 754/1353) is entitled the *Munyaṭū'l labīb fi Sharhi't-tahzīb*.⁴²⁵ The same author wrote another commentary on the *Tahzīb* entitled the *Ghāyatū'l-bādi' fi sharhi'l mabādi*.⁴²⁶ In 682/1283 Hilli wrote the *Muntahū'l-matlab fi tahqīqū'l mazhab* on Shi'i *fiqh*.⁴²⁷ In 696/1296, he produced the *Irshādu'l-azhān ilā ahkāmī'l-imām*, comprising a discussion on some 15,000

418 *Minhāju'l-karāma*, India Office, Delhi Arabic Ms.

419 *Majālisū'l-mu'minin*, pp. 245-47; *Qisasū'l-ulamā'*, pp. 145-57.

420 I'jāz Husayn, no. 3360.

421 I'jāz Husayn, no. 196.

422 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2660.

423 I'jāz Husayn, no. 723.

424 I'jāz Husayn, no. 728; Sālār Jung, no. 1051.

425 Sālār Jung, no. 1053-55.

426 Sālār Jung, no. 1056.

427 Sālār Jung, no. 1127.

problems of *fiqh*.⁴²⁸ In the following year Hilli wrote the *Tahrirū'l ahkāmū' sh-Sharī'a* on Shi'i *fiqh*, mainly to help the *mujtahids*.⁴²⁹ It contains a detailed analysis of the author's own *fatwas* as does the *Qawā'idū'l ahkām fi ma'rifatu'l-halāl wa'l-harām*.⁴³⁰ Hilli's son, Fakhru'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Hasan al-Hilli (d. 771/1370), wrote a commentary on this.⁴³¹ In 708/1308, Hilli compiled the *Mukhtalifū' sh Shi'a fi ahkāmū' sh Sharī'a*. It discusses the controversies among the 'ulamā' on the problems of *fiqh* and gives the author's own *fatwas*.⁴³² *Al Fakhariyya fi ma'rifati'n-niyah* concentrates on the importance of intention in Shi'i law.⁴³³ The *Tazkiratu'l-fuqahā*, compiled in 714/1314, is an encyclopaedia of *fatwas*.⁴³⁴ It also outlines the factors which led jurists to issue them. The *Tabsiratu'l mut'allimin fi ahkāmī'd-Din* is a summary of a portion of the *Minhājū's Salāh fi ikhtisāri'l misbāh* by Shaykhū't-Tā'ifa Abū Ja'far.⁴³⁵ Hilli's *Talkhīsu'l marām fi ma'rifati'l-ahkām* summarises *fatwas* on various problems.⁴³⁶ *Al-Bābu'l-Hādī 'Ashr* is an appendix to the *Minhājū's-Salāh fi ikhtisāri'l misbāh* by Muhammad bin Hasan at-Tūsi (d. 460/1067). The original is divided into ten chapters while Hilli's *Bābu'l-Hādī 'Ashr* contains eleven.⁴³⁷ Mawlānā al-Miqdād b. 'Abdu'llāh b. Muhammad (d. after 826/1423) wrote a commentary on this known as the *Sharhi'l-bābu'l hādī 'ashr an-Nāfi' Yawmu'l-hashr* or simply, *an-Nāfi'*.⁴³⁸ The *Nahju'l mustarshidin*⁴³⁹ by Jamālu'd-Dīn Hasan Hilli deals with the principles of Shi'i theology.

Hilli wrote several works on *kalām*. The most important ones include the *Tasliku'n-nafs ilā hazratū'l-quds*, the *Risāla fi khalifu'l a'māl al-Mubāhishāti's-Sunniyya wa'l-ma'arizatu'n Nāsiriyya*, *Minhājū'l-hidāya wa mi'rāju'd-darāya* and *Nihāyatu'l-marām fi 'ilmi'l-kalām*. Hilli's most profound contribution to the *imāma* controversy is the *Kitābu'l-alfayn al-fāriq baynu'l-Haqq wa'l mayn*.⁴⁴⁰ It was completed in 712/1312. Its first one thousand arguments support 'Alī's claim to the caliphate and the remaining thousand refute the arguments which Sunnis marshal in the defence of the caliphate of the Prophet's first three successors.

Hilli wrote a book on Shi'i *rijāl* (biographies) entitled the *Khulāsatu'l-*

428 Sālār Jung, nos. 1128-36.

429 Sālār Jung, nos. 1139-40.

430 Sālār Jung, nos. 1141-45.

431 Sālār Jung, no. 1146.

432 Sālār Jung, nos. 1147-54.

433 Sālār Jung, no. 1156.

434 Sālār Jung, no. 1155.

435 I'jāz Husayn, no. 446.

436 I'jāz Husayn, no. 693.

437 I'jāz Husayn, no. 355.

438 I'jāz Husayn, no. 319.

439 I'jāz Husayn, no. 3356.

440 Sālār Jung, no. 1307-8, Persian translation by Ja'far Wijdāni, Tehran, n. d.

aqwāl fi ma'rifatū'r-rijāl,⁴⁴¹ containing an account of those Shi'i traditionists he believed to be authentic. It also details the ones he rejected as unreliable. Hilli wrote a comprehensive work on *rijāl* entitled the *Kashfū'l-maqāl fi ma'rifatū'r-rijāl*⁴⁴² and later produced its abridged version. He also wrote a philosophical work analysing the contributions of early philosophers. It is entitled *al-Maqāmāt fi'l mabāhisāt ma'al-hukamāi's-sābiqin*.⁴⁴³ His *Kashfū'l-khafā' min Kitābū'sh Shifā'* elaborates upon the spiritual elements in Avicenna's *Kitābū'sh Shifā'*.⁴⁴⁴ The *Kashfū'l-maknūn min Kitābū'l-Qānūn* concentrates on the spiritual elements in Avicenna's *Cannon*.⁴⁴⁵ His *al-Muhākimāt bayn Sharā'i al-Ishārāt* is designed to adjudicate between commentaries of the *Ishārāt* by Fakhru'd-Din Rāzī and Nasiru'd-Din Tūsi.⁴⁴⁶

Hilli outlived Uljaytū whose successor, Abū Sa'id, (717-736/1317-1335), was a Sunni. Hilli's enthusiasm for strengthening Shi'ism, however, did not wane but, on 21 Muharram 726/28 December 1325, he died at Hilla. His son, Muhammad bin al-Hasan, known as Fakhru'l-Muham-qiqin (d. 771/1369-70), was also a distinguished scholar. Hilli had written several books at his instigation. Muhammad was also an author and wrote commentaries on some of his father's important works.

One of Hasan bin Yūsuf al-Hilli's disciples, Qutbu'd-Din Muhammad bin Muhammad ar-Razī al-Buwayhī, was a logician, philosopher and an expert in Qur'ānic exegesis. He had also been one of Abū Ja'far's students. During the political turmoil in the wake of Sultan Abū Sa'id's death, Qutbu'd-Din moved to Damascus. There the Shāfi'i *faqih*, Shaykh Taqī'd-Din Subkī (d. 756/1355), continually harassed him but he maintained his equanimity. On 12 Zu'lqā'da 766/31 July 1365, he died in Damascus.⁴⁴⁷

Qutbu'd-Din dedicated his works on logic, *Sharh Shamsiyya* and *Sharh Matāli'*, to Sultan Abū Sa'id's prime minister, Khwāja Ghiyāsu'd-Din Muhammad, the son of Khwāja Rashīdu'd-Din Fazlu'llāh. While he was still a student he wrote *al-Hawāshī al-Qutbiyya* on logic and, after his move to Damascus, he re-wrote it. This treatise, *al-Qutbiyya*, became very famous.⁴⁴⁸ Both Sunni and Shi'i scholars wrote commentaries on it. Among the seventeenth century commentators, the most famous was the Sunni scholar at the courts of Shāhjahān and Awrangzib, Mir Muham-

441 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1060.

442 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1065.

443 I'jāz Husayn, no. 3048.

444 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2136.

445 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2650.

446 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2660.

447 *Majālisū'l-mu'minin*, pp. 343-44.

448 *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.

mad Zāhid Harawī (d. 1111/1699-1700). At the end of Jumāda 755/May-June 1354, Qutbu'd-Dīn Rāzī completed his famous work *al-Muhākimāt*.⁴⁴⁹ It seeks to arbitrate between the commentaries on *al-Ishārāt* by Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī and Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī.

The seventh and eighth centuries of *hijra* are marked by the crystallization of the intellectual movement initiated by Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī designed to integrate the peripatetic philosophy of Avicenna, the *sūfism* of Muhyī'd-Dīn ibn al-'Arabī (560/1165-638/1240) and the illuminated wisdom of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Yahya Maqtūl (549/1154-587/1191) with Shī'i 'irfān (gnostic) traditions. The leading figure in this movement was Haydar bin al-'Ābidī al-Husaynī as-Sūfī al-Āmulī (d. after 787/1385-86). He left Āmul for Baghdād to visit the holy shrines of the Imāms in Iraq. In Baghdād he became a disciple of Shaykh Muhaqqiq Fakhru'd-Dīn Muhammad bin al-Mutahhar Hillī and of Mawlānā Nasīru'd-Dīn Qāshānī.⁴⁴⁸ He wrote the *Jāmi'ū'l-Haqā'iq* at the instance of Mawlānā Fakhru'd-Dīn. The work reiterates the fact that 'Alī's quietist role in the reign of the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad did not amount to his helplessness. In his *Jāmi'ū'l-asrār wa manba'ū'l Anwār* designed to reconcile orthodox Shī'ism with *sūfism*, Āmulī re-asserts the same point of view.⁴⁵⁰ He heavily drew upon the *Sharh Nahj al-balāgha* by Mīsam Bahrānī and the *Minhāju'l-Karāma* by Hillī. According to Haydar Āmulī the *sūfis* were essentially Shī'is who had drunk deep at the fountain of Divine mysteries.⁴⁵¹ Āmulī's *Kashkūl fi bayān majarā 'alā' ar-Rasūl* describes the tragedies suffered by the Prophet's descendants and spells out the causes of the ill-feeling and dissension between the Shī'is and Sunnis.⁴⁵²

The eighth century was marked by the martyrdom of an eminent 'ālim, Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad bin Makki bin Muhammad bin Hāmid al-Āmulī. He was one of Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dīn's disciples and had also studied under Qutbu'd-Dīn Muhammad Rāzī. His fame in Syria prompted Sultan 'Alī Mu'iyād, the Shī'i governor of Khurāsān, to invite him to court. Abū 'Abdu'llāh refused but sent the Sultan a gift of his book *al-Lum'atū'd-Dimishqiyya*, comprising his own *fatwas*. Then, one of Muhammad's classmates, who had become the chief *qāzī* of Damascus, grew jealous of him. He accused Muhammad, who pretended to be a Shāfi'i, of Shī'ism and obtained orders for his execution from the Sunni ruler of Syria. On 19 Jumāda I 786/9 July 1384, Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad was executed. He was known as the *Shahīd-i Awwal* (the first martyr).

449 I'jāz Husayn, p. 750.

450 *Jāmi'ū'l-asrār*, India Office, London Ms., f. 4b.

451 *Ibid.*, ff. 18a-19a.

452 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2654.

The series started from the eighth century; the previous martyr 'ulamā' were ignored. Abū 'Abdu'llāh (*Shahid-i Awwal*) wrote books on *tafsīr*, *ahādīs* and *fiqh* but the latter was his favourite subject.⁴⁵³

*Ad-Durūsu'sh Shari'a fi fiqh'i-l-Imāmiyya*⁴⁵⁴ by Shahid-i Awwal comprises the author's lectures on Shi'i *fiqh*. His *al-Bayān*⁴⁵⁵ is a popular work on *fiqh*. In his *al-Alfiyya*, Shahid-i Awwal answered one thousand questions on the rules for *namāz* (prayer) according to Shi'i *fiqh*.⁴⁵⁶ A commentary on it was produced by Husayn bin 'Alī bin Abi Barwāl, a pupil of Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī bin 'Abdu'l-'Alā' al-Kurki (d. 945/1538).⁴⁵⁷ The Shahid-i Awwal also compiled a short treatise on Shi'i forms of prayer called the *Nafaliyya*. His *Jāmi' u'l-bayn min fawā'idu'sh Sharahayn* consolidates commentaries on the *Tahzibū'l-wusūl ilā 'ilmi'l Usūl* by Hasan bin Yūsuf al-Hillī.

In 810/1407-8 Ahmad bin 'Abdu'llāh bin Muhammad bin 'Alī bin al-Husayn al-Bahrāni a contemporary of Shaykh Miqdād died. His exegeses on the Qur'ān discuss the problems of *nāsikh* (a verse abrogating another) and *mansūkh* (a verse abrogated by another) competently.⁴⁵⁸ In 813/1410-11 Hāfiz Razi'ud-Dīn Rajab bin Muhammad bin Rajab al-Bursi, wrote the *Mashāriqu'l-anwār*.⁴⁵⁹ He also produced the *Lawāmi' anwār al-tamjīd wa jawāmi' u'l-asrār*.⁴⁶⁰ Both works embody Shi'i 'irfān (gnostic) traditions. Another writer, Miqdād bin 'Abdu'llāh bin Muhammad bin al-Husayn bin Muhammad al-Sa'īdi al-Hillī al-Asādī (d. 826/1422-23), wrote books on *fiqh* and *kalām*. Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l-'Abbās Ahmad bin Fahād al-Hillī (died c. 841/1437-38) was a prolific author. Khizr bin Muhammad bin 'Alī ar-Rāzī (died c. 850/1446-47), Muffih bin al-Husayn as-Sammīri (d. after 873/1468-69) and Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī bin Yūnus al-Bayāzī al-'Āmīlī (d. 877/1472-73) made important contributions to Shi'i religious literature. Muhammad bin Hasan bin Ibrāhīm bin Fāzil bin Abi Jamhūr Shaybāni al-Ahsa'i (d. after 899/1493-94) reinforced the *kalām* traditions in his works. He was the author of the *Masāliku'l ilhām fi 'ilmi'l-kalām*.⁴⁶¹ He wrote a commentary on *al-Bāb al-hādī al-'asr*⁴⁶² and on *Zādū'l-musāfirīn*.⁴⁶³

Early in his reign, Husayn Bayqarā (875-912/1470-1506) who ruled Khurāsān from his capital Hirāt, decided to introduce the names of the

453 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 249-50; *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, pp. 127-32.

454 Sālār Jung, nos. 1168-69.

455 Sālār Jung, no. 1170.

456 Sālār Jung, nos. 1172-76.

457 Sālār Jung, no. 1177.

458 I'jāz Husayn, no. 631.

459 Sālār Jung, no. 1282.

460 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2711.

461 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1976.

462 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1775.

463 I'jāz Husayn. no. 1615; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 250-55.

twelve Imāms into the *khutba*.⁴⁶⁴ This amounted to making Isnā 'Ashari Shi'ism the state religion. He invited Sayyid 'Alī al-Wā'iz al-Qā'ini, a distinguished orator from Khurāsān to deliver the *khutba*. The Sunni mob in Hirāt, however, dragged the Sayyid from the pulpit and severely manhandled him. The Sultan's prime minister, Mir 'Alī Shīr Niwā'ī also applied pressure and Sultan Husayn Bayqarā was forced to rescind his decision.⁴⁶⁵

The tenth century *hijra* Shi'i scholars also made considerable contributions to Shi'i religious literature. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Hasan al-'Āmili Kif'ami, known as Shaykh Taqī'u'd-Dīn (d. 905/1499-1500) compiled handbooks of invocations to God.⁴⁶⁶ Another writer, 'Alī bin' 'Abdu'l-'Alī al-Kurki, known as ash-Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn (d. 940/1533-4) wrote about a dozen books on *fiqh*.⁴⁶⁷ Sayyidu'l-Hukamā' (the leader of *hakims*), Amīr Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad Shīrāzī (d. 903/1497-98) the founder of the Madrasa Mansūriyya was a very famous teacher and the author of the glosses and commentaries on the philosophical and *kalām* works such as the *Tajrid*, *Matāli'*. He was the author of a treatise on the rainbow.⁴⁶⁸ He dedicated his *Jawāhīr-nāma* on minerals and jewels to Ūzūm Hasan of the Āq-qoyūnlū (858-82/1454-78).

The greatest scholar of the century was his son Amīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Mansūr Shīrāzī. He was a precocious child. He studied under his father, Amīr Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad. When he was only fourteen years old, he challenged the celebrated philosopher, Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī (830/1427-908/1502-3), to a religious discussion. At the age of twenty he completed his education having mastered peripatetic (*mashshā'i*) philosophy, illuminationist (*ishrāqī*) theosophy and both Sunni and Shi'i religious literature. Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī (930-984/1524-1576) appointed him his *sadr* (principal religious dignitary) but Shaykh 'Alī Abdu'l-'Alī Kurki, the great *mujtahid*, disliked Amīr and accused him of being irreligious. The breath of gossip fanned their disputes. Finally, when both were involved in an argument at court, the Shāh sided with the Shaykh. The Amīr, therefore, resigned. He returned to Shīrāz, where, in 948/1541-42, he died.

Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī, who thoroughly studied the Amīr's works, says that he initially read Amīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn's *Kitāb Hujjatu'l-kalām*, which contradicted Ghazālī's theories on resurrection. The Qāzi goes on to say that Amīr wrote two treatises: one arbitrated between the commentaries on the *Tajridu'l-'aqā'id* by Mir Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad and Mullā Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Dawwānī, the other compared the

464 *Ibid.*, p. 225; Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, p. 258.

465 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 225.

466 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 1866, 2070, 2781.

467 I'jāz Husayn, nos. 844, 955, 1196, 1202, 1312, 1335, 1378.

468 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 351.

commentators on *Sharh Matālī'* and *Hāshiyā Sharh 'Uzdi*. He also composed a commentary on the *Hayākilū'n-nūr* by Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl. His commentary on his father's treatise, *Asbāt Wājib*, deals with 'irfān (gnosis). The *Ta'dilū'l-mizān* is an abridgement of the *Shifā'*, on logic, and the *Mi'yārū'l-afkār* is a shortened version of the *Ta'dilū'l-mizān*. He wrote the *Lawāmi'* and the *Ma'ārij* answering the astronomical problems in the *Mahāzāt-i Shāhi*, at the age of eighteen. His other astronomical work is called the *Kitāb Safir*. The *Kitāb Tajrid* comprises a very learned and concise discussion on the problems of philosophy and *hikma*. He was also the author of a treatise on the *qibla* (direction facing Ka'ba in Mecca). He wrote a book on medicine too, entitled the *Ma'ālimū'sh Shifā'* and an abridged version called the *Shāfiyya*. He was the author of glosses on the *Ilāhiyyāt* (Divinity) section of the *Shifā'*, the *Kitāb al-Ishārāt*, the *Sharh Hikmatū'l-'ayn* and parts of the *Tafsir Kashshāf*. He produced treatises contradicting Dawwānī's books, *Hāshiyā-i Shamsiyya*, *Hāshiyā-i Tahzīb*, *Mūziju'l-'ulūm* and *Risāla Zura*. He refuted Dawwānī's theories on creation in *al-Lamhātū'l mulhiqā* and wrote *al-Lam'ātū'l-kāshifa* as well. He wrote treatises on the correct determination of cardinal points, the Necessary Being, entitled the *Asbāt Wājib*, and on 'irfān, called the *Kitāb Maqālātū'l-'arīfin*. His *Akhlāq-i Mansūri* deals with ethics. The *Risāla Qānūmū's saltanat* by him discusses kingship and administration. Qāzī Nūru'llāh comments that this list does not include the works he himself did not study. The *Kitāb Riyāzu'r-Rizwān* dealing with *ahādīs* and the *Kitāb Isās* on mathematics were also popular but the Qāzī had no access to them.

Amir Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn was also critical of his contemporaries, Mullā Abu'l Hasan Kāshī and Mullā Mirzā Jān Shirāzī. Scholars found it very easy to plagiarise the Amīr's works. Because of their terse style and profound discussions, they were generally unknown and plagiarism was not difficult. As a *sadr*, he drafted some important diplomatic correspondence for the Shāh.⁴⁶⁹ On one occasion the Ottoman Sultan wrote to the Shāh requesting him to explain why he permitted people to condemn the first three caliphs following the Prophet and allowed people to prostrate themselves before him. The Shāh ordered the Amīr to draft a short and terse reply. The Amīr wrote, "The first three successors to the Prophet were the servants of our (Shāh's) great grandfather (Prophet Muhammad). As these people bear no relationship to you, why do you bother to defend them? Secondly, people do not prostrate themselves before us. They prostrate themselves before God, thanking Him for giving them a pro-Shi'i and an anti-Sunni ruler, who is a bulwark of strength to their faith."

469 *Habību's-Siyar*, III, pp. 603, 604, 607; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 351-52.

The Amīr was an excellent teacher. His students both in Iran and India made singular contributions to the intellectual and spiritual traditions of their contemporaries. The Amīr's works are the water-shed between the thought of the scholars of earlier and later centuries. He reorientated the *hikma* traditions in which the spiritual teachings of Imām 'Alī and his successors were reconciled with Greek philosophy, ancient Persian and Hermetic doctrines. The *hakīms* or sages of this tradition, combined intellectual intuition and illumination (*zawq* and *ishrāq*) with reason (*istidlāl*) and revelation. This synthesis increased the popularity of Shi'ism.

To conclude this account of the tenth century intellectuals, we should mention Zaynu'd-Dīn bin 'Alī of Jabal al-'Āmil. His intellectual legacy survived in subsequent centuries through his talented sons, grandsons and disciples. He was born on 13 Shawwāl 911/8 March 1506. In 944/1537-38, he was acknowledged as a *mujtahid* and his books became very popular. Before long the Sunnī 'ulamā' decided he should be eliminated. On 5 Rabi' I 965/26 December 1557, he was taken captive on the orders of the Ottoman Sultan, Sulaymān II (926/1520-974/1566) in the sacred mosque in Mecca. He was imprisoned for about one and a half months in a house in Mecca and then taken by boat to Constantinople. Before reaching his destination he was killed and, in early 966/1558, his dead body was thrown into the sea. He came to be known as *Shahīd-i Sāni*⁴⁷⁰ (the second martyr).

Sixty-three titles of his books are known. Some of them are on *tafsīr*, *hadīs* and *kalām* but an overwhelmingly large number deal with *fiqh*. He wrote commentaries and glosses on the works of Shahīd-i Awwal in order to make them more popular, as well as on other classical Shi'i works. In Zu'lqā'da 939/May-June 1533, he completed the *Rawz al-jinān fī sharh Irshādū'l-azhān*.⁴⁷¹ It is a commentary on the *Irshādū'l-azhān* by Hasan bin Yūsuf al-Mutahhar al-Hillī and is a very valuable contribution to Shi'i *fiqh*. In Shawwāl 953/December 1546, he produced a book on the rules for the performance of pilgrimage, entitled the *Manāsikū'l-Hajj al-kabira*.⁴⁷² Next year, after the death of his son Mahmūd, he compiled the *Musākkimū'l-fū'ād*, comprising a description of such traditions and ethico-religious teachings as console a grief-stricken heart.⁴⁷³ In Muharram 955/February 1548, he completed the *Tamhīdū'l-qawā'id al-Usūliyya*, an important work for the guidance of *mujtahids*.⁴⁷⁴ Two years later he

470 *Qisasū'l-'ulamā'*, II, pp. 32-48.

471 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1591.

472 I'jāz Husayn, no. 3116.

473 I'jāz Husayn, no. 2925.

474 I'jāz Husayn, no. 699.

completed *a'r-Rawzatul-bahiyya*, a commentary on *al-Luma'tu'd-Dimish-qiyya* by Shahīd-i Awwal.⁴⁷⁵ *A'r-Rawzatul-bahiyya* achieved considerable fame among the advanced scholars of *fiqh* and several scholars wrote commentaries and glosses on it.⁴⁷⁶ In 959/1551, he completed a pioneering work called *al-Bidāya*. It discusses the principles of Shī'i traditions. Later he himself wrote a commentary on it entitled the *Sharhu'l-bidāya fi 'ilmī'd-darāya*.⁴⁷⁷ The same year saw the completion of his two other works on *fiqh*, the *Risāla fi tayyaqunūt-tahāra*⁴⁷⁸, on ceremonial purity, and the *Risāla fi hukm mā'ūl bi'ar bi'l-mulāqāt*⁴⁷⁹ on the rules relating to the purification of polluted well-water. In Safar 959/February 1552, he wrote the *Risāla fi salāti'l-Jum'a*, a treatise on rules for congregational prayers.⁴⁸⁰ In 964/1556, he completed his famous commentary on the *Sharā'ū'l-Islām* by Ja'far bin Sa'id al-Hillī, called the *Masālikul-afhām*.⁴⁸¹ This work is the epitome of Shī'i *fiqh*.

Shī'i scholarship in the first millennium of the *Hijra* era developed during a time of inhuman persecution by the ruling powers. There were a few short respites under the Būyid, Īkhānid and some Shī'i princes from northern Iran. The Safawid (907/1501-1145/1732) patronage in Iran made the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries favourable to the blossoming of Shī'i religious and intellectual traditions. The most outstanding scholar at this time was Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad ibn Husayn ibn 'Abdu's-Samad al-Hārisī al-'Āmilī, known as Shaykh Bahā'i. His father, Shaykh Husayn, was a disciple of the Shahīd-i Sāni, Shaykh Zaynu'd-Dīn. After his teacher's demise, Shaykh Husayn moved from his ancestral home, Jabal 'Āmil, to Iran, taking his son Shaykh Bahā'i, who was born on 17 Muharram 953/20 March 1546. Shaykh Bahā'i became expert in all branches of religious scholarship, mathematics and medicine. The Shī'i '*irfān* (gnosis) traditions were crystallised in his works, such as the *Kashkūl* (The Beggar's Bowl), a miscellany of stories and verses, and the Persian poetical works such as the *Nān wa Halwa* (Bread and Sweetmeats) and the *Shir wa Shakar* (Milk and Sugar). He succeeded in these works in inadvertently impregnating the Sunni

475 Sālār Jung, nos. 1157-67.

476 *Az-Zahīratu'z-Zāwiyya* by 'Alī bin Muhammad bin Hasan bin Zaynu'd-Dīn (d. after 1090/1679); Sālār Jung, no. 1166; *Al-manahij i's-Sawīyah fi Sharh a'r-Rawzatul-bahiyya* by Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-Isfahānī, known as Fāzilu'l-Hindī (d. 1135/1723); Sālār Jung, no. 1167.

477 Sālār Jung, nos. 911-13.

478 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1324.

479 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1372.

480 I'jāz Husayn, no. 1436.

481 Sālār Jung, nos. 1089-97; 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī, I.

scholars with Shī'i 'irfān traditions. Shaykh Bahā'i died on 12 Shawwāl 1031/18 October 1622.⁴⁸²

The religious writings of Mullā Muhammad Taqī Majlisī (d. 1070/1659-60) and his son, Mullā Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1111/1699-1700), preserve the religious scholarship of the first millennium of the *hijra* era. These religio-philosophical traditions were re-invigorated by Mīr Muhammad Bāqir of Astarābād, known as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631-32) and Mullā Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad ibn Ibrāhīm of Shīrāz, known as Mullā Sadra (d. 1050/1640-41). Mullā Sadra was a disciple of both Shaykh-i Bahā'i and Mīr Dāmād. Muhammad ibn Murtazā of Kāshān, commonly known as Mullā Muhsin-i Fayz Kāshānī (d. 1090/1680), was a pupil and son-in-law of Mullā Sadra. He was a poet and a prolific author. According to the *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, he was an *Akhbāri* and an admirer of ibnu'l-'Arabī's school. Mullā 'Abdu'r-Razzāq-i Lāhijī, also a pupil and son-in-law of Mullā Sadra, obtained immortality through his philosophical treatises in Persian, the *Gawhar-i Murād* and the *Sarmāya-i imān*. These works left an indelible mark on Indian Shī'i scholarship in both the religious and scientific spheres and went a long way to making Indian Shī'i intellectual traditions unique. We shall be discussing some of these authors in the second volume.

482 'Ālam Ārā-i 'Abbāsī, I, pp. 155-56; *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, II, pp. 20-31.

Shī'ism in Northern India

The Shansābānī Shī'is

The early history of the penetration of Islam into the Indian sub-continent is shrouded in myths and legends. Be that as it may, the Arab merchants who had embraced Islam introduced their new faith to the Indian coastal regions and islands in the South in the life time of the Prophet Muhammad. The conquest of Iraq and Iran in the reign of the second Caliph 'Umar opened the flood gate of incursions into Balūchistān and into the Sind ports. Markān in Balūchistān came to be the base of further incursions.¹ During the caliphate of 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib the Arab armies crossed the Sind frontiers. Sīstān was seized and its administration was reorganized. A section of the Jāts of Sind had developed a deep devotion to 'Alī. Some members of the Jāt community embarrassed 'Alī by attributing Divinity to the Imām. The concepts of the Divine incarnation from their Hindu background made them members of the Shī'i *Ghulāt*. From the caliphate of 'Alī, Shī'ism began to penetrate into Sind².

According to Minhāj Sirāj, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* Shansab the ancestor of the Ghūrid conquerors of northern India embraced Islam at the hands of Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. He is said to have made a covenant of loyalty with 'Alī and obtained a standard from him. At the coronation ceremony of the new ruler of the dynasty, the covenant written by 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib was handed over to the new ruler and he pledged to comply with its conditions. They were 'Alī's devotees (*mawālī-i-'Alī*) and the love for the Imāms and the Ahl-i Bayt of the Prophet Muhammad was firmly rooted into their beliefs.³ Under the Umayyad the Prophet's family was cursed throughout the Islamic empire but according

1 Balāzuri, *Futūḥ-i-buldān*, Leiden, 1968, p. 432; Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 35, 67, 77, 97, 100-101.

2 Ibn Asīr, III, pp. 45, 46, 381.

3 Minhāj Sirāj Jūzjāni, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, Calcutta, 1864, p. 29. The author does not give the details of the pledge; possibly the main condition was the devotion to 'Alī and his successors.

to Firishta the subjects of the Ghūr kingdom did not follow that atrocious custom.⁴ The inaccessible mountains of the Ghūr region had made it impossible for the Umayyads to discipline the Shansābānī dynasty. The intellectuals from the region visited the Imāms and entered into their discipleship. For example Abū Khālid Kābulī was a companion of Muhammad ibn Hanafiyya and considered him as an Imām. Later on he became sceptic and became Imām Zaynu'l 'Ābidīn's disciple. He frequently visited Kābul and called on Imāms Muhammad Bāqir and Ja'far as-Sādiq.⁵

The Shansābānī dynasty supported Abū Muslim Khurāsānī in his revolutionary campaigns against the Umayyads and slaughtered the enemies of Ahl-i Bayt. In the reign of the early 'Abbāsids the incarceration of the Imāms cut off the contact of the leaders of this region with the Imāms and the Turkic domination forced the Shansābānīs and other Shi'is to embrace Sunni-ism.

The Zaydiyyas in Sind

From the time of Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, the devotion of Sindis to Shi'ism assumed a new dimension. One of the wives of Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn was a Sindī lady.⁶ Her son by the Imām was Zayd Shahīd. During the governorship of Hajjāj bin Yūsuf to the Eastern Provinces, the development of Shi'ism received a great set-back. It was during his tenure as governor that his nephew and son-in-law Muhammad bin Qāsim conquered Sind and Multan. Not only did he conquer the region between 93/711 and 95/714, but he firmly consolidated the administration. The Shi'is could get no opportunity to propagate their faith. Muhammad bin Qāsim himself, however, could not rule over the region for long. In 96/715 the Caliph Walīd bin 'Abdu'l Malik (86-99/705-715), who had made Hajjāj incredibly powerful, died. Hajjāj himself had died eight months earlier. Walīd's successor Sulaymān (96-99/715-717) reversed the policy of his predecessor and imprisoned Muhammad bin Qāsim in the Wāsīt jail where he died.⁷ The administration of Sind broke down. Some Shi'i leaders who were persecuted by the Umayyad caliphs found asylum in the remote regions of the caliphate. Sind, Ghūr, Khurāsān and Transoxiana became the centres of the Shi'i revolution. One Ziyād Hindī or Sindī fought under Zayd bin Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn and was killed

4 Firishta, Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I, p. 27.

5 *Supra*, p. 95.

6 Ibn Qutayba, *Kutāb al-ma'ārif*, Egypt, n. d., p. 37; *Maqātil at-Tālibiyyīn*, p. 127; 'Abdu'r Razzāq-Najafī, *Zayd al-Shahīd*, Najaf, n. d., p. 5.

7 Ibn Asīr, IV, p. 588; 'Alī bin Hāmid bin Abī Bakr al-Kūfī, *Chach-nāma*, Hyderabad, 1939, pp. 208-14, 263-66; *Futūhu'l-buldān*, pp. 433-41; Ya'qūbī, I, p. 436.

in 121/739.⁸ Zayd's son Yahya fell fighting against the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān. Hasan, the son of Zayd bin Hasan (not to be confused with Zayd bin Zaynu'l 'Ābidīn), established a Zaydī kingdom in Tabaristān in Iran. They ruled from 250/864 to 520/1126.

Abū Muslim Khurāsānī, the 'Abbāsīd revolutionary, recruited soldiers from the eastern provinces of the Umayyads. Sind also sent recruits. In 132/749, Abū Muslim Khurāsānī consolidated the rule of the first 'Abbāsīd Caliph as-Saffāh (132-136/749-754). He deputed an army under the command of Mughlis 'Abdī Sijistānī to Sind but he was not successful in establishing the 'Abbāsīd rule and was killed. Abū Muslim made Mūsa bin Ka'b at-Tamīmī as the successor of Mughlis. Mūsa was a far-sighted general and proceeded cautiously. The Umayyad governor Mansūr was defeated. He fled to India, was seized and beheaded. Mūsa consolidated the 'Abbāsīd power in Sind. Around 140/757-58 Mūsa visited Baghdād and died there next year. His son 'Ayniyya could not control the administration.⁹ The second 'Abbāsīd Caliph, Mansūr (136-158/754-75) appointed 'Amr bin Hafṣ bin 'Usmān as the governor of Sind. He was known as Hazār Mard (equivalent to 1,000 valiant soldiers). Mūsa's son resisted 'Amr's penetration into Sind, but failed to repulse him. He was taken captive but he escaped from the prison. He could not, however, save his life and was killed by his relentless enemies. 'Amr re-invigorated the administration of Sind. Early in 'Amr's tenure of governorship 'Abdu'llāh al-Ashtar bin Muhammad an-Nafṣ az-Zakiyya bin 'Abdu'llāh al-Mahaz¹⁰ moved to Basra with a small party under his leadership. There they bought horses and entered into Sind in order to mobilize support for the rule of the descendants of 'Alī. 'Amr bin Hafṣ welcomed them and ordered his officers to promote the horse trade of 'Abdu'llāh. One of 'Abdu'llāh's men, however, divulged the secrets of his master to 'Amr and urged him to support the cause of the descendants of 'Alī in Sind. 'Amr was also an 'Alid (supporter of 'Alī's descendants). He willingly agreed to support 'Abdu'llāh's mission to overthrow the 'Abbāsīd rule. He consulted the dignitaries of the town. They decided to obtain the oath of allegiance in the name of 'Abdu'llāh on a Thursday. White robes and white standards were prepared for 'Abdu'llāh. A day before the revolution was anticipated, a boat arrived from Baghdād and a merchant who was carrying 'Amr's wife's letter delivered it to the Governor. 'Amr's wife had informed her husband that 'Abdu'llāh's father Muhammad and uncle Ibrāhīm were killed by the 'Abbāsīd army. 'Amr showed the letter to 'Abdu'llāh and offered him condolence at the sad demise of 'Abdu'llāh's father and uncle. 'Abdu'llāh was deeply upset

8 *Maqātilu't-Tālibiyyīn*, Cairo, 1949, p. 143.

9 Ya'qūbī, II, pp. 340, 358, 361-62; *Futūhu'l-buldān*, p. 443; Kāmil, V, p. 509.

10 *Maqātilu't-Tālibiyyīn*, p. 146.

and urged 'Amr to protect him.¹¹ 'Amr assured him of his support and found asylum for him in the kingdom of an independent Hindu Raja adjoining the Sind borders. The Raja warmly welcomed 'Abdu'llāh and his party. The hospitality of the Raja prompted 'Abdu'llāh's followers to flock around him. About four hundred of them moved to the Raja's protection. They freely propagated the Zaydiyya Shi'i theology and lived comfortably for nine to ten years.

Al-Mansūr was informed of the Zaydiyya colony in Sind. In 151/768 Mansūr called for report from 'Amr. The caliph's letter disconcerted 'Amr. He consulted his advisers. One of 'Amr's loyal supporters volunteered to accept the responsibility of arranging asylum to 'Abdu'llāh. 'Amr did not wish him to sacrifice his life for his sake. 'Amr's loyal supporter, however, did not withdraw his offer. Consequently 'Amr sent him to Baghdād in chains where he was executed for assuming responsibility to save 'Abdu'llāh. Legally the caliph was unable to take action against 'Amr but he transferred him to Africa and appointed Hishām bin 'Amr Taghlibī in his place. Hishām was ordered that, should the Raja refuse to surrender 'Abdu'llāh, his territory be invaded and 'Abdu'llāh be seized.

Hishām also happened to be the supporter of 'Ali's descendants. He began to mark time by indulging into dilatory correspondence with the Raja.¹² Meanwhile a rebellion broke out in Sind adjoining the Raja's territory. Hishām deputed his brother Safih to command the expeditionary force against the rebels. When Safih reached the border, a dust storm alarmed him. He believed that the Raja's army was on the march. He ordered his soldiers to repel the invasion. When the dust cleared it became known that 'Abdu'llāh with a party of ten horsemen had been hunting around the region. Safih ordered his men to arrest 'Abdu'llāh. Some of his advisers prevented him from unnecessarily shedding the blood of a Prophet's descendant. Safih, however, did not listen and ordered his men to attack 'Abdu'llāh. When 'Abdu'llāh found no way out of the impasse, he and his party valiantly defended themselves. Slaughtering their enemies in considerable number they met their martyrdom. The dead body of 'Abdu'llāh could not be identified. According to a tradition his followers threw 'Abdu'llāh's dead body into the river in order to prevent his enemies from severing his head and sending it to the caliph. Hishām deeply regretted 'Abdu'llāh's death but could take no action against his brother who had complied with caliph's orders. 'Abdu'llāh's son Muhammad and his supporters were safe in the Raja's territory. Consequently Mansūr ordered Hishām to invade the Raja and annihilate

11 Ibn Asīr, V, p. 595.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 596

'Abdu'llāh's supporters. In 151/768 Hishām defeated the Raja and seized his territory. 'Abdullāh's son and mother were taken captive and at the caliph's orders were sent to Medina. A number of 'Abdu'llāh's supporters were also killed. Some settled down in different parts of Sind.¹³ The sources do not give any identification of the Raja or his territory. Stray references in the sources indicate that his territory was situated at the estuary of Sind in the desert. Possibly, he ruled over Kachh.

Although during the second century *hijra*, Zaydiyyas actively propagated Shī'ism in Sind, some Sindīs like Kābulis sat at the feet of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. Among the transmitters of *ahādīs* from Imām as-Sādiq, most prominent were Abān Sindī, Khalād Sindī and Faraj Sindī.¹⁴ The impact of their teachings in Sind, is, however, not known.

In the third century *hijri*/9th century A.D. Abū 'Abdu'llāh Ja'far bin Muhammad bin 'Abdu'llāh bin Muhammad bin 'Umar al-Atrāf ibn 'Alī bin Abī Tālib arrived in Multan from Hijāz. His mission was strengthened by his sons whose number was incredibly large. They established matrimonial alliances with the families of local rulers and their dignitaries. This gave a considerable impetus to his mission. A considerable number of them joined the Ismā'iliyya movement.

Multan was then ruled by the Habbāri clan of the Quraysh tribe. From the beginning of the Arab rule in Multan the Habbāris held key positions in the local administration. In the third century A.D. they established their semi-independent kingdoms. Matrimonial alliances with eminent 'Alids stepped up the prestige of the Habbāris. The family relations gave impetus to the Shī'i movement in Multan.¹⁵

The Ismā'iliyya Movement in Sind

The third and fourth centuries of *hijra*/ninth and tenth centuries A.D. were marked by the unprecedented rise of the Ismā'iliyyas. They believed that Ismā'il, the son of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq (d. 148/765) was the seventh Ismā'iliyya Imām. Some Ismā'ilīs believed that Ismā'il had not died and would reappear as Mahdī. Others recognized Ismā'il's son Muhammad as their *imām*. Until the mid 3rd/9th century the Ismā'ili *dā'īs* (missionaries), propagated their mission very secretly. The *dā'i* organization was hierarchical. At the top was the Imām, between Imām and the *dā'īs* there were several ranks. Below *dā'īs* were *ma'zūns* (licensed preachers) and *mukāsirs* (persuaders). The *dā'īs* propagated Ismā'ilism in the regions assigned to them for their missionary activity. They were deeply devoted to their faith and were generally eminent scholars and powerful debaters.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 597.

14 'Abdu'l Hayy, *Nuzhatu'l-khawātir*, Hyderabad, 1947, I, pp. 51-52.

15 Abū Zafar Nadwī, *Tārīkh-i Sindh* (Urdu), Azamgarh, 1947, pp. 189-90.

Among them Hamadān Qarmat who was converted to Ismā'ilism by a *dā'i* in 264/877-78 was a remarkable organizer. His brother-in-law 'Abadān supported Hamadān's movement which secretly spread around Kūfa. In 286/899 Hamadān revolted against the principal leadership and his supporters came to be known as Qarmatis.

A Qarmati leader Abū Sa'id al-Hasan al-Jannābī established his rule in the eastern and central Arabia with his centre in Bahrayn. The taxes collected by the Ismā'ilis were shared by the members of the community according to their respective needs. They sacked Kūfa, pillaged pilgrim caravans and seized Omān in 317/929. They did not spare even Mecca and removed the Black Stone from the Ka'ba. Twenty years later it was restored to the Ka'ba because of the intervention of the Fātimid caliphs. Five kings ruled one after the other until 366/977 when the Qarmati State began to decline. Their principal centre Bahrayn came to be ruled by a council of elders.¹⁶ In the Sunni histories the Qarmatis are identified as heretics (*mulhids*) and subjected to abusive language. The Sunni historians do not discriminate between the Ismā'ili rulers of Sind under the Fātimid control and the Qarāmīta, and condemn all of them as heretics and materialists. One of the Ismā'ili leaders 'Ubaydu'llāh Sa'id lived in Salamiyya in Syria. Ibn Hawshab Mansūr al-Yaman the *dā'i* of Yemen under him selected two enterprising *dā'is* for the dissemination of Ismā'ilism at two distant places. One was Abū 'Abdu'llāh ash-Shi'i who founded the Fātimid rule in North Africa in 297/910. The fourth caliph of the dynasty, al-Mu'izz (341-65/953-75) moved to Egypt conquered by his general Jawhar.

The second *dā'i* was Ibn Hawshab's own nephew, al-Haysam. He was deputed to Sind in 270/883. The Ismā'ili mission made considerable headway in Multan. Al-Haysam was succeeded by other *dā'is*. In 373/983-84 the Fātimid Caliph al-'Azīz (365-86/975-96) sent a military expedition under an enterprising commander Julam bin Shaybān. The *dā'is* had already prepared Multan for the *coup*. Julam seized Multan and the *khutba* was read in the name of the Fātimid caliph and the coins were also struck in the latter's name.¹⁷ According to al-Bīrūnī Muhammad bin Qāsim had spared the famous temples of Multan to collect wealth from their pilgrims. Mahmūd had a piece of flesh hung around the idol's neck in order to humiliate the idol worshippers. He built a mosque near the site. Julam broke the idol into pieces and killed the priests. According to his order the old Umayyad mosque was abandoned and a mosque at the site of the temple was built.¹⁸ Muqaddisi

16 Nawbakhti, *Firaq a'sh-Shi'a*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbūl, 1931, pp. 61-64; Suhayī Zakkār (ed.), *Tārīkh akhbār al-Qarāmīta*, Beirut, 1391/1971.

17 *Tārīkh-i Sind*, pp. 256-57.

18 E. C. Sachau, *Alberūnī's India*, Delhi, reprint, 1964, I, p. 116.

who visited Sind and Multan in 375/985 says that the *khutba* of the Fātimid caliphs of Egypt was read in Multan. The coins in Multan were minted on the pattern of the Egyptian coins. The Ismā'īli governors of Multan strictly obeyed the orders of the Fātimid caliphs and sent tributes to them. The inhabitants of Multan embraced Shi'ism. They restored *hayya 'alā' khayri'l 'amal* (hasten to do the righteous deeds) in their *azān* (call for prayers), which the second Caliph 'Umar had abolished.¹⁹

Julam consolidated his hold over Multan. His rule extended from the Upper valley of the united Indus as far as Aror. His immediate neighbours in the north were the Hindū Shāhis who ruled the territory from Lamghān to the river Chināb and from the hills of southern Kashmir to the frontier kingdom of Multan. Julam established friendly relations with the Hindū Shāhis but the most formidable threat to his rule were the Ghaznawids. Nāsiru'd-Dawla Subuktigīn (366-387/977-97) initiated the tradition of plundering the Indian plains to collect booty and slaves. His incursions from the crest of the high plateau of Ghazni into the valleys of Kābul, Tūchī and Gomal rivers were a walk over. Julam managed to maintain an uneasy truce with Subuktigīn but the Hindū Shāhi ruler Jaypāla twice invaded Ghazni but was defeated. Subuktigīn compelled Jaypāla to cede Kābul and the adjoining regions. The role of Julam and his successor in the wars of two formidable powers is not known. Possibly he remained neutral or else secretly helped Jaypāla to halt the progress of the pro-'Abbāsīd Ghaznawid rule.

Julam died between 376/986 and 380/990. He was succeeded by one Hamīd called Hamīd Lodī by Firishta.²⁰ Hamīd's Afghān origin is, however, doubtful. He is also mentioned as Shaykh Hamīd. Possibly he was Julam's son or a near relation. In 382/982-83 Hamīd made a treaty with Subuktigīn in order to ward off the threat of the Ghaznawid invasion. In the last years of his reign Subuktigīn was involved in establishing his hold over Afghānistān. When Yamīnu'd-Dawla Mahmūd (388-421/998-1030) ascended the throne of Ghazni after his father Subuktigīn's death, he plunged himself to an unending series of wars in Khurāsān and in India. Nasr's son Shaykh Abu'l-Fatūh Dāwud could not save his kingdom from Mahmūd's expansionist ambitions. Mahmūd's principal objective was to penetrate into Gangetic plain through Hindū Shāhi and Multan principalities. Hindū Shāhis were non-Muslims but the Ismā'īli Shi'is were as abominable to Mahmūd's pro-'Abbāsīd Sunnī zeal as the Hindus. Their destruction was reconcilable to the Mahmūd's interpretation of *jihād* (holy war). In Shawwāl 391/September 1001 Mahmūd penetrated into Peshawar.

19 Muqaddisī, *Ahsanū't-taqāsīm*, Leiden, pp. 481, 485.

20 Abū Sa'id 'Abdu'l Hayy, *Zaynu'l-akhbār*, Berlin, 1928, pp. 66; *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, p. 7; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I, pp. 24-25.

The Hindū Shāhī Jaypāla was defeated and taken captive. Mahmūd seized Wayhind. Jaypāla was released on the payment of war indemnity and tribute. Unable to bear the shock of his discomfiture Jaypāla committed suicide. His son Anandapāla became his successor. In 395/1005 Sultan seized Bhira in order to clear his way into the rich Gangetic valley. The Raja valiantly resisted the invasion. The siege-operation was prolonged. Sultan's army sustained heavy losses but ultimately he was victorious. Dāwud is accused of acting stupidly. Possibly he remained neutral. Sultan connived at his offence. Next year the Sultan marched against Multan through an opposite route in order to surprise Dāwud. Anandapāla tried to block Mahmūd's onward march but was swept away before the invaders' mighty force. Anandapāla fled. Mahmūd's army pursued him upto the Chināb, but Anandapāla made his escape to Kashmir. The Sultan did not chase Anandapāla but marched towards Multan via Bhatinda. Dāwud shut himself up in the fort. The Sultan besieged the fort. Dāwud surrendered and promised to pay very heavy tribute. He also undertook to introduce the rules of (Sunni) *shari'a* and refrain from practising the *mazhab-i ilhād* (heretical faith i.e. Ismā'ilism).

In 399/1009 Mahmūd marched against Anandapāla to annihilate his power. Armies of the Hindu rajas of Gangetic plain also rallied round Anandapāla's forces. Near Peshawar both armies marshalled their ranks for final bid to power. Mahmūd dug a trench around his camp. Nevertheless the sudden attack of the Gakkhars of the mountainous regions took a heavy toll of Mahmūd's army. The next day Anandapāla's elephant fled before the naphtha balls and arrows of the enemy. The Indian allies dispersed in confusion. Mahmūd expected active support from Dāwud of Multan and was deeply annoyed at his neutrality. For the time being he connived at his indifference. In 400/1009-10 Mahmūd seized Kangra fort, besieged Gakkhars and ultimately made peace with them. Next year he defeated the Ghūris, marched towards Multan with a lightning speed and seized the fort. According to Firishta a large number of the Qarmatis and *mulhids* (heretics) were slaughtered. Hands and feet of a large number of them were amputated. Dāwud was taken as captive to Ghazni and was imprisoned in the Ghūrak fort.²¹ Muhammad bin Qāsīm's mosque was re-opened for Sunni congregational prayers and the mosque built by Julam was left to decay. When al-Bīrūnī wrote his *Kitāb tahqīq fi mā li'l Hind*, it was reduced to a barn-floor.²²

Before long, however, the Ismā'ili power again revived. In 572/1176-77 Shihābu'd-Dīn (Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Sām) in his bid to

21 Ibn Asīr, IX, pp. 186-88; *Tārīkh-i Yamīnī*, Tehran n.d.; *Zaynu'l-akhbār*, p. 66; *Gulshan-i Ibrahīmī*, I, pp. 25-27.

22 *Alberūnī's India*, I, p. 117.

revive Mahmūd Ghaznawī's traditions of the Indian conquests seized Multan. The tiny Ismā'ili state of Multan could not withstand the onslaught of the mighty military machine of the Ghūrīds but their secret organization flourished for a very long time.²³ They gradually merged into the *sūfī* school of Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyya (d. 661/1262) the founder of the Suhrawardiyya *silsila* in Multan. Some became Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is. Some, however, secretly remained Ismā'ilis controlling the overland and local trade of Multan.

The Ismā'ili kingdom of Mansura below Multan was, however, destined to obtain a longer span of life. It comprised the eastern delta of the Indus extending from lower Sind to Aror. Its boundaries in the west touched Makran. Mansura town was founded near Brahmanabad (near Hyderabad Sind). The history of the Ismā'ili kingdom in the region is, however, obscure. Until 375/985-86 it was ruled by the Habbāri clan of the Arab Qurayshites. The Habbāris helped both the Umayyad and the 'Abbāsīd governors. In 240/854-55 an enterprising leader of the clan 'Umar bin 'Abdu'l-'Aziz by name founded a hereditary Habbāri dynasty of lower Sind. 'Umar and his successors who were Sunnis remained loyal to the 'Abbāsīds. In 375/985-86 Muqaddisī visited Mansura. Although Multan had become Shi'a, Mansura was under the Habbāris. The population was devoted to the Sunni, Abū Dāwud Zāhiri Muhaddis. In 416/1025 ibn Asir found the region under the Ismā'ili domination. This revolution took place between 375/985-86 and 416/1025. It would seem that after the conquest of Multan by Mahmūd in 401/1010-11 the Ismā'ili leaders of Multan who escaped from there helped the local Ismā'ili chieftains of Uchch, Aror, Mansura and Bhakkar to found an independent State of Ismā'ilis. They seem to have been converted by the *dā'i* Haysam and his successors. Their ruler was Sūmirah. Before long they were involved in war against Mahmūd who conquered Somnath. Mahmūd wished to march through Mansura in order to avoid serious hazards to the army's return march to Ghaznī through deserts and enemy region. According to Mahmūd's court poet Hakīm Farrukhī Sīstānī (d. 429/1037-38) Mansura was ruled by Khafif.²⁴ His military resources were not meagre, nevertheless he did not fight against Mahmūd and fled. He aroused the Jāts and Med tribes inhabiting around the River Sind to fight guerrilla war against Mahmūd. Although Mansura was seized by Mahmūd his baggage laden with Somnath plunder and men sustained considerable loss. For some time Mansura was ruled by the Ghaznawid governors. In the reign of Mas'ūd (421-32/1031-41) Dāwud's son and other Ismā'ilis who were released from prison seized

23 Farrukhī Sīstānī, *Dīwān*, Kābul, n. d., p. 74.

24 *Tārīkh-i Sind*, pp. 270-72.

power. They were instigated to rebel even by the Syrian Durūz leader Hamza who assigned the Fātimid Caliph al-Hakam (386-411/996-1021) a supernatural status. They claimed that they were *muwahhidūn* (unitarians) *par excellence*. An epistle of Muktana Bahā'u'd-Dīn, the chief missionary under Hamza, and the compiler of the Durūz writings is dated 423/1032. It is addressed to the Unitarians of Multan and Hindustan in general, and to Shaykh ibn Sumar Raja Bal in particular. Eulogising the faith and virtues of the Ismā'ilis of Sind and Multan, the epistle says, "Oh, illustrious, Raja Bal, arouse your family, the unitarians, and bring back Dāwud the younger into the true religion, for Mas'ūd only delivered him from prison and bondage, that you might accomplish the ministry with which you were charged, against 'Abdu'llāh, his nephew, and against all the inhabitants of Multan, so that the disciples of the doctrines of holiness, and of the unity, might be distinguished from the party of bewilderment, contradiction, ingenuity and rebellion."²⁵ Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī and Mawlānā Sayyid Abu'z-Zafar Dasnawī Nadwī heavily rely on the Durūz letter in arriving at the conclusion that Sūmirahs were Ismā'ilis.²⁶

The date of Sūmirah's ascendancy to power is, however, obscure. Mīr Muhammad Ma'sūm Bhakkari's statement to the effect that the Sūmirah's mustered strength in the neighbourhood of Tharri or Jharri in the reign of the Ghaznawid 'Izzu'd-Dawla 'Abdu'r-Rashīd (441-44/1050-51) seems correct. It would seem that Ismā'ilī rule extended from Multan where they were deprived of their independence by Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Muhammad in 572/1176-77 to the lower Sind. From Multan the Sultan marched upon Uch. After a long siege it was seized. Multan and Uch came under the Ghūrid rule and 'Alī Karmakh was appointed governor. According to Mīr Ma'sūm the Sultan assigned the command of the conquest of Sind to Qutbu'd-Dīn Aybak who seized Sind in three months. The statement is true so far as the mopping up operation of petty powers in the Upper Sind was concerned.²⁷ The lower Sind remained under the Sūmirahs. Ibn-i Battūta visited Sind in 734/1333. Sūmirah rule was then torn with factionalism.²⁸ In 752/1351 the Sunnī Summah over-threw the Sūmirahs. More than 350 years of the rule of Sūmirahs over the lower Sind in face of the onslaughts of Turkic governors of the Delhi sultans manifests their deep support

25 H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The history of India*, Allahabad, n. d. reprint, I, p. 491, footnote no. 1.

26 *Tārīkh-i Sindh*, pp. 279-81.

27 *Ẓaynu'l-akhbār*, pp. 65, 66, 70; *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, p. 116; Sayyid Muhammad Ma'sūm Nāmī Bhakkari, *Tārīkh-i Sind*, Bombay, 1938, pp. 34-35.

28 *Tārīkh-i Sind*, p. 61.

among the local chieftains.

After the death of the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustansir (427-87/1036-94) his two sons Nizār and al-Musta'ālī plunged themselves into struggle for supremacy over the Ismā'īli community. Al-Musta'ālī (487-95/1094-1101) became the caliph of Egypt. In 487/1094 Nizār and his followers broke with the Fātimid Egyptian government. The Nizāris or the followers of Nizār luckily for themselves found in Hasan-i Sabbāh (483-518/1090-1124) an energetic and enterprising leader. After Nizār's death Hasan was recognized as the *Hujja* or the living proof of the *Imām* and *Sayyidna* (our Master). Hasan seized the Alamūt castle in the Elburz mountains of Iran and established his rule over the neighbouring regions. The Alamūt emissaries established an Ismā'īli centre in the Syrian mountains.²⁹ After the conquest of Alamūt by Hulāgū in 654/1256 and the execution of their Imām Ruknu'd-Dīn Khwushāh, the Nizāri community came to be led by the local *pīrs* or *shaykhs* in different parts of their settlements. In Sind Sūmirahs seem to have changed their allegiance from the Musta'ālī Fātimid to the Nizāri Imāms of Alamūt.

Ismā'īlis of Gujarat

The legends trace the advent of the Ismā'īli Bohra and Khoja communities from the reign of Siddharāja Jaysinha (1094-1143). According to the Bohra works, the Ismā'īli Caliph al-Mustansir deputed Mawlā'ī Ahmad to propagate Ismā'īli faith in India. Arriving in Cambay Mawlā'ī Ahmad converted two Hindu orphan brothers into Ismā'īlis and took them to Egypt to train them in the secret Ismā'īli doctrines. They were named Mawlā'ī 'Abdu'llāh and Mawlā'ī Nūru'd-Dīn. Nūru'd-Dīn went away to the Deccan but Mawlā'ī 'Abdu'llāh returned to Gujarat. His miracles at the Ganesha temple in Patan converted Raja Siddharāja Jaysinha to Ismā'īlism. In the beginning the proselytization was kept secret but gradually the trading Bohra community embraced Ismā'īli faith.

According to a different tradition the legendary Nūr Satgur left his Alamūt strong-hold for missionary work to Gujarat. He is also credited with having shown miracles at the Ganesha temple in Patan leading to the conversion of Raja Siddharāja Jaysinha to Ismā'īli faith.³⁰ The community of merchants converted by Nūr Satgur came to be known as Khojas.³¹ Although both communities are exceedingly prosperous in Gujarat, their legendary history is irreconcilable with sober history.

29 Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The order of assassins: the struggle of the early Nizāri Ismā'īlis against the Islamic World*, The Hague, 1955, pp. 205-7.

30 S. C. Misra, *Muslim communities in Gujarat*, Bombay, 1964, pp. 12, 13, 20, 36, 54, 57.

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 10-42, 54-57, 60, 61.

It would seem that both the Musta'ālī and Nizārī *dā'is* established their missionary centres in the mid-twelfth century and converted local business communities to Ismā'ilism. The oversea and over-land trade of the converts with Muslim countries was very successful because of their contacts with Ismā'īlī *dā'is*.

Ismā'ilis in Delhi

The establishment of the Delhi sultanate in the early thirteenth century filled the Ismā'ilis with new hopes of expansion. The conqueror of Delhi, Mu'izzu'd-Dīn belonged to Shansābānī dynasty but he was a strict Sunnī. The Turkic slaves who succeeded him were also orthodox Sunnis. Nevertheless Ismā'ilis settled around Delhi in the newly established Muslim colonies on the banks of the Ganges and Jamuna. In the reign of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dīn Iltutmish (607-33/1211-36) they were politically inactive. After Iltutmish the struggle for succession gave them an opportunity to assert their power. In the reign of Iltutmish's daughter Raziya (634-37/1236-40) the Ismā'īlī leader Nūr Turk, who was an eloquent speaker, made the Sunnī 'ulamā' target of his attack for serving the government of a woman. According to Minhāj Sirāj he called them Nāsibīs and Murjīs and aroused the Muslim masses against the Hanafī and Shāfi'i 'ulamā'. They fixed Friday 6 Rajab 634/5 March 1237 for their *coup*. The Ismā'īlī groups (Qarāmīta and Malāhida of the sources) from Gujarat, Sind and all around Delhi assembled in the capital. They numbered about one thousand. Armed to the teeth, they divided themselves into two parties. One party entered the Jāmi' mosque from its northern gateway. The second party passing through the drapers' market entered into the gateway of the Mu'izzī *madrassa* (seminary) presuming that it was the congregational mosque. From both directions they began to slaughter Muslims. A large number of people were killed by the swords of assassins, quite a big number died in stampede. As soon as the warriors of the capital came to know of the *coup*, their leaders, some well armed soldiers and horsemen entered into the mosque and put the Malāhida and Qarāmīta (Ismā'ilis) to sword. The Muslims from the roof of the mosque pelted them with brick bats and stones. The Malāhida and Qarāmīta community, says Minhāj Sirāj, were despatched to hell.³²

Minhāj Sirāj was a trained historian and an eye witness to the incident but according to the eminent *sūfi* Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1325) Minhāj Sirāj belonged to the 'ulamā' class and was prejudiced in their favour. The *Fawā'idul-fu'ād* comprising Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā's discourses recounts a discussion about Nūr Turk referred to as

32 *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī*, pp. 189-90.

Mawlānā Nūru'd-Dīn Turk dated 13 Sha'bān 718/10 October 1318. The compiler Hasan Sijzi, an eminent poet and disciple of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' submitted that 'ulamā' of Delhi had made hostile statements against Nūr Turk's faith. Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' replied, "No, he was purer than the rain water." Hasan Sijzi submitted that, according to the *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, Nūr Turk used to assail the 'ulamā' and condemn them as Nāsibī and Murji. The Shaykh said that the Mawlānā Nūr Turk was hostile to the 'ulamā' of the town because they were sunk in materialism. Their enmity was responsible for their false allegations against Nūr Turk. The Shaykh added that Nāsibīs³³ were Rāfizis. The Murjis³⁴ believed in *rijā'*. Further that the Murjis were of two types. One were pure and the other were impure. The pure Murjis talked only of Divine mercy. The impure Murjis talked both of mercy and punishment. The last one was the true faith.

Resuming his discourse on Mawlānā Nūr Turk, the Shaykh said that the Mawlānā was an eloquent orator. He had not performed *bay'a* with any Shaykh. He used to speak on the basis of his vast knowledge and ascetic experience. He had got a slave who was a cotton-dresser. He daily earned through his labour a *dirham* and paid it to the Mawlānā. It was the Mawlānā's only source of income. When Mawlānā Nūr Turk moved to Mecca and settled there, a pilgrim from Delhi presented two maunds of rice to him. Mawlānā Nūr Turk accepted the gift and blessed the man. This attitude of the Mawlānā was in sharp contrast to his indifference to wealth in Delhi. Once Sultan Raziya sent to him quite a large quantity of gold as gift but the Mawlānā rejected it. He had a stick in his hand. He hit the gift with the stick and said, "What is this? Take it away." The pilgrim who had taken the rice was filled with surprise at the contrast. Mawlānā Nūr Turk said, "O Khwāja! Don't compare Mecca with Delhi. Moreover, in those days I was young. The strength and the heat of youth have deserted me now. I have become old. The cereal is also scarce here."

The Shaykh added that once Nūr Turk went to Hānsī. There he began to deliver a sermon. Shaykhul-Islām Farīdu'd-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar (d. 664/1265) known as Bābā Farīd, the *pir* of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā', frequently attended the Mawlānā's sermons. The first visit of Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn to the Mawlānā's sermons was a great surprise to the Shaykh. His (Shaykh's) clothes were dirty and torn. He had not earlier visited the Mawlānā. Nevertheless as soon as the Mawlānā

33 *Infra*, pp. 151-52.

34 Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī divides them into twelve different sects. Nizām Hājji Gharīb, *Latā'if-i Ashrafī*, Delhi n. d. II, pp. 171-72.

sighted the Shaykh, he said, "O Muslims! The real connoisseur of the sermon has arrived." He then admired the Shaykh in such eulogistic terms as he never used in praise of even kings.³⁵

Unfortunately for a modern scholar both authorities were eminent in their own rights. Nevertheless their respective statements are irreconcilable. Minhāj Sirāj was deeply associated with the educational, religious and judicial administration of the Delhi Sultans from Iltutmish to Balban. The *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* brings down the history of the Delhi Sultans to Shawwāl 658/September-October 1260. Minhāj Sirāj did not complete the history of his patron Sultan Nāsiru'd-Dīn (644-64/1246-66) for his successor Sultan Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-87) had his predecessor assassinated in cold blood. According to a *sūfi* hagiological work, Balban was not impressed with Minhāj Sirāj whom he had appointed as a *qāzi*. Balban believed that Minhāj was neither scared of God nor of him (Balban). Minhāj Sirāj was deeply interested in the *samā'* (literally audition, in practice *sūfi* music and dancing) of the Chishtiyya *sūfis* which the 'ulamā' were determined to extirpate.³⁶ The *sūfis* attended Minhāj's sermons (*tazkīr*) and found them impressive.

Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' was born at Badaun in 636/1238. When he was sixteen, he moved to Delhi to complete his education and did not personally know Nūr Turk. He had heard about him from his teacher Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn Ganj-i Shakar and others and had formed his opinion of Nūr Turk on the basis of their reports. Minhāj Sirāj was discredited by Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' on the basis of the hostility of the 'ulamā' towards Nūr Turk and the latter's reputation for piety and asceticism. Moreover, Minhāj Sirāj's account does not sufficiently establish the motives for Nūr Turk's *coup*. Nūr Turk could only slaughter some members of 'ulamā' class and the members of congregation. He was not so naïve as to believe that this would overthrow Raziya's government. Nūr Turk's reputation as a pious 'ālim would have very easily escalated him to higher echelons of the government, had he wished to seize power. It is very difficult to believe that half of the members of his party who were led by residents of Delhi did not distinguish between the congregational mosque and the Mu'izzī *madrasa*. It is not improbable that the Sunnī 'ulamā' in conjunction with the military commanders slaughtered the Ismā'ilīs accusing them of organizing a *coup*. Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' wrongly defined Nāsibīs as Rāfizīs. In fact the Shi'īs or the Rāfizīs nick-named the Sunnīs particularly their 'ulamā' as Nāsibīs for their hostility towards the friends of Ahl-i Bayt.

35 Hasan Sijzi, *Fawā'idul-fu'ād*, Bulandshahr, 1272/1855-56, pp. 212-13.

36 S. A. A. Rizvi, *A history of Sūfism in India*, Delhi, 1978, I, p. 197.

Only a Shī'i could accuse the Sunni 'ulamā' of the Hanafi and Shāfi'i schools of *fiqh* as Nāsibīs.³⁷

Be that as it may, the Ismā'ilis after their massacre moved to Sind and Gujarat. Nūr Turk himself settled in Mecca. Only a very small number of Ismā'ilis were left around Delhi who practised strict *taqiyya* (dissimulation or prudential concealment of the faith). Nevertheless the Sunni 'ulamā' gave them no respite. 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī (695-715/1296-1316), who did not tolerate 'ulamā''s interference in state matters, gave them in his reign a free rope to massacre the Ismā'ilis. Mawlānā 'Isāmī, whose ancestors were also 'alims, says,

“[The Sultan] ordered the heads of the residents of Alamūt [Ismā'ilis] to be cut down through saws, for they did not make any distinction between wife and daughter [in sexual matters].

The people of India called them “Bohras” in the Hindi language.

That ruler of the denizen of paradise ('Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī) emptied the world of the existence of that vicious nation.”³⁸

The Bodhakān³⁹ of the *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi* by Baranī seem to be the Bohras of 'Isāmī. The Sunni 'ulamā', however, made no distinction between the Ibāhatīs⁴⁰ and Ismā'ilis and in the contemporary literature the terms are interchangeable. Both were accused of night orgies and promiscuous intercourse. The Sunni allegations about the promiscuity by Shī'is are atrocious for no such permission is available in the Shī'i sources themselves. Their sexual morality and social ethics are not different from those of the Sunnis. No literature on the sexual morality of the Ibāhatīs exists. They are wantonly accused on the basis of the fragmentary hostile information. The historians of the Delhi Sultanate indiscriminately condemned the Ismā'ilis as heretics and called them *Malāhida* and *Qarāmīta*. From the sixteenth century onwards, the Sunni enemies of the *sūfis* following the *Wahdatu'l-Wujūd* identified the latter with the Ibāhatīs or Ibāhatiyas⁴¹ and the Sunni credulity of the monarchs was aroused to seek the persecution of even the Wujūdiyya *sūfis*.

Early Indian Sūfīs and the Ahl-i Bayt

The persecution of the Nizārī Ismā'ilis, however, could not eliminate

37 For controversy on Nāsibīs, see S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, Canberra, 1982, p. 367.

38 'Isāmī, *Futūhūs-s-salātīn*, Madras, 1948, p. 201.

39 Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta, 1860-62, p. 334.

40 One who considers everything including immoral acts as permissible; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 14-16.

41 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, *Najātu'r-Rashīd*, Lahore, 1972, p. 85.

the Shi'is. The *sūfis* of the Suhrawardiyya and Chishtiyya orders were Sunnis and believed in the historical order of the successors of the Prophet Muhammad but they were also devoted to the Ahl-i Bayt and twelve Imāms. According to the Chishtiyya *sūfis* the *khirqā* (*sūfic* relic) which the Prophet obtained from God in the night of *mi'rāj* was transferred to 'Alī and the request of the first three caliphs who yearned for it was rejected on the basis of the Divine command. The Chishtiyyas traced their spiritual order from 'Alī who had made Hasan Basrī as his disciple. They fiercely refuted the '*ulamā'* and *sūfis* who contradicted them. The Kubrāwiyyas⁴² considered 'Alī and his disciple Kumayl ibn Ziyād⁴³ as their order's originator. According to the *Malfuzāts* (Discourses) of Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā', Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh Dihlawī (d. 757/1356) and those of Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gisū Darāz, 'Alī excelled the first three caliphs in spiritual eminence, bravery, *futūwwa* (spiritual chivalry) and knowledge. Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā' traced the tradition relating to the *tathīr*⁴⁴ verse in the same manner as the Shi'is did.⁴⁵ Like the Shi'is, Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn also believed that the following verse of the Qur'ān was revealed because of the self-sacrifice of 'Alī, Fātima and their slave girl Fizza:

"And feed with food the needy wretch, the orphan and the prisoner, for love of Him."⁴⁶

According to Banda Nawāz Khwāja Gisū Darāz the *bay'a* of 'Alī to Abū Bakr was informal.⁴⁷ Khwāja Banda Nawāz waxes eloquent in describing the Prophet's love for his daughter Fātima. According to the Khwāja the Prophet was proud of his Ahl-i Bayt's life of poverty and

42 *Jawāmi'u'l-kilām*, p. 253; Sayyid Muhammad b. Mubārak 'Alwī Kirmānī, *Siyaru'l-awliyā'*, Lahore, 1978, reprint, p. 354. The Kubrāwiyya order was founded by Abū'l-Jannāb Ahmad bin 'Umar al-Khiwāqī, better known as Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā'. Its Indian branches were the Firdawsiiyyas and the Hamadāniyyas, the Baghdādī branch was the Nūriyya and the Khurāsānī branches were the Rukniyya, the Ightishāshiiyya and the Nūrbakhshiiyya. Among Najmu'd-Dīn's disciples, the most eminent were Majdu'd-Dīn Baghdādī (d. in 606/1209-10 or in 616/1219-20), Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār's *pir*, Sadru'd-Dīn Hamawī (d. 654/1256) and Sayfu'd-Dīn Bakharzī (d. 658/1260). For their biographies and for a history of the Firdawsiiyya and Hamadāniyya orders see, Rizvi, *A history of Sūfism in India*, Delhi, 1978, pp. 226-40, 349-50. Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā' died fighting against the Mongols of Khwārazm in 618/1221.

43 His invocations are very important.

44 *Supra*, p. 8.

45 The source of the tradition in Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā's discourse is the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha. According to her Hasan, Husayn, Fātima and 'Alī were taken by the Prophet in his black mantle. 'Ā'isha did not include herself among the galaxy of the sanctified personalities. *Siyaru'l-awliyā'*, pp. 363-64. The *Sahīh Muslim* was the Shaykh's source.

46 Qur'ān, LXXVI, 8.

47 *Jawāmi'u'l-kilām*, p. 258; *Supra*, pp. 27-28.

prayers.⁴⁸ He says that Mecca witnessed scenes like the Day of Resurrection on three different occasions; firstly at the death of the Prophet, secondly at the death of 'Ali and thirdly on Husayn's departure from Mecca refusing to make *bay'a* with Yazīd.⁴⁹ The Khwāja, like his predecessors, related in his assembly the account of the poet Farazdaq's bold defence of Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn and the imprisonment which the poet willingly courted.⁵⁰ The Khwāja believed in the legend that Abū Hanifa's mother helped Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq perform his ablutions and drank all the waste water in the basin. The blessings of the waste water impregnated her and she gave birth to Abū Hanifa. The latter became a Sayyid because of that water.⁵¹

The details of the perception of early Suhrawardiyyas towards Ahl-i Bayt are not known. The teachings of Hasan Basri and Kumayl ibn Ziyād imbued them with the devotion to Ahl-i Bayt. The works of Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyya Multānī (d. 661/1262), his son Shaykh Sadru'd-Dīn (684/1286) and the grandson Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn (d. 735/1334-35) are scarce, but the works Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī known as the Makhdūm-i Jahāniyān (d. 785/1384) wrote have survived. They exhibit him a puritanically orthodox Sunnī and vehemently opposed to the Rifz or Shī'ism. He believed that Rifz and religious perversity were born in the reign of the Umayyads.⁵² Nevertheless he marshalled evidences to prove that the Prophet included only 'Ali, Fātima and her two sons as the members of the Ahl-i Bayt. He eloquently asserts that the *Mubāhila* and *Tathīr* verses gave the Prophet an opportunity to reiterate that Hasan and Husayn were his own sons. Their love and enmity should be identified with his own (the Prophet's) love and hate respectively.⁵³ It would seem that love for the Ahl-i Bayt became the distinctive feature of his *khānqāh* at Uch. In the fifteenth century some disciples of the descendants of Makhdūm Jahāniyān embraced Shī'i Isnā 'Ashari faith particularly at Gujarat.⁵⁴ By the end of the eighteenth century the organisers of the Makhdūm Jahāniyān's *khānqāh* at Uch openly declared themselves Isnā 'Ashari Shī'is. Their principal efforts are directed towards popularising the belief that Makhdūm Jahāniyān was a Shī'i practising *taqiyya* for political reasons.

The establishment of the *sūfic khānqāhs* in India synchronised with the penetration of the *Qalandariyya* movement. They were divided into

48 *Ibid.*, pp. 274-76.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 309.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 262.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

52 *Khazāna-i fawā'id-i Jalāliyya*, British Museum Ms., ff. 153b-155a.

53 *Ibid.*, ff. 158b-159b.

54 *History of Isnā 'Ashari Shī'is in India*, II, pp. 5, 72.

several branches such as the Haydaris and Jwālaqīs. All *qalandars* of the thirteenth century were, however, wandering dervishes. Their reputation to perform miraculous deeds had filled both the Suhrawardiyya and Chishtiyya *khānqāhs* with consternation.⁵⁵ The *qalandars* were deeply devoted to music and loved to sing the songs eulogizing 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt. Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyya's son-in-law Shaykh Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī (d. 688/1289) wrote ecstatic poetry and prose but his stay in Multan was very short. It was, however, the *khānqāh* of Lāl Shahbāz *Qalandar* in Sehwan which until this day has been radiating the love for 'Alī and the Ahl-i Bayt through Persian and Sindī songs. His name was Mir Sayyid 'Usmān and he obtained the title "Shahbāz", the noblest species of falcon. He was nick-named *Lal* (Red) because of his love for putting on red clothes.⁵⁶ Gradually the *qalandars* settled down to the *khānqāh* life and became ardent propagators of the love for 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt.

The Sayyids and Shi'ism

Towards the end of the twelfth century Sayyid Mashhadī, the *dārogha* of Ajmir and the father-in-law of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī had made Ajmir an important homeland of Sayyids. From the thirteenth century onwards the Mongol invasions over Iran, Iraq and Central Asia prompted a large number of Sayyids to move to India where the Delhi Sultans accorded them warm welcome and patronage. Some eminent 'alims, *sūfis*, poets, authors, physicians and scientists belonged to this class. Baranī gives the list of some eminent Sayyid families of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn's reign which had settled in different parts of the northern India. Their new homes in Panipat, Nuhta (Bijnor), Jewar (Bulandshahr), Badaun, Kara, Awadh and Bayana⁵⁷ encouraged both the immigrants and Muslim converts to transform the Hindu rural areas into new Muslim towns. In the reigns of the successors of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī, more Sayyid families moved to India and settled in remote Indian villages. One of them was the Kintūri family which moved from Nīshāpūr. Details about its members are given in the second volume.⁵⁸ All Sayyids were proud of their noble descent. The claims for the purity of the lineage of some of them were accepted on the basis that many pious people had seen the Prophet Muhammad in their vision in the form of eminent living Sayyids.⁵⁹ In

55 *History of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 301-13.

56 Shaykh Ghulām Mu'īnu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'llāh (Khalifa al-Khwasghī al-Chishtī, *Ma'ariju'l-wilāyat*, Shīrānī Collection, Punjab University, Lahore, Ms., no. 7765, pp. 542, 301-11.

57 Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, pp. 348-51.

58 *Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is in India*, II, pp. 164-77.

59 Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, p. 349.

the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Sharqī (844-61/1440-57) of Jaunpur the claims of many Sayyid families regarding their noble lineage were deemed as unfounded. Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī (d. after 840/1436-37) who lies buried at Kichaucha (Fayzabad district, U.P.) believed that the descendants of Sayyid Māhrū who died in Awadh, Sayyids of Bahraich and the Sayyids in the vicinity of Jaunpur particularly the Sayyids of the village Masawda and the Sayyids of village Sikandarpur (Fayzabad district) were genuine Sayyids. During his frequent sojourns in village Sikandarpur, Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf found the graves of Sayyids filled with the peculiar fragrance of Sayyidship which was perhaps known to him alone. According to Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf, the lineage of the Bukhārī Sayyid was also pure. Like Baranī, Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf was also deeply impressed by the purity of the descendants of the Gardizī Sayyids. Some of them had settled in Kara and Manikpur (Allahabad). A branch of Gardizī Sayyids also lived in Sirhind.⁶⁰ Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī popularised several distinctive beliefs of Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is, particularly beliefs about the twelfth Shi'i Imām Mahdī.⁶¹

In the reign of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq the influx of the Sayyids from Iran and Central Asia was stepped up mainly because of his policy of patronage to the foreigners. The war of the Sultan against 'ulamā' and *sūfis*, sparked off by his determination to force them to act as his mouthpiece in political matters, enhanced the prestige of the Sayyids. They professed the Sunnī faith but some of them were Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is particularly those who moved from Sabzwār in (Bayhaq region) and the neighbouring regions. As early as the age of Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) Sabzwār had become notorious for its staunch Shi'i beliefs. Mawlānā Rūmī was prompted to write in his *Masnawī* :

This instable world is a Sabzwār to us.
We, like Bū Bakrs, live in it, mean and despised.⁶²

60 *Latā'if-i Ashrafī*, I, p. 332.

61 *Ibid.*, I, p. 333.

62 The following anecdote was very popular. Mullā Badā'ūnī says that a bigoted Sunnī king seized Sabzwār which was a hotbed of Shi'ism, its inhabitants being all fanatics. The leaders of the town represented that they were Muslims and wished to know the reason that had led the king to invade their country and to slaughter them. The king replied that belief in Shi'ism was their main crime. The Sabzwār leaders represented that the accusation against them was false. The king said that if they were able to produce from their town some one whose name was Abū Bakr, they would not be killed and their town would not be plundered. After an assiduous search they produced an unknown pauper, Abū Bakr by name. The king said to them, "Had you nobody better than this to produce before me?" They said, "O king ! Ceremony apart, the climate of Sabzwār cherishes an Abū Bakr no better than this." *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 73; Haig, pp. 117-18; *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 50.

Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's devotion to the study of philosophy and philosophical discussions enabled some Shi'is, who had obtained sound grounding in philosophy and *ma'qūlāt* (rational sciences), to become the Sultan's favourites. The philosophers and rationalists in Sultan's court, according to Baranī, made him sceptical about such Sunni traditional beliefs and practices as were irreconcilable to reason.⁶³ Although the Sultan relentlessly slaughtered the 'ulamā', *sūfis*, *qalandars* and Sayyids, the Shi'i neutrality in the war of Sunni religious classes against the Sultan saved their lives.

Isnā 'Ashari Shi'ism in India

The Isnā 'Ashari Shi'i immigrants to India seem to have brought with them the literature produced by 'Allāma Hilli in the reign of Uljaytū Khudābanda (703-713/1304-17). The books of earlier authors and those of Hilli's disciples also seem to have arrived. In the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq (752-90/1351-88) the number of Isnā 'Ashari Shi'is stepped up. They were known as Rāfizis and considered different from Nizāri or Musta'ali Ismā'ilis who were called *mulhids* or *Qarāmita*. The Sultan himself wrote that the Shi'is also called *Rawāfiz* (plural of *Rāfizi*), made proselytes to *rifz* and Shi'i faith. They wrote treatises and books and delivered lectures on the tenets of their sect. They traduced and reviled the Khulafā'-i Rāshidīn, 'Ā'isha Siddīqa and all the eminent *sūfis*. They indulged in homo-sexuality. They believed that the Qur'ān consisted of interpolations made by Caliph 'Usmān. The Sultan goes on to say that they were seized. When it was proved that they had strayed away from the right path and indulged in aberration, the extremists among them were executed (*siyāsat*). The rest were given exemplary punishments, and paraded in public streets in an insulting manner (*tashhīr*). Their books were burnt in public in order to uproot the mischief of the sect.⁶⁴ It would seem that Isnā 'Ashari life-style and postures of preaching were different from those of Ismā'ilis. A campaign was started to disseminate informations about Shi'ism derived from the works on heretical sects. This was done in order to destroy the Sunni sympathies to Shi'ism. The *Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhi*, a florid and eulogistic account of Firūz Shāh's reign comprises a long section on Shi'ism grossly mis-representing the Shi'i faith⁶⁵ on the basis of the hostile Sunni literature. Makhdūm Jahāniyān Sayyid Jalāl Bukhāri also wrote a work on obscure Shi'i sects.⁶⁶ The *Latā'if-i Ashrafi*, comprising the discourses of Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf

63 Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhi*, p. 465.

64 *Futūhāt-i Firūz Shāhi*, Aligarh, 1954, p. 6.

65 *Sīrat-i Firūz Shāhi*, Khudābakhsh, Patna Ms., ff. 122b-130.

66 *Sirājīyya*, Razā Library, Rampur.

Jahāngīr Simnāni, also gives a distorted account of the Shi'i sects,⁶⁷ although it pays glowing tributes to the Ahl-i Bayt and Imāms.⁶⁸

Meanwhile the invasions of Timūr over Iran from his base in Transoxiana destroyed the peace of that region. In 783/1381 his army seized Nishāpūr and Sabzwār.⁶⁹ Some patriots such as Mīr Sayyid Mahmūd Bayhaqī tried to resist the occupation of Sabzwār by Timūr's army but were swept away before the onslaught of the invader's army. From thence Sayyid Mahmūd Bayhaqī moved to Mashhad and prayed at the tomb of Imām Rizā'. As he was illiterate, he invoked the Imām's blessings for knowledge. It is said that the Imām appeared to him in a vision and rubbed his saliva on Mahmūd's tongue. This immediately made Mahmūd learned.

From Mashhad, Mahmūd and the other Sayyids of Sabzwār known as Bayhaqī Sayyids moved to Kashmir. They were not able to reconcile themselves to the life in the Kashmiri court and moved to Delhi to the court of Sultan Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh II (790-791/1388-89). The Sultan accorded Sayyid Mahmūd and his party a warm welcome. Sayyid Mahmūd impressed the Sultan with his extempore *qasida* and obtained the position of a *nadīm* (boon companion). The Sultan urged Sayyid Mahmūd to take his (the Sultan's) daughter as his wife but he advised the Sultan to marry her to his nephew for he himself had been bestowed with the title of dervish by Imām Rizā'. Consequently he had taken a vow to lead a celibate life. Tughluq Shāh agreed and married his daughter to Mahmūd's nephew Mīr Sayyid Hasan. The territories around Dankawr and Jarja (near east Delhi) were assigned to them for their residence. Sanbhal was made their *iqta'*.⁷⁰ They crushed the lawless chieftains of Sanbhal and lived happily at Jarja.⁷¹

In the wake of the Timūr's invasion over India in 1398 the rule of the Delhi Sultans was swept away. The existence of the independent provincial dynasties which had already emerged both in the northern India and in the Deccan could no more be threatened by the Delhi Sultans. More provincial kingdoms emerged in the ninth/fifteenth century. They encouraged the Arabs, Iranians and Transoxianians to settle in their kingdoms and enrich their cultural and religious heritage. The Isnā 'Ashari Shi'i intellectuals practising *taqiyya* took the opportunity to obtain positions under the Sultans of provincial dynasties. They developed friendship with the *sūfis* and '*ulamā'* who were respectful to 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt. Some eminent *sūfis* uninhibitedly considered 'Alī as superior

67 *Lata'if-i Ashrafī*, pp. 169-70.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 343-58.

69 Sharafu'd-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta, 1885-8, pp. 323-25.

70 *Bahāristān-i Shāhi*, British Museum Ms., Rieu, ff. 27a-29b.

71 *Ibid.*, ff. 30b-31b.

to the other caliphs. For example Sayyid Muhammad Husaynī bin Ja'far Makki, whose long life extended from the close of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign to the early years of the reign of Sultan Bahlūl Lodi (855-94/1451-89), wrote in a letter dated Shawwāl 824/September-October 1421 saying that in India if some one happened to repeat the name of 'Alī in some context he was deemed as a Rāfizi (Shi'i). He says, "By God! were I to repeat the sterling qualities of 'Alī I have perceived the beauty of sun would lose its lustre [none would bother about sunshine]." Husaynī goes on to say, "Self-sacrifice is the *maqām* (station, meaning the highest point of achievement) of [Abū Bakr] Siddiq, munificence is the *maqām* of ['Umar] Fārūq and generosity is the *maqām* of 'Usmān but all the noble virtues and ethical excellence are found in the lord of *futūwwa* (spiritual chivalry i. e. 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib). O Dear Friend!..... The climax of the prophethood is *futūwwa*. All those who have obtained the Divine perception have been blessed with a small dose of water from the ocean of 'Alī's *futūwwa*."⁷²

The *Manāqibū's-Sādāt* by Qāzī Shihābu'd-Dīn Dawlatābādī (d. 848/1444-45), the author of a Persian exegesis of the Qur'ān and other works on Arabic grammar and rhetorics adds a new dimension to the respect of Sayyids. In the *Manāqibū's-Sādāt* he clearly spells out that the Qur'ānic injunction to love the Prophet's kinsfolk was confined to devotion to Fātima, 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn and was imperative for the pious Sunnis. Those who obeyed the above injunctions were pious and worshippers of Allāh, the rest were heretics, accursed and apostates.⁷³ Shaykh Amān Panipati (d. 957/1550) believed that those who loved the Prophet should be imbued with the love for the Prophet's Ahl-i Bayt. If the Shaykh during his lectures happened to see the children of Sayyids playing in the street he would stop and remain standing to show them respect.⁷⁴

'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnānī, Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī and Their Disciples

The devotion to 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt in the fifteenth century *sūfism* and in Sunnī beliefs was re-invigorated by the arrival of the disciples of Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnānī, and those of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī to different parts of India. Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnānī was born at Simnān in Zu'lhijja 659/1261. His father was the governor of Iraq under the Īlkhānid Mongol ruler Arghūn (683-90/1284-91) and his uncle was a vizier. 'Alā'u'd-Dawla joined the Īlkhānid court at the age of fifteen. In

72 Ja'far al-Makki, *Bahru'l-ma'ānī*, Moradabad, 1899, pp. 78-81.

73 *Manāqibū's-Sādāt*, Aligarh University Ms., f. 2b.

74 Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī, *Akhbārū'l akhyār*, Deoband, n. d., p. 247.

1284 A.D. a vision aroused in him a desire for further mystical quests. He served the government for another two years but at the beginning of October 1286 he went on leave and later resigned.

In early 1287 Simnānī moved to Baghdād and sat at the feet of the Kubrāwiyya saint, Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān al-Isfarā'īni al-Kasīrqi (d. 717/1317). Arghūn's dignitaries failed to persuade him to rejoin the government service. He performed pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina and then founded his own *khānqāh* at Sūfiyābād, near Simnān. After the conversion of the Īlkhānid Mongol Mahmūd Ghāzān (694-703/1295-1304) by the Shī'i *sūfi* Sadru'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm in 694/1295, many *sūfis* became active proselytisers. Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla also stepped up his Islamic proselytising mission. He pioneered the opposition of the *Wahdatu'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) of ibn 'Arabi and wrote several works on his own theory of *Wahdatu'sh-Shuhūd*. On 22 Rajab 736/6 March 1336 he died.⁷⁵

Shāh (Sayyid) Ni'matu'llāh Walī was the son of Mir 'Abdu'llāh and a descendant of Muhammad Bāqir, the fifth Imām of the Isnā 'Ashari Shī'is. He was born at Kirmān in 730 or 731/1329 or 1330 where his father had moved from Aleppo.⁷⁶ He spent most of his youth in Iraq to obtain perfection in Arabic. At the age of twenty-four he visited Mecca and became the disciple of Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh al-Yāfi'i, an eminent *sūfi* and historian (d. 768/1366-7). In the *Nasab-i Khirqa-i Ahmad Shāh* (table of spiritual ancestry sent to Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī) he traced Yāfi'i's spiritual ancestry from Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī. He also traced the affiliation of his spiritual ancestors from the eighth Shī'i Imām 'Ali ar-Rizā⁷⁷ (d. 203/818) through Ma'rūf Karkhī.⁷⁸ The affiliation with Imām Rizā helped his descendants and disciples to embrace Shī'ism and to establish close relationship with the ruling Safawid family of Iran.

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh stayed in Mecca for seven years. At the age of thirty-two he left Mecca. He moved to Samarqand but the growing number of his disciples made him suspicious to Timūr.⁷⁹ He left for Hirāt and from thence moved to Yazd attracting everywhere crowds of disciples. He spent the last twenty-five years of his life in Māhān near Kirmān where he died on 22 Rajab 834/5 April 1431 at a ripe old age of more than one hundred lunar years.

75 *A history of Sūfism in India*, pp. 248-50.

76 *Tazkira-i 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Kirmānī* in *Tarā'iqu'l haqā'iq*, Tehran, 1956, p. 24.

77 *Supra*, pp. 61-64.

78 Abū Mahfūz Ma'rūf ibn Firūz al-Karkhī (d. 200/815) was born of Christian parents, embraced Islam and settled in the predominantly Shī'i quarters of Karkh near Baghdād. An anecdote tells us that after Ma'rūf's death, Jews, Christians and Muslims all claimed Ma'rūf as their own, but only Muslims were able to lift his bier from the ground before his burial. *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 49-50.

79 *Risāla-i 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Kirmānī*, p. 45.

Ni'matu'llāh enjoyed great respect of the Timūrid ruler Shāhrukh (807-50/1405-47). Shāh Ni'matu'llāh invented a woollen crown of five *tarks* (gores). The gores indicated their devotion to the *Panjtan* (Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn). He then replaced it with a crown of twelve gores indicating their devotion to twelve Imāms.⁸⁰ The Safawids designed their celebrated head-gear on the model of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's crowns. The monopoly of preparing crowns for his disciples was given by the Shāh to one of his disciples, Sayyid Minhāj by name.

Shāh Ni'matu'llāh was an outstanding poet. His *Diwān* is well known for its apocalyptic poems declaring mystical phenomena relating to the Day of Resurrection. About 500 short tracts were also written by him. His *Risāla dar manāqib-i Mahdī* gives an account of the re-appearance of the twelfth Imām and reiterates the belief that he was alive, although hidden. According to the Shāh the obedience to the Twelfth Imām was imperative for all Muslims.⁸¹ Nevertheless, in his *Diwān* he identifies Rāfizis with Abū Bakr's enemies and in that sense he claimed that he was not a Rāfizi. Like other *sūfis*, he paid tributes to the first three caliphs of Prophet Muhammad.

In the fifteenth century the devotion of Iranian *sūfis* to twelve Imāms did not differ with those of the Shi'is. 'Alī's *futūwwa* and mystical discourses to his disciple Kumayl ibn Ziyād became the key-stone of Iranian *sūfi* teachings. The developments paved the way for the conversion of the Sunnis to Shi'ism both in Iran and in India.

The disciples of Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnāni travelled to different parts of northern India and the Deccan. They visited the *khānqāh* of Banda Nawāz Gisū Darāz and imbued the aged saint with the proselytising zeal of 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnāni.⁸² The indelible impact was, however, left by Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni on the life of Kashmir. Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni popularly known as Shāh-i Hamadān in Kashmir was born in Hamadān on 12 Rajab 714/22 October 1314. He obtained the *sūfi* training under the eminent disciples of Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnāni such as Shaykh Sharafu'd-Dīn Mahmūd bin 'Abdu'llāh al-Muzdaqāni and Taqīu'd-Dīn 'Alī Dūrbasti. Before the death of Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnāni he could visit the great saint's *khānqāh* at Sūfiyābād-Simnān and obtained benefits from the Shaykh's teachings. Before Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla's death Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni and Sayyid Muhammad Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnāni left Sūfiyābād-Simnān on their missionary tour to India. Sayyid

80 *Diwān Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī*, Tehran, 1336, Shamsī, p. 497. *Risāla-i 'Abdu'r-Razzāq bin 'Abdu'l-'Azīz bin Malik Wā'izi* written for Ahmad Shāh Bahmani in the *Tarā'iqu'l-haqā'iq*, pp. 102-3.

81 *Sūfi* tracts by Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī, British Museum Ms. Add. 16, 837, Rieu, 831a-b-832, ff. 198-206; Jawād Nūr Bakhsh, *Risālahā*, Tehran.

82 *Lata'if-i Ashrafi*, Manchester Ms. f. 216a.

Muhammad Ashraf arrived in India much earlier than Mīr Sayyid 'Alī but the latter reached Srinagar in 783/1381 during the reign of Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn (1373-89). He was accompanied by a considerable number of Sayyids and *sūfis*. Mīr Sayyid 'Alī travelled extensively throughout Kashmir leaving behind him approximately twenty eminent Iranian *sūfis*, in different parts of the valley.

After a stay of about three years he left Srinagar full of frustrations at Sultan Qutbu'd-Dīn's inability to introduce puritanically orthodox reforms in his kingdom. On his way back to Central Asia he died at Kunār in the vicinity of Pakhlī, north-west of Kashmir on 6 Zu'l-hijja 786/19 January 1385. He was aged 73. His dead body was taken to Khuttalān, now in Russian Tājikistān and was buried there.⁸³ He is said to have written some 170 treatises and books. Of these the *Zakhiratu'l-mulūk* dealing with the duties of the rulers and the Muslim social ethics is very important. His commentary on the *Fusūsu'l-hikam* is also a big work. His treatise on the *Muwaddatu'l Qurba*⁸⁴ verse of the Qur'ān ardently advocates the love for 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn. The *Arba'in fi fazā'il Amiru'l-mu'minin* by Mīr Sayyid 'Alī is a collection of *ahādīs* on 'Alī's superiority over the Prophet's companions. In the *Risāla-i futūwwa* he says that the Prophet Muhammad made 'Alī as the custodian of the knowledge of *futūwwa* and both the *futūwwa* and *sūfi* paths were interlinked. His *Awrād fathiyya* comprises touching invocations to God, repeats Divine Names rhythmically. Their deep emotional sensitivity is far-reaching. The *Awrād khamsa* by the Mīr invoke devotion to the Prophet, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn.

The recitation of the *Awrād fathiyya* and the *Awrād khamsa* in the mosques of valley was strongly opposed by Sayyid Ahmad Kirmānī—an orthodox Sunni of the fifteenth century. Possibly he saw into the versions of the *Awrāds* prevalent at that time the seeds of Shi'ism. It is said that in a vision he saw Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī with a spear pointing to his chest and heard the Mīr upbraid him for his opposition to the *Awrād*. Kirmānī who had left Kashmir for Central Asia returned from Baramula and proclaimed the restoration of the recitation of the *Awrād*.⁸⁵ Perhaps Kirmānī's efforts to stop the recitation of the *Awrād* did never meet with success.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī's son Mīr Muhammad (b. 744/1344) arrived in Kashmir in 796/1393, providing the much-needed leadership to his father's disciples in Kashmir. He converted Sultan Sikandar's Brahmin prime minister Sūhā Bhatt to Islam and changed his name to Sayfu'd-Dīn. Under the

83 *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 291-92. The account of Sayyid 'Alī's three successive visits to Kashmir is legendary. See also A. Q. Rafiqī, *Sūfism in Kashmir*, Varanasi, n. d., pp. 31-42.

84 *Supra*, p. 9.

85 Sayyid 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, Ms., Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, Kashmir.

influence of Mir Muhammad and Sayfu'd-Din, Sultan Sikandar (1389-1413), who had also become the Mir's disciple, plunged himself into the task of the destruction of ancient temples. The discriminatory laws against the Hindus were introduced. The Mir stayed in Kashmir for about twelve years. The Sultan's gradual indifference to the militant orthodoxy prompted Mir Muhammad to leave Kashmir for ever. Some eminent disciples of Mir Muhammad, however, chose to settle in the valley and enjoyed high position in the administration.⁸⁶

Among the disciples of Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadāni Khwāja Ishāq Khuttalāni occupied a very important place. Khuttalāni's disciple Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh was a descendant of the seventh Imām Mūsa al-Kāzim. His father Muhammad bin 'Abdu'llāh was born in Qatif and his grandfather in Ahsa (Bahrayn). Consequently Sayyid Muhammad styled himself Ahsawī in some *ghazals*. His father moved to Mashhad to visit the tomb of Imām Rizā'. From thence he left for Qā'in (Qahistān) and settled there. It was at Qā'in that Sayyid Muhammad was born in 795/1392-93. At the age of seven he memorised the Qur'ān. His precocity enabled him to complete his *sūfi* training very expeditiously. His *sūfi* guide Khwāja Ishāq Khuttalāni, a distinguished disciple of Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadāni, was so deeply impressed with him that he awarded his *pir* Sayyid 'Ali Hamadāni's *khirqā* to Sayyid Muhammad and bestowed on him the honorific title Nūr Bakhsh (Bestower of light). Khuttalāni authorised Nūr Bakhsh to train disciples independently and transferred most of his disciples to the care of Nūr Bakhsh. Khuttalāni did not hesitate to declare that he considered Nūr Bakhsh as his *pir* (*sūfi* guide) and not a disciple. The Sunnī expectations of the appearance of Mahdī at the end of the Islamic millennium prompted Khuttalāni to bestow on Nūr Bakhsh the title of Mahdī. Nūr Bakhsh's Sayyid ancestry, his name Muhammad (the Prophet's name), his perspicacity and piety made him the rallying point of all sections of Muslims. The credulous Muslims believed Nūr Bakhsh as Mahdī but the surviving poems and tracts of Nūr Bakhsh justify neither the fulsome claims of his admirers nor the ruthless persecution of his enemies. Khuttalāni, however, believed that the time was ripe to overthrow the rule of worldly power, and restore the pristine purity of Islam. Nūr Bakhsh did not agree, for he considered that the Timūrid power was firmly established and could not be uprooted. In 826/1423 Khuttalāni raised the standard of rebellion in a valley near Khuttalān against Timūr's successor Shāhrukh (807-850/1405-1447). The uprising did not succeed. Khuttalāni and his followers were executed near Balkh. Nūr Bakhsh was taken to Hirāt but his pleadings that no Muslim had ever been injured by him fell on deaf ears. He was incarcerated near Hirāt and

86 *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 296-97.

was later on sent to Shirāz where he was released by the local governor. Travelling through Basra, Hilla, Baghdād, Karbalā and Najaf he went to Kurdistān where he was again declared as an Imām by the local tribes. Shāhrukh who was in Āzerbayjān had him arrested but Nūr Bakhsh escaped. At Khalkhāl he was again taken captive and brought to Hirāt. There at Shāhrukh's orders he publicly recited Qur'ānic verses to refute the allegations that he was the promised Mahdī. He was ordered to lead a quiet life. Shāhrukh, however, got suspicious of him again and transferred him in chains to Tabriz. There he was again released and travelled to Shirwān and Gilān. Wherever he went large crowds rallied round him. After Shāhrukh's death Nūr Bakhsh moved to Ray near Tehran and died there in 869/1464-65 at an age of seventy three.⁸⁷

Two letters written by Nūr Bakhsh are available in the British Museum Persian manuscript *Nuskha-i Jāmi'-al murāsīlāt uli'l-albāb*. In a letter he wrote that he had descended from the noblest family on the earth. His mastery over literature and sciences was unsurpassable. Addressing his contemporaries he wrote, "You should be proud of living in the age of the imām (leader) of the *awliyā'* (*sūfi*-saints). "O Countrymen! Vie with one another in helping the essence of the Sultans of Āl-i Abā (descendants of Hasan and Husayn). Getting out of the darkness of *taqlid* (blind following), come to the spring of *tahqiq* (research). O seekers of *ma'rifa* (gnosis) ! Search for the knowledge of Certainty. O Members of elite! Make efforts to gain (Divine) truth and sincerity! O common folk! Put on the garments of piety." He concludes that the *hadīs*, "One who dies without recognizing the Imām of the age dies the death of pre-Islamic Arabians (*jāhiliyya*)", had prompted him to make revelations about his ownself so that no pretext of ignorance might be left with the people. He claimed that he was the only expert of the *shari'a*, *tariqa* and *haqiqa* among the Prophet's descendants. His eminence as an 'ālim and a *sūfi* guide had made obedience to his teachings imperative.⁸⁸

Nūr Bakhsh's works have not yet been published. His *Diwān* in the British Museum⁸⁹ comprises 470 couplets. They are imbued with the *sūfi* teachings of ibn 'Arabī. One of the poems says that the principal objective behind the creation of the universe is to produce the Perfect Man. Benefiting by his *nom de plume* 'Nūr' he identified God with Nūr (light). The *nūr* of *wilāya* (light of sainthood) is connected with His promised *mazhar* (manifestation) through 'Ali. Some poems frantically eulogise 'Ali, his generosity and *futūwwa*. A poem urges people to fight

87 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 313-15; *Tarā'iqu'l haqā'iq*, II, p. 143.

88 *Nuskha-i Jāmi'-i murāsīlāt uli'l-albāb*, British Museum, Add. 7688, Rieu, I, pp. 389-91, 34b-38b.

89 British Museum Ms., Add. 7811, Rieu, I, ff. 634-35.

fiercely for Islam like 'Ali and make it strong like steel. This would, prophesied Nūr Bakhsh, destroy infidelity, prevarication and tyranny.

Nūr Bakhsh is also said to have written a book entitled the *Kitābū'l-i'tiqādiyya*. It was published at Lahore in 1342/1923-24 and outlines Islamic beliefs. According to the Ladākh traditions the *Sirājū'l-Islām* published at Mathura in 1333/1914-15 is identical with the *Fiqh ahwat* which we shall be discussing in subsequent pages. The printed edition contains the Arabic text and the Persian translation and commentary. The work was not available to us and we can make no comments although Mawlawi Muhammad Shafi', a competent scholar, had no doubts in his mind that the *Sirājū'l-Islām* and the *Fiqh ahwat* were identical.⁹⁰

The Shi'i teachings in the works of Nūr Bakhsh are enigmatical. His life was a toilsome struggle under challenging circumstances but his son Shāh Qāsim Fayz Bakhsh⁹¹ lived in the favourable reigns of Sultan Husayn Bayqarā (873-911/1469-1506) who ruled over Khurāsān and that of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī (907-930/1501-1524). After his accession to the throne in 873/1469 Sultan Husayn Bayqarā had decided to have the *khutba* read in the name of the twelve Imāms but his prime minister Mir 'Alī Shir Niwā'i (d. 906/1501) and some other authorities, according to Bābur, stopped him from doing so. Possibly the *sūfi* poet Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmi (b. 817/1414, d. 898/1492) and his associates also prevented Sultan Husayn Bayqarā from accepting the Shi'i faith. This was a unique decision for it took place much earlier than the accession of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī to the throne. The political threats involved in alienating the Sunnī leadership prompted Sultan Husayn Bayqarā to reverse his decision. Nevertheless, the growing Shi'i influence in the region cannot be under-estimated. According to Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī, once Sultan Husayn Bayqarā fell seriously ill. He invited Shāh Qāsim Fayz Bakhsh to pray for his recovery. The improvement in Sultan's health enhanced the prestige of Shāh Qāsim to the utter disappointment of Sunnī leaders such as Jāmi and the descendants of Taftāzānī. They urged the Sultan to invite Shāh Qāsim to deliver public lectures. Their principal objective was to humiliate the Shāh by putting awkward questions and to make him look ignorant but they told the Sultan that they wished that a large number of people might be benefited by the Shāh's teachings. The Sultan consented. After the congregational prayers the Shāh began to deliver a lecture on *Lā Ilāhā Illā'llāh* (There is no God but Allāh). Jāmi interrupted and asked the Shāh to allow him to ask questions on *Lā Ilāhā Illā'llāh*. The Shāh said, "I had heard in Iraq that you were sceptical and

90 Mawlawī Muhammad Shafi', *Firqa-i Nūr Bakhshī*, *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, 1924. p. 64.

91 *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

questioned the belief in 'Ali an Wali-Allāh ('Ali is Allāh's friend). It now appears that you are sceptical even over *Lā Ilāhā Illa'llāh.*" The audience began to laugh. The Shāh recited the *fātiha* and ended the talk. After some time Shāh Qāsim moved from Hirāt to Ray. Shāh Ismā'il Safawī held him in great respect. In 927/1520-21 he died.⁹²

In Hirāt Shāh Qāsim promoted the belief in 'Ali an Wali-Allāh under the guise of Nūr Bakhshīya tenets but in the Safawid Iran he openly strengthened the Shī'i beliefs. In Kashmir even during his own life time Nūr Bakhsh had come to be regarded as the Perfect Man of ibn 'Arabī's terminology in whose image the creation was made. The execution of Khuttalānī brought to an end the aspect of Mahdīism in Nūr Bakhsh's teachings. What remained was the 'irfān (gnosis) deeply rooted in the love of 'Ali and Ahl-i Bayt. Naturally the Shī'is believed that Nūr Bakhsh was a Shī'i practising *taqīyya*. The Shī'ism of his son Shāh Qāsim is indisputable.

Shī'ism in Kashmir

The devotion to 'Ali and Ahl-i Bayt among the Kashmirī Muslims was strengthened by the arrival of Sayyid Mahmūd of Sabzwār and the party of Bayhaqī Sayyids. Sultan Sikandar (1389-1437) of the Shāh Mīr dynasty accorded them warm welcome. Sayyid Mahmūd wedded his brother Sayyid Muhammad's daughter known as Bayhaqī Begum to Prince Shāhī Khān who later ascended the throne and was known as Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. Sayyid Mahmūd's relations with Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn's predecessor 'Ali Shāh (1413-1420) were, however, not cordial. Sayyid Mahmūd again moved to Jarja and built there a mosque and a *langar-khāna* (alms house). One of his nephews settled in Nawshahra and fell fighting against Jsrath Gakkhar in Rabī' I 837/ October 1433. His death was deeply mourned in Jarja and in Delhi.⁹³ Some Bayhaqī Sayyids did not move out of Kashmir. In the reign of 'Ali Shāh's successor Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn (1420-1470), the Bayhaqī Sayyids obtained considerable hold over the administration because of the influence of Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn's wife, Tāj Khātūn known as Bayhaqī Begum over her husband. She survived until the very old age of the Sultan and her intellectual faculties were an asset to Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn.⁹⁴

After the death of Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn the Shāh Mīr dynasty began to decline. His successor Haydar Shāh (1470-72) was a drunkard. Haydar's son and successor Hasan Shāh (1472-84) was also a drunkard

92 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 315-16.

93 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 36b, 38b-39a.

94 Sayyid 'Ali, *Tārīkh-i Kashmir*, ff. 17a-b; Sirwara, *Jaina-Rājataranginī*, translated into English by J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Calcutta 1898, pp. 157, 194; *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 29b-30a.

and a philander. Nevertheless he adhered to the policy of peaceful co-existence with other religious communities carved out by Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. He appointed his father-in-law Sayyid Hasan Bayhaqī (a son-in-law of Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn) as his prime minister. Sayyid Hasan reconquered Bāltistān which had been conquered by Sultan Shihābu'd-Dīn (1354-73) but had become independent. Even Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn's conquest of Bāltistān was short-lived. The Kashmirī nobles, however, did not co-operate with him. Sayyid Hasan's daughter made her seven years old son, Muhammad Shāh (1484-86) as the successor of her father who died of wine and venery. The control of the government was re-assumed by his maternal grandfather Sayyid Hasan. He was ardently devoted to the laws of the Sunni *Shari'a* and did not care for the Kashmirī opposition. The Sayyids supported their leader Sayyid Hasan but failed to crush the local uprisings. They fought valiantly but sustained repeated defeats and were forced to leave Kashmir in 1484. The *khānqāh* of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī was burnt. The Kashmirī leaders began to scramble for power and the decline of the Shāh Mīr dynasty became imminent. In the first reign of Fath Shāh (1486-93) Bayhaqī leaders again returned and assumed power.

The Bayhaqī Sayyids belonged to the Shi'i region of Sabzwār. Their cousins in Jarja remained Shi'is under *taqiyya* but the political expediency in Kashmir had made them the rivals of Shi'i Chaks. They did not, however, abandon the framework of the devotion to the Ahl-i Bayt introduced by Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and his disciples in Kashmir.

The decline of the Shāh Mīr dynasty was marked by the rise of the Chaks to power. They are said to have moved from Dārdistān to Kashmir in the reign of Raja Suhadeva (1301-20). Most prominent among them such as Shams Chak, son of Hilmat Chak, moved from Gilgit, which was and is predominantly a Shi'i region, to Kashmir.⁹⁵ During the early rulers of Shāh Mīr dynasty the Chaks of Gilgit also practised *taqiyya* but it was the influence of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī that made them Shi'is, openly.

Fath Shāh appointed Shams Chak the leader of the Chak tribe as his prime minister.⁹⁶ The Bayhaqī Sayyids who had again gained strength in Kashmir overthrew Shams Chak in a battle in 1493. Both Fath Shāh and Shamsī Chak fled to Delhi.⁹⁷ Muhammad Shāh (1493-1505) who had earlier ruled from 1484 to 1486 was again crowned as king but the Kashmirī dignitaries once more united to overthrow him. Muhammad Shāh was defeated and Fath Shāh became the Sultan for the second time. He ruled from 1505 to 1514. Shams Chak was appointed the prime minister.

95 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 60b-61b.

96 *Ibid.*, ff. 67a-b.

97 *Ibid.*, f. 68a.

The Sayyid leaders were slaughtered. Shams Chak became the victim of the jealousy of Kashmiri leaders such as Ibrāhīm Māgre and Mūsa Rainā. Fath Shāh also supported them. After four months of prime ministership Shams Chak was defeated and imprisoned. Mūsa Rainā was made prime minister.⁹⁸ It would not be out of place to outline here the career of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī who firmly established Shi'ism in Kashmir.

Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn was the descendant of Imām Mūsa al-Kāzim. He was born in the village Kund near Solghān. He obtained a high literary and religious education under Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh's son Shāh Qāsim.⁹⁹ In 1481 Sultan Husayn Bayqarā of Hirāt sent Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn as his envoy to Hasan Shāh (1472-84). The gifts brought by the Mīr included Sultan Husayn Bayqarā's own jacket. He stayed in Kashmir for eight years. As a disciple of Shāh Qāsim whose father Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh belonged to the *sūfi* order of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn seems to have been warmly welcomed by the Kashmiri *sūfis* of the Hamadāniyya-Kubrāwiyya order. Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn became the disciple of Shaykh Ismā'il Hamadānī-Kubrāwī, the son of Shaykh Fathu'llāh Hāfiz, the latter being a disciple of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī's Kashmiri disciple Shaykh Ahmad. Shaykh Ismā'il was also an eminent scholar. The friendship between Shaykh Ismā'il and Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn boosted the prestige of the latter as a scholar and a *sūfi*. Sultans Hasan Shāh and his successors Fath Shāh and Muhammad Shāh financed the expenditures of Shaykh Ismā'il's *khānqāh*, seminary and the library. Hasan Shāh had appointed him the *Shaykhul-Islām*. Nevertheless Shaykh Ismā'il led a retired life and was devoted to teaching and ascetical exercises.¹⁰⁰ After his first accession to the throne Sultan Fath Shāh sent back Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn to Sultan Husayn Bayqarā. The latter offered no position to Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn and he joined his spiritual guide Shāh Qāsim at Ray. The Mīr's visit to Kashmir was very fruitful in preparing ground for the propagation of Nūr Bakhshiyya *sūfism*. He had developed friendship with the eminent dignitaries of Kashmiri Sultans. The Rainās, the Chaks and the disciples of the successors of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī and other *sūfis* devoted to 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt were deeply impressed of the Mīr. The Nūr Bakhshiyya teachings of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn paved the way for propagation of Shi'ism by him thereafter.¹⁰⁰

The success of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī in converting Iranian Sunnis to

98 *Ibid.*, ff. 83b-84a.

99 *Tuhfatul-ahbāb* by an anonymous author. Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, p. 3.

100 Sayyid 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, ff. 21b-23b; 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Nūrī, *Futūhāt-i Kubrā-wiyya*, Oriental Research Department, Srinagar, ff. 79b-80b; Dāwūd Mishkāti, *Asrārul-abrār*, Oriental Research Deptt., Srinagar, f. 112b.

Shi'ism prompted Shāh Qāsim to depute Shamsu'd-Dīn to Kashmir as a Shi'i missionary. About the end of September 1501 Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn left Ray with a party of *sūfis* and their families. Paying homage to the tomb of Imām Rizā' at Mashhad, the party set off for Kashmir via Qandahār, Multan and Salt Range. Early in the spring of 1502 they entered Srinagar via the Punch-Baramula route.¹⁰¹ Although Shaykh Ismā'il, the supporter of Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn was alive, he had assigned the administration of his *khānqāh* to his disciple Bābā 'Alī Najjār who had been secretly converted to Shi'ism by Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn during his first visit to the Valley. The Bābā made over the control of his disciples to Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn. He used to call Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn a *khalīfa* of Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh adding that the Mir had resigned his position in Sultan Husayn Bayqarā's court to become a Nūr Bakhshiyya missionary.¹⁰² The *khānqāh* and seminary of Shaykh Ismā'il, however, remained under the control of his son, Shaykh Fathu'llāh who was an inveterate enemy of Shi'ism. The number of Bābā Najjār's disciples who embraced Shi'ism is not known but among the distinguished converts were Kāji Chak and Mūsa Rainā, although both scrambled to seize political power independently. Mūsa Rainā gave the Mir land at Jadibal in Srinagar and finances to build his *khānqāh*. Its foundation was laid in 1503-04 and the edifice was completed a year later. The site was a Hindu temple.¹⁰³ Sayyid Muhammad Bayhaqi, the prime minister of Muhammad Shāh (1493-1505) whose ancestors belonged to the Shi'i region of Sabzwār, strongly opposed Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn's Shi'i proselytization in his political interest. Malik 'Usmān, an influential Kashmiri dignitary was also bitterly hostile to Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn. The orthodox Sunni '*ulamā'* and *sūfis* were united to oppose Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn. Finding his stay in Srinagar difficult Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn moved from Kashmir with a number of his followers to Skardu in Ladakh. In about two months of his stay he converted considerable number of Buddhists in Ladakh to Shi'ism. When Fath Shāh (1505-14) ascended the throne for the second time he invited Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn back to Kashmir. Mūsa Rainā assisted by Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn unleashed a reign of terror against the Hindus. The temples and Hindu centres of learning which had been rebuilt in the reign of Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn were destroyed. The Hindus were persecuted, killed and forcibly converted to Islam. The *khānqāh* of Mir Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī was rebuilt and decorated exquisitely. According to the author of the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* the efforts of Mūsa Rainā and Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn led to the conversion of 24,000 families into Islam¹⁰⁴ by which Shi'ism is meant. This is possibly

101 *Tuhfatu'l-ahbāb*, p. 17; Sayyid 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, ff. 23a-24a.

102 Sayyid 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, f. 24a.

103 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, f. 78a.

104 *Ibid.*, ff. 78a-b.

an exaggeration. Nevertheless, Shi'ism found a firm foot-hold in Kashmir and in Ladakh.

The defeat and death of Shams Chak in the reign of Fath Shāh reduced the Chak tribe to miserable pecuniary difficulties. Their eminent leaders such as Kāji Chak had to serve as foot-soldiers under Malik 'Alī Rainā, the son of Mūsa Rainā. When Mūsa Rainā decided to send a military expedition against Tibet under his son 'Alī Rainā, the Chaks had no money to furnish horses or troopers. They approached Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn who offered them large sums of money, and a huge quantity of rice and wheat flour. He beckoned to Kāji Chak whose ear was severed in a night attack on Supur and predicted his rise to power. He urged Kāji Chak to solemnly take a pledge in the name of God to dispense even-handed justice and to promote the Islamic faith. Kāji Chak was terribly scared lest the prophecies of the Mīr were reported to Mūsa Rainā. He simply bowed before the Mīr and promised to comply with his orders. The Mīr, however, put his cap on Kāji Chak's head and added that he (the Mīr) was symbolically crowning him (Kāji Chak) as a king.¹⁰⁵

Kāji Chak recruited an army with the Mīr's finances. The ascendancy of Mūsa Rainā did not, however, last long. His main supporter Ibrāhīm Māgre turned against him. In 1513 Mūsa Rainā was defeated in the battle field at Zialdrakar near Srinagar and was killed on his way to Delhi.¹⁰⁶

The political turmoil following the death of Mūsa Rainā helped Kāji Chak to seize power. Many Hindus who had been forcibly converted to Islam reverted to their former faith under the influence of Kantha Bhatt, a Hindu evangelist. In 1516 Fath Shāh was overthrown and the fugitive ruler, Muhammad Shāh (1514-15) ascended the throne for the third time. He appointed Kāji Chak as his prime minister. In fulfilment of his earlier pledge he began to rule under the guidance of the Mīr. The reconstruction of the *khānqāh* of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni was completed. Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn urged Kāji Chak to inflict capital punishments on the Muslim apostates. Kāji Chak and his advisers agreed to comply with the Mīr's orders. On 10 Muharram 924/22 January 1518 about seven to eight hundred apostates were killed. By 926/1520 all the Hindu leaders were subdued. The movement of Kantha Bhatt to re-convert Muslims to Hinduism was crushed. Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn's efforts firmly re-established the prestige of the Muslims.¹⁰⁷ The Shi'is became very powerful.

In 932/1526 Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn died and was buried in his *khānqāh* at Jadibal. Two years later Kāji Chak deposed Muhammad Shāh and made

105 *Ibid.*, f. 79b.

106 Haydar Malik, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, India Office, London Ms., ff. 131a-b. According to the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* he fell down from his horse and died. ff. 80b-81a.

107 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 87b-88a.

his son Ibrāhīm Shāh (1528-29) as the king. A year later the Māgres and some other leaders including Regī Chak defeated Kāji Chak with the help of the reinforcement obtained from the Emperor Bābur and placed Fath Shāh's son Nāzuk Shāh (1529-30) on the throne.¹⁰⁸ Finding the rule of Nāzuk Shāh unacceptable to Kashmiris, the Māgre leader Abdāl crowned Muhammad Shāh (1530-37) as the king for the fifth time. In October-November 1531, Bābur's son Mirzā Kāmrān and the half brother of Humāyūn seized Srinagar and brutally massacred the Kashmiris. The Kashmiri leaders such as Abdāl Māgre and Kāji Chak patched up a truce and expelled the Mughals out of Kashmir.¹⁰⁹

Before long Kashmir was deprived of peace by Mirzā Haydar Dūghlāt's invasion. As a commander of Sultan Sa'id Khān of Kāshghar the Mirzā conquered Bāltistān and Ladakh in 1532. He then marched upon Srinagar. Some Kashmiris treacherously acted as his guides. The brutality and plundering of Kāshghar army, however, united the local population against the invaders. A call to *jihād* was raised by the 'ulamā'. Fortunately for the Kashmiris the rivalries of the leaders of the Kāshghar army against Mirzā Haydar and the scrambling of Kāshghar troops to return to their home forced Mirzā Haydar to patch up a peace with the Kashmiri leaders and to leave Kashmir in May 1533. The invasion of the Kāshghar army devastated the agricultural fields of Kashmir. Food stuffs disappeared and the famine raged for about ten months.¹¹⁰

In 1537 Muhammad Shāh died and Kāji Chak became the king maker raising successively two sultans, Shamsu'd-Dīn (1537-40) the son and successor of Muhammad Shāh and Shamsu'd-Dīn's brother Ismā'il Shāh to the throne. Kāji Chak promoted Shī'ism but his rule was fair and he treated the nobles and peasants generously. He divided the kingdom between himself, Sayyid Ibrāhīm Bayhaqī a son of Sayyid Muhammad and Sultan Ismā'il Shāh.¹¹¹ Before the division could obtain a chance to work, Kashmir was again invaded by Mirzā Haydar Dūghlāt.

Mirzā Haydar whose name was Muhammad Haydar was a grandson of Chaghatāy Khān Yūnus and a cousin of Bābur. He was born in 905/1499-1500. After the death of his father in 914/1508 he left Bukhārā for Kābul. Bābur patronized him and he fought in Bābur's campaigns of Bukhārā and Samarqand. In 918/1512 he deserted Bābur and joined Sa'id Khān, the Mongol Prince of Farghānā. He played a prominent

108 Suka, *Rājataranginī*, translated by J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1898, p. 363; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, pp. 353-54.

109 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 96a-b; Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Calcutta, 1927-35, III, pp. 463-64.

110 Denison Ross, (tr.) *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, Patna, 1973, reprint, pp. 135-36, 437-42; *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 101a.

111 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 103a-104a.

role in Sa'id Khān's project of consolidating the remnants of the Mongol principalities under a centralized authority. Their capital was Kāshghar. It was as a commander of Sa'id Khān that he had earlier invaded Bāltistān, Ladakh and Kashmir. After Sa'id Khān's death in 939/1533, Mirzā Haydar could not live with Sa'id Khān's successor Rashīd Khān, although he dedicated his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* to Rashīd Khān.¹¹² Mirzā first joined Mirzā Kāmran, then met Humāyūn at Agra who had returned sustaining crushing defeat at Chausa on 9 Safar 946/20 June, 1539 in his war against the Afghān adventurer Sher Shāh. Humāyūn addressed him as *dūst* (friend) in war councils. Under Humāyūn's command Mirzā Haydar fought against Sher Shāh near Qanauj on 10 Muharram 947/17 May, 1540. The Mughals were defeated and took to their heels.¹¹³ On 1 Rabi' I 947/6 July 1540 Humāyūn held a hurried council of the crest-fallen Mughal noblemen at Lahore. Mirzā Haydar suggested that the Mughal princes should be ordered to seize mountain slopes and he (Mirzā Haydar) himself would occupy Kashmir within two months. He suggested that the Mughal families might then be sent to Kashmir and Sher Shāh should be forced to fight the Mughal princes near Sirhind hills. He believed that his strategy would crush Sher Shāh. Mirzā Haydar's hopes were not naive for he had already been invited by Abdāl Māgre and Regī Chak to overthrow Kāji Chak.¹¹⁴

Humāyūn, however, gave Mirzā Haydar 400 troopers and allowed him to proceed to Kashmir. The Mirzā recruited some more troopers. Abdāl Māgre and Regī Chak met him near Nawshahra. Kāji Chak, Sayyid Ibrāhīm Bayhaqī and Ismā'il Shāh marched against the Mirzā but the latter seized the valley on 22 November 1540 by a surprise.¹¹⁵ The Mirzā who had sufficient experience of the nature of Kashmiris divided the valley into three ruling regions. For the time being Nāzuk Shāh was retained on the throne and Abdāl Māgre was appointed the prime minister. Following the tradition of the defeated Kashmiri noblemen, Kāji Chak and Ismā'il Shāh waited on Sher Shāh for reinforcement. Like his predecessors Sher Shāh also saw in Kāji Chak's request for help an easy way to conquer Kashmir. He showed considerable respect to his guests; admired Kāji Chak for obtaining innumerable serious injuries in wars. He gave Kāji Chak the title *Khān-i Khānān* and placed 5,000 troopers and two elephants under the command of the Afghān commander 'Ādil Khān and Husayn Khān to recover Kashmir from Mirzā Haydar's hands. In August 1541 the strong army of Kāji Chak and Afghān allies was defeated by Mirzā Haydar

112 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 461-67.

113 *Ibid.*, pp. 474-76.

114 *Ibid.*, pp. 478-80.

115 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 485; *Akbar-nāma*, I, pp. 197-98.

and they fled to Delhi. Kāji Chak made one more bid to drive out the Mughals from Kashmir but was again defeated and fled to the Panjab hills. In September 1544 he died at Thana.¹¹⁶ He was an indefatigable warrior and an influential commander. His devotion to Shi'ism made the Chaks as devout Shi'is.

In Kāji Chak's life time Mirzā Haydar was very conciliatory towards the Shi'is and Nūr Bakhshiyas. He visited Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn's tomb taking Regi Chak with him, entered into it respectfully and recited *fātiha*. According to the author of the *Bahāristān-i Shāhi*, the humility and meekness shown by Mirzā Haydar were designed to please Regi Chak. After Regi Chak's rebellion in 1543 and Kāji Chak's death Mirzā Haydar regained his true colour of Sunni orthodoxy and a die-hard Mughal imperialist.¹¹⁷ The devotees of 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt were brutally persecuted. The *khānqāh* of Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn was destroyed. The Mir's son Shaykh Dāniyāl fled to Skardu but was taken captive. For about one year he was kept in prison and tortured. According to the *Bahāristān-i Shāhi* false depositions were obtained from heretics and irreligious people by bribing them. He was accused of reviling the first three caliphs and 'Ā'isha. Qāzis Habīb, Ibrāhīm and 'Abdu'l-Ghafūr ordered for his execution. One of the Mirzā's friends, Mullā 'Abdu'llāh urged the Mirzā to refrain from killing Shaykh Dāniyāl but Mirzā Haydar brushed aside his recommendations saying that the interest of the stability of his kingdom, had made Shaykh Dāniyāl's execution as imperative. On 24 Safar 957/14 March 1550 he was executed. One of Dāniyāl's disciples secretly took away his head, next day another disciple brought a boat and took away his trunk and buried them separately. After the death of Mirzā Haydar, the followers of Mir Dāniyāl buried his head and body together in Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn's tomb. The author of the *Bahāristān-i Shāhi* ascribes the fall of Mirzā Haydar to his barbarity and to the slaughtering of innocent people.¹¹⁸ Mirzā Haydar himself says, "The people of Kashmir were [formerly] all Hanafi, but in the reign of Fath Shāh, the father of this Sultan Nādir [Nāzuk], a man of the name of Shams came from Tālish in Iraq who gave himself out as a Nūrbakhshī. He introduced a corrupt form of religion, giving it the name of Nūrbakhshī and practised many heresies. He wrote a book for these cowardly people called *Fikh-i Ahwat* (*Fiqh-i ahwat*) which does not conform to the teachings of any of the sects, whether Sunni or Shi'a. [These sectaries] revile the companions of the Prophet and 'Ā'isha, as to the Shi'as, but contrary to

116 *Bahāristān-i Shāhi*, f. 107a; Sayyid 'Alī, *Tārikh-i Kashmīr*, ff. 23a-25b; *Bahāristān-i Shāhi*, ff. 107b-111a; *Akbar-nāma*, I, p. 198; *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, pp. 468-69.

117 *Bahāristān-i Shāhi*, ff. 108b-109b.

118 *Ibid.*, ff. 111a-112b.

the teaching of these latter, they look upon Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nūrbakhshī as the Lord of the Age and the promised Mahdī.

“They do not believe in the saints and the holy persons in whom the Shi'as believe, but regard all these as [appertaining] to Sunnis. [Shams] introduced many impious practices and infidel beliefs, and gave his heretical sect the name of 'Nūrbakhshī'. I have seen many of the Nurbakhshī elders in Badakhshān and elsewhere. I discovered that outwardly they follow the precepts of the Prophet and hold with the Sunnis. One of the sons of this Amīr Sayyid Muhammad Nūrbakhsh showed me his tract. In it was written: 'Sultans, Amirs and fools [or ignorant] maintain that worldly power cannot be combined with purity and piety.' But this is absolutely false, for the great prophets and apostles, in spite of their missions, have exercised sovereignty, and have likewise striven diligently after those other matters [i. e. purity and piety], as for example, Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon and our Prophet, sages such as Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usmān and 'Alī were also rulers.

“Now this is opposed to the belief of the Nūrbakhshīs of Kashmir, and is in accordance with that of the Sunnis. That book, the *Fikh-i Ahwat*, which is celebrated in Kashmir, I sent, complete to the 'ulamā' of Hindustan, who repudiated it and wrote on the back of it, a decree (*fatwa*) of remonstrance as follows: 'In the name of God the Merciful. Oh God! show unto us the truth in its reality, and the false, wherein it is void; also show us things as they are.' After perusing the book and weighing its contents, it seemed clear [to us] that the author of it was of a false sect, who had gone against the book and the *Sunna*, and did not belong to any denomination of the people of Truth. His pretension is that God hath commanded him to do away with all differences among the people; [Firstly] in the development of ordinances of the Holy Law, and to make them as they were in his time, with neither increase nor diminution; and [Secondly] in the fundamental principles among all the peoples of the earth. [In this] he is certainly lying, and inclined to heresy and schism. It is the duty of such as have the power, to obliterate such a book, and a religious necessity for them to stamp out and extirpate this sect; to prohibit persons from following it and acting according to its dogmas. If they persist in their belief and abandon not their false creed, it is necessary for the security of Musulmans, from their evil example, to repulse them with chastisement and [even] death. If they repent and abandon the sect, they must be commanded to follow the teaching of Abū Hanifa.”¹¹⁹

As we have already mentioned, the *Fiqh ahwat* was written by Nūr Bakhsh himself. The *Sirāju'l-Islām* is known as a work of Imāmiyya *fiqh*. Mīrzā Haydar does not mention the name of the Indian 'ulamā' who

119 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 434-36.

issued *fatwa* against the *Fiqh ahwat*. It would seem that Mir Shamsu'd-Din was condemned on the basis of some garbled version of the *Fiqh ahwat*. Possibly Humāyūn's favourite Mullā Makhdūmu'l-Mulk Sultānpūri and his associates were consulted by Mirzā Haydar. No wonder that they recommended the destruction of the book.

Mirzā Haydar was equally hostile to the Kashmiri *sūfis*. He says, "At the present time in Kashmir, the *sūfis* have legitimatised so many heresies, that they know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. They consider that piety and purity consist in night-watching and abstinence in food; yet they take and eat whatever they find, without ever considering what is forbidden or what is lawful. They give way to their lusts and desires in a manner not consistent with the law. They are for ever interpreting dreams, displaying miracles, and obtaining from the unseen, information regarding either the future or the past. They prostrate themselves before one another and, together with such disgraceful acts, observe the forty [days of retirement]. They blame and detest science and men of learning, consider the Holy Law (*shari'a*) second in importance to the True 'Way' (*tariqa*) and that in the consequence the people of the 'Way' (*tariqa*) have nothing to do with the Holy Law. In short, nowhere else is such a band of heretics to be found. May the Most High God defend all the people of Islam from such misfortune and calamities as this, and turn them all into the true path of righteousness."

Thanking God at his own success in suppressing the Kashmiri *sūfi* movement, the Mirzā concludes, "At the present time, no one in Kashmir dares openly profess their faith; but all deny it, and give themselves out as good Sunnis. They are aware of my severity towards them, and know that if any one of the sect appears, he will not escape the punishment of death. I hope and trust that through the intervention of God and by my own efforts, the land will gradually be entirely delivered of this misfortune, and that all will become, as they now profess to be Muslims from the bottom of their hearts. Amen! Oh Lord."¹²⁰

Mirzā Haydar's tirades against the Kashmiri *sūfis* like his condemnation of Shi'is who in his reign preferred to call themselves Nūr Bakhshiyas are too sweeping to be critically examined. It is, however, clear that the Mirzā did not spare even the followers of Mir Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni from whose Hamadāniyya order sprouted the Nūr Bakhshiyā branch. According to the author of the *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, not only did the Mirzā destroy the Nūr Bakhshiyā order but also annihilated the Hamadāniyya order. For eight years no Kashmiri could dare associate himself with the above *sūfi* orders. He goes on to say that the Mirzā prohibited the Kashmiris to follow the Shāfi'i *fiqh*. According to the Mirzā's orders Muslims were

forced to follow the Hanafi *fiqh*. People concealed their faith in order to save themselves from persecution. The *chilla* (forty days retreat) and the *khānqāh* of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī were neglected.¹²¹ 'Allāmi Abu'l-Fazl who had access to the records of Kashmir says that for ten years Mīrzā Haydar zealously applied himself to the administration of Kashmir and clothed that charming land, but of desolated appearance, with cities and civilization. He sent for artists and craftsmen from all quarters and laboured for its renown and prosperity. Especially music was in brisk demand and varieties of instruments were introduced. In short, the outward condition of that country, that is, its worldly state, acquired solidity. But owing to the Mīrzā's frigid and insipid bigotries, the result of imperfect development, the essentials for Kashmir, unanimity and fidelity, found a bad market. "And to this day there is an odour of bigotry about the Kashmiris, for there is a powerful influence in association, and especially is a strong impression produced by the ways of princes who are vigorous."

Commenting on the Mīrzā's fall Abu'l-Fazl says, "The Mīrzā transgressed the law of justice,—dominion's watchman,—and took to living for his own lusts and pleasures. He let fall from his hands prudence and the bearing of burdens, those two arms of felicity."¹²²

Malik Rainā and Malik Muhammad Nāji, the two leading Shi'i dignitaries made alliance with Nāzuk Shāh, Husayn Māgre and Khwāja Hājjī. They also enlisted the support of the hill tribes. Rebellion broke out in the outer hills of Kashmir and spread to other regions. Pakhli, Kishtwar, Baltistan and Ladakh which the Mīrzā had subdued overthrew the Mughal governors. The Kashmiri chiefs under Īdī Rainā fortified themselves in Manar near Khampur. Both the Mughals and Kashmiris deserted the Mīrzā. He made a night-attack on Manar with seven or eight hundred troopers. Sayyid 'Alī the author of the *Tārīkh-i Kashmir* and his father failed to prevent Mīrzā Haydar from his adventurism. The Chaks began to destroy Khampur. In his bid to forcibly enter into the fort Mīrzā Haydar was struck with an arrow. He was killed in the night of 7 Zu'lqā'da 957/17 November, 1550. The Chaks were determined to burn the Mīrzā's dead body to ashes in retaliation to his atrocities against Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn's tomb and the Shi'i sages. The Māgre leaders and Bayhaqī Sayyids, however, buried the Mīrzā's dead body near the grave of Sultan Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn.¹²³

The death of Mīrzā Haydar made Dawlat Chak, Ghāzī Chak and other Shi'i leaders predominant in politics. Ultimately several months of

121 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 119b-120a.

122 *Akbar-nāma*, I, pp. 198-99; Beveridge, *The Akbar-nāma of Abu'l-Fazl*, reprint, New Delhi, 1979, I, pp. 403-5.

123 Sayyid 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Kashmir*, ff. 26a-27b; *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 115a-116b.

political instability and upheavals ended with Dawlat Chak's victory. For political reasons he did not abolish the Shāh Mir dynasty. He was a far-sighted administrator. The Kashmiri leaders who spent their days in prison in miserable conditions were released irrespective of party affiliations. His formidable rival Īdi Rainā had been defeated and died fleeing through Rawalpur. Malik Dawlat had Mir Dāniyāl's bier brought into Srinagar and the procession was joined by a large number of the Mir's devotees and admirers. Malik Dawlat himself accompanied the procession although Ghāzī Chak abstained because of political repercussions. The bier was buried in Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn's tomb.¹²⁴

Malik Dawlat rebuilt Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn's *khānqāh* and the adjoining monuments which were razed to the ground by Mirzā Haydar. He also assigned villages as *madad-i ma'āsh* for the sons and dependants of Mir Shamsu'd-Dīn. The custodians and managers of the *khānqāh* were also awarded stipends and pensions. The old *arba'in* vigils, daily and Friday congregational prayers and other religious ceremonies of the *khānqāh* were restored.

Malik Dawlat encouraged Bābā Hasan's son Bābā 'Alī Najjār to re-invigorate the *chilla khāna* (the place where the devotees shut themselves up during lent) of Mir Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī's *khānqāh*. All the *sūfis* of the Hamadāniyya order were invited to participate in the re-invigorated *arba'in* ceremonies of the *khānqāh*. Bābā Hasan's efforts restored the glory of Mir Sayyid 'Alī's *khānqāh*.

Bābā Hasan selected the attractive site of Hasanabad for the tomb of Bābā 'Alī Najjār. Malik Dawlat paid from his personal funds the finances for the acquisition of land and gardens to build Hasanabad quarters. The bier of Bābā 'Alī Najjār was brought from its earlier burial place and buried there. Wells and exquisite monuments were constructed to facilitate the visit of the pilgrims to the tomb. An imposing *khānqāh* was constructed on an extensive site. Bābā's sons and descendants built for themselves houses and other monuments near the tomb and *khānqāh* complex. They also organized the *langar* (free distribution of food) there. Before long the Hasanabad quarters became an important Shi'i centre in Srinagar.

In Mirzā Haydar's reign none could repeat the names of the Imāms for fear of persecution. Sunni Mullās prevented people from disseminating knowledge about Imāms. The discussion about *Imāmate* was made illegal. Even learned people such as Qāzī Habib knew only the names of Imāms 'Alī, Hasan, Husayn and Ja'far as-Sādiq. None was aware of the importance and contributions of Imāms to Islam. Dawlat Chak ordered that in the Jāmi' mosque and in other mosques the *khutba*

in the name of the twelve Imāms should be recited and sermons on Imāms should be delivered.¹²⁵

Dawlat Chak was, however, unable to keep the Chaks united. Ghāzī Chak a son of the wife of Kāji Chak's brother Hasan Chak surprized Dawlat Chak in the Dal Lake where he had gone for fishing and blinded him. He crushed his own rivals and established a strong government. In 1558 the invasion of Emperor Humāyūn's favourite, Abu'l-Ma'ālī who was joined by the rebel Kashmīrī leaders was also repulsed.¹²⁶ Ghāzī Malik's local support frustrated the hopes of Akbar's prime minister Bayram Khān to provoke rebellion against Ghāzī Chak under the leadership of Mirzā Haydar's cousin Qarā Bahādur.¹²⁷ Ghāzī Chak did away with the facade of maintaining a puppet Shāh Mir ruler to the throne and himself assumed the title Nāsiru'd-Dīn Muhammad Ghāzī Shāh (1561-63). This marked the beginning of the formal rule of Chak dynasty. The record of Ghāzī Shāh's brilliant career has been impaired by his atrocities towards his subjects and blood relations. His brother Husayn Shāh deposed him and ruled from 1563 to 1570.¹²⁸ He restored even-handed justice under his rule although he had also to resort to harsh punishments to crush rebellions and intrigues. He built a seminary and associated with it the 'ulamā' and pious people. The *pargana* Zaynpur was assigned for the maintenance of holy men. He appointed Sayyid Habīb, a jurist from Khwārazm, a die-hard Sunnī bigot as the preacher of the Jāmi' mosque and a *qāzi*.¹²⁹

In his reign a quarrel between a zealous Shi'i and a zealous Sunnī assumed serious proportions and gained wide publicity. The account of the incident is given in almost all the contemporary Mughal sources. The *Bahāristān-i Shāhī* gives more details. It says that a zealous Shi'i Yūsuf happened to meet Qāzī Habīb who was notorious for his enmity to Ahl-i Bayt on a road. Qāzī Habīb abused the Rāfizis (Shi'is) and spat over Yūsuf's face. The latter in retaliation abused the Qāzī. The Qāzī was filled with rage and struck at Yūsuf's head by his whip. Yūsuf was a proud soldier. He retaliated, striking the Qāzī with his sword in order to vindicate his honour. The Qāzī received serious injuries and fell down. Yūsuf ran away. The administrator of Srinagar, 'Alī Koka who was a fair officer, deputed a large number of people to arrest Yūsuf. The latter was taken captive. 'Alī Koka obtained Husayn Shāh's permission to dispense justice in accordance with the verdict of the *qāzis* and *muftis*. Qāzī Mūsa, Mullā Simā Ganā'i and Mullā Yūsuf Almās sentenced Yūsuf to death.

125 *Ibid.*, ff. 120a-b.

126 Haydar Malik, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, ff. 154b-55a.

127 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 124a-b; *Akbar-nāma*, II, pp. 102-3.

128 *Ibid.*, ff. 157b-58a.

129 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, 115b-116b.

The Sunni mob was so deeply excited at the Shi'i Yūsuf's execution that they sent the flesh from his dead body as gift to friends. A considerable number of Sunnis drank Yūsuf's blood like sherbet. A Sunni-Shi'i riot broke out in Srinagar and a large number of the members of both communities were killed and their houses destroyed. Husayn Shāh was not informed of the details of the riot. A group of Sunni Mullās led by Qāzi Zayn and Mullā Rāzī son of Mullā Sulaymān challenged the Mullās who had sentenced Yūsuf to death to justify their verdict on the basis of the laws of Sunni *shari'a*. Qāzi Zayn accused the *qāzis* and *muftis*, who had sentenced Yūsuf to death, of bigotry and spite. Qāzi Zayn and his associates including State dignitaries went on a door to door canvassing to make the public opinion favourable to their view point. Husayn Shāh's dignitaries and counsellors informed the Sultan of the growing tension in Kashmir. Meanwhile the death of Husayn Shāh's talented son Ibrāhīm Khān by name convinced the Sultan that his dear son died because of the curse of the execution of innocent Yūsuf. Husayn Shāh himself was ashamed of the execution of Yūsuf. He appointed Akbar's ambassador Mirzā Muqīm Isfahāni, who had recently arrived at his court, to act as an arbitrator. Among the '*ulamā'* who had given the verdict to execute Yūsuf only Mullā Simā Ganā'i and Mullā Yūsuf Almās turned up. Their opponents urged them to quote the law book that permitted the execution of Yūsuf, for the victim of the assault was still alive and was not going to die of his wounds. In their defence the accused said that they had been informed by 'Alī Koka and his associate Dūlī Koka that Husayn Shāh had ordered them to sentence Yūsuf to death. Husayn Shāh denied complicity and said that he had urged the '*ulamā'* to decide the case according to the laws of *shari'a*. Mullā 'Usmān and Mullā Yūsuf were unable to defend themselves. The Sunni '*ulamā'* wrote the *fatwa* (decree) saying that the ruler, the Qāzi and the deceased were Shāfi'is and that they permitted the application of the law of retaliation on the Qāzis. Husayn Shāh handed over both the Qāzis to the legal heirs of Yūsuf who killed both of them. Some of the associates of the Qāzis fled to Lahore and some to Agra.

After some time Husayn Shah allowed Mirzā Muqīm to return with his daughter and gifts to Akbar. The Sultan appointed Mir Ya'qūb, the son of a Shi'i divine Bābā 'Alī by name as his own ambassador. 'Alī Koka and Dūlī Koka took the opportunity to take the revenge from Mirzā Muqīm. He obtained the Sultan's permission to accompany the ambassadors and hand them over some gifts for Akbar from Lahore which could not be arranged in Kashmir. After Mirzā Muqīm's departure from Lahore, 'Alī Koka and his associates sent false witnesses to Makh-dūmu'l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūri and to other bigoted Mullās of Akbar's court. The Kashmiri Sunni '*ulamā'* sent gifts and wrote letters

to the 'ulamā' at Akbar's court urging them to expeditiously sentence Mīrzā Muqīm and Mīr Ya'qūb to death. Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūrī and a party of Akbar's Mullās arrived at Agra. On the basis of false evidences they obtained the Emperor's permission to execute Mīrzā Muqīm and Mīr Ya'qūb.¹³⁰ Mīrzā Muqīm was Akbar's subject but the execution of Husayn Shāh's envoy Mīr Ya'qūb grossly violated the contemporary diplomatic traditions. The Sunnī orthodoxy in those days ran riot at Akbar's court and the religious matters were controlled by Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Mullā 'Abdu'n-Nabi the *Sadru's-Sudūr* without any restraint. Persecution of the Shi'is was the order of the day. Execution of Mīr Ya'qūb was nothing unusual from their view point. Mullā Badā'ūnī says that when Mīrzā Muqīm and Mīr Ya'qūb, the *wakil* (ambassador) of Husayn Khān brought the daughter and other gifts to Akbar's court, Qāzī Habīb's story was related to the Emperor. Consequently these two persons upon the verdict of Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi and other 'ulamā', "were brought to the just punishment of their wicked deeds in the plain of Fathpūr."¹³¹

The Emperor rejected Husayn Shāh's daughter and sent her back to Srinagar. Husayn Shāh had already been suffering from the cancer of mouth. The shock prostrated him with blood dysentery and he died. After his death his brother 'Alī Shāh (1570-78) with the help of the Shi'i divine Bābā Khālīl¹³² ascended the throne. His reforms of penal laws abolishing amputation of limbs, blinding and capital punishment made his rule very popular. He appointed his friend Sayyid Mubārak Bayhaqī as his prime minister and married his daughter to Mubārak's son Sayyid Abu'l Ma'ālī. He developed cordial relations with the *sūfi* Shaykh Hamza Makhdūm¹³³ (d. 984/1576) and his disciples although the latter were bitterly hostile to the Shi'is. He exhibited profound statesmanship in extending warm reception to the envoys sent to his court by Akbar in 986/1578 ostensibly to propose marriage between Prince Sālīm and Husayn Shāh's daughter but in fact to explore the prospects of mounting an invasion over Kashmir. 'Alī Shāh accepted Akbar's suzerainty by issuing coins and having *khutba* recited in the Emperor's name.¹³⁴ Early in 1579 mortally hurt by the pommel of his horse's saddle while playing polo 'Alī Shāh died.¹³⁵ Before his death he made his son Yūsuf as his successor.

130 *Ibid.*, ff. 115b-120a.

131 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 124-29.

132 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 131a-32b.

133 Shaykh Hamza Makhdūm was initiated into the Suhrawardiyya order by Makhdūm Jahāniyān Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī. Ghāzī Chak exiled him from Kashmir but Sultan 'Alī Shāh permitted him to return. Shaykh Hamza, however, did not give up his hostility to Shi'ism. His disciple Bābā Dāwūd was also an ardent opponent of Shi'ism. *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, p. 299.

134 *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, III, pp. 499-500.

135 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 137b-38a; Haydar Malik, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, ff. 168b-69a.

Yūsuf had already become popular as an ardent lover of beauty both natural and female. His romance with Habba Khātūn who had obtained her divorce from her husband has been immortalised in Kashmiri songs and legends. Yūsuf married her and they were happy couples. As a ruler Yūsuf might have been successful but the short-sightedness and adventurism of the court factions made his rule instable. By the time he ascended the throne Akbar had already decided to annex Kashmir to the Mughal empire in order to carve out his formidable northern boundary extending from Tibet, Kashmir, Kābul and Qandahār to Balūchistān. The rivalries and intrigues of the Kashmiri leaders in conjunction with the Shi'i-Sunni hostilities paved the way for Akbar's easy conquest of Kashmir.

Sayyid Mubārak, who combined in himself statesmanship and asceticism foiled the struggle of Yūsuf's uncle Abdāl Chak to succeed 'Alī Shāh. Then the Sayyid deposed Yūsuf Shāh but the leading factions who helped him gain the throne in the hope of maintaining Sayyid Mubārak as a puppet were disappointed to find the Sayyid determined to rule firmly although his personal life style of an ascetic did not change.¹³⁶ The leading factions replaced him with Lahar Shāh Chak (1579-80) whose short reign was marked by abundance of agriculture and incredibly low price of the food stuff. Yūsuf Shāh sought the protection of Raja Mān Singh at Lahore. In January 1580 the Raja presented him to Akbar's court. Akbar ordered Mān Singh to restore his throne to Yūsuf. The latter wisely decided to abandon the foreign support and re-enter the valley with his own troops. In November 1580 he defeated his rivals in the battle of Supur and ascended the throne. He had hardly crushed the local intrigues and rebellions that Akbar's envoys arrived at the end of 1581 calling upon him to submit an explanation for neglecting the imperial court. Moreover he was urged to report to the Emperor. The demands indicate that he was treated as a vassal. Yūsuf's dignitaries urged him to make earnest preparations to resist Akbar's impending invasion. Yūsuf who knew the imperial strength tried to placate Akbar but nothing short of personal submission by Yūsuf could satisfy the Emperor. The death of his half-brother Mirzā Hakīm, the governor of Kābul, on 12 Sha'bān 993/30 July 1585 prompted Akbar to move to Kābul on 22 August 1585. From Kalanaur he sent envoys to Yūsuf reminding that he could no more make pretexts of distance and should urgently report to the imperial camp. Yūsuf himself wished to go to Lahore but the popular demand to resist Akbar's invasion changed his decision. The Kashmiri leaders even threatened him to replace him with his son Ya'qūb, were he to leave Kashmir. Yūsuf's war preparations gave Akbar a pretext to invade Kashmir. Raja Bhagwān Dās was appointed the commander of the expedition. On 20 December 1585 the Mughal

136 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, f. 148b.

army marched towards Kashmir. The leading Sunnī divine Shaykh Ya'qūb Sarfī of Kashmir, who was the Emperor's fast friend, acted as their guide. The imperial army entered Kashmir through Pakhli route without meeting any resistance. At Buliasa pass near Baramula the Mughal army received serious set-backs at the hands of the Kashmiris. Nevertheless Yūsuf made peace with Raja Bhagwān Dās and visited the Mughal camp in the middle of February 1586. The Kashmiris under Yūsuf's son Ya'qūb fought valiantly. Ultimately Ya'qūb also agreed to make peace promising to have the *khutba* read and coins struck in Akbar's name on the condition of the restoration of the throne to Yūsuf. On 28 March 1586, at Attock the Raja presented Yūsuf to Akbar who had reluctantly approved of his treaty with Yūsuf. Akbar imprisoned Yūsuf causing such a rude shock to Raja Bhagwān Dās as to make him attempt to commit suicide. After about two and a half years he was sent to Bihar with Bhagwān Dās' adopted son Raja Mān Singh. A *mansab* of 500 horse was given to him. In Zu'l-hijja 1000/September 1592 he died,¹³⁷ and was buried in the *pargana* Biswak in Patna district.

The Kashmiris remembered Yūsuf for his charming personality, patronage to Kashmiri culture and introduction of humanitarian reforms such as the prohibition of the collection of cowrie from peasants, abolition of *jizya* and several oppressive taxes.

The imprisonment of Yūsuf shocked the Kashmiris. They repudiated Yūsuf's treaty with Raja Bhagwān Dās and made his son Ya'qūb the sultan. Before they could however strengthen the defences, the Sultan alienated the sympathies of the orthodox Sunnī dignitaries by ordering Qāzi Mūsa to add to the *azān* the sentence that 'Alī was Allāh's *walī*. The Qāzi who was an orthodox Sunnī did not obey the Sultan's orders and rejected the suggestion, made by a considerable number of state dignitaries, ministers, 'ulamā' and scholars, that according to the Prophet's *hadīs* there was no harm in concealing one's faith to save one's life. He was executed on the pretext of making intrigues with Shamsi Chak, son of Dawlat Chak who was the Sultan's rival.¹³⁸ A'zamī says, "None can question the fact that 'Alī is Allāh's friend (*walī* Allāh). He is the king of *walīs*. The Sunnis oppose it mainly because of the fact that the Shi'is have made it the basis of the propagation of their faith. They are not satisfied merely by crying "Alī is Allāh's friend" but are emboldened to take steps which are contrary to *shari'a* (recitation of *tabarra*).” According to A'zamī, Sultan Ya'qūb began to openly preach Shi'ism. Mullā 'Aynī was appointed by him as his chief missionary and commissioned to recite *tabarra*. Ya'qūb's main religious guides were Khalīl, Shaykh Hasan of Jadibal and Bābā Tālib

137 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 174a-177a; Haydar Malik, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, ff. 183b-191b; *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 474-88.

138 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 194b-95a.

Isfahāni. Mullā 'Aynī was also a poet and wrote satires even against Mullā Jāmi.

The Sunnī leaders were appalled. Some Shi'is were also disgusted. Shaykh Hamza's disciple Bābā Dāwūd Khākī who was highly respected by the Sunnis moved to Multan. Shaykh Ya'qūb Sarfī assured Emperor Akbar of the support of Kashmīrī leaders to him. Akbar ordered the engineer Mīr Qāsim Khān Mīr Bahr to invade Kashmir. Ya'qūb Sarfī again acted as a guide. Ya'qūb Shāh could muster no force to defend Srinagar. He took shelter in Kishtwar. Some independence loving Kashmīrī leaders repulsed the Mughal contingents sent under Ya'qūb Sarfī near Hastiwanj. They were, however, unable to crush the Mughal onslaught under Mīr Qāsim and abandoned Srinagar to the invaders' mercy. Mīr Qāsim easily entered the capital. According to A'zamī the Kashmīrī leaders appointed Husayn Shāh as a king.¹³⁹ At his failure to rule, Shamsī Chak was made the king. Zafar Khān, the eldest son of Shamsī Chak who was a bigoted Sunnī in the hope of gaining the throne himself, unleashed the Sunnī bigotry. Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn's *khānqāh* was burnt to ashes. The grave of the Mīr was turned into latrines. Jadibal quarters were also burnt to ashes and the Shi'is were relentlessly persecuted.¹⁴⁰ The Mughal mopping up operation of the Kashmīrī resistance was slow. Ya'qūb and his supporters mounted several effective raids but were unsuccessful. Akbar despatched reinforcement under Yūsuf Khān Rizvī. At the end of June 1589 Akbar himself visited Srinagar and stayed in Yūsuf's palaces. The imperial army took the quarters of Yūsuf's soldiers for their residence. The Kashmīrī military resistance was totally liquidated. Ya'qūb also surrendered and was sent to Rohtas in Bihar. His repeated attempts to escape made him a virtual prisoner in Rohtas. After Yūsuf's death Mān Singh transferred his *jāgīr* to Ya'qūb but before he could take it up he was administered poison in betel leaf and died on 10 Muharram 1001/17 October 1592. He had predicted that he would die on the day of Imām Husayn's martyrdom and had willed that none of his friends should cry for him. According to Abu'l Fazl he died on 14 Zu'l-hijja 1000/11 September 1592 and was buried in the *pargana* Biswak,¹⁴¹ near his father's grave.

Mohibbul Hasan, an Indian Shi'ī scholar considers Ya'qūb's intolerance and harshness responsible for the treachery of Kashmīrī chiefs and that of Ya'qūb Sarfī's.¹⁴² This conclusion might flatter the Sunnis but is not realistic. The Muslim Kashmīrī leaders were always divided among themselves and the Kashmīrī adventurers never hesitated to seek help of the governors

139 Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr A'zamī*, Lahore, 1303/1885-86, pp. 78-79.

140 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 196b-98a.

141 *Bahāristān-i Shāhī*, ff. 201-202b; *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 547-48.

142 Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sultans*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 183-84.

of the Panjab and the rulers of Delhi to seize power. The rulers of Delhi in their self interest encouraged the adventurers. Even Sher Shāh who was by no means sympathetic to Shi'ism enthusiastically gave military assistance to Yūsuf Chak in order to gain a foot-hold in Kashmir. Akbar's imperialistic ambitions would not have spared even a Zaynu'l-Ābidīn and some pretext to overthrow him would have been found. Akbar did not hesitate to reject words given by his loyal Raja Bhagwān Dās to Yūsuf Shāh. Although Ya'qūb Sarfī was an erudite scholar, had written works on *tafsīr*, *hadīs* and *sūfism*, he had joined Akbar's court in the early years of the Emperor's reign and was an ardent supporter of Akbar's expansionist policy. Neither was the Sunnī nor was the Kashmiri interest dear to Ya'qūb Sarfī's heart. He was a die-hard supporter of the Mughal imperialism and his devotion to the Mughal cause throughout his life knew no bounds.

The fall of the Chak dynasty in 1586 ended the independent Sultanate of Kashmir. The Mughals appointed talented governors to the valley and they made singular contributions to the cultural, social and economic development of Kashmir. Some of the Mughal governors were Shi'is. The Sunnī and Shi'i relations in Kashmir, however, did not improve. The Sunnī 'ulamā' made strenuous efforts to prevent the development of Shi'ism but thanks to the efforts of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn and his disciples, the foundation of Shi'ism was firmly laid in the valley and no political power could uproot Shi'ism from Kashmir.

The Chak dynasty did not survive for more than twenty-five years. Its rulers did not upset the administrative framework of the Shāh Mīr dynasty. The *khutba* was read in the name of the twelve Imāms but to the devotees of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni's *khānqāh*, this was not sacrilegious. They were already devoted to the twelve Imāms. Attempts were made to add "Alī is Allāh's friend" to the *azān* only by the last ruler and it does not seem to have been universally opposed. A Sunnī Divine, who freely opposed it and suffered death, was an exception. Others preferred to obey Sultan's orders in the interest of the independence of Kashmir. The Shi'i 'ulamā' class also began to develop in Kashmir. Bābā Khalīl was very influential with Yūsuf Shāh and his uncle Abdāl Chak. He went into exile to Bihar with Yūsuf and possibly died there.

Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī who in 1591 was commissioned to make enquiries into the complaints regarding the revenue administration of Kashmir¹⁴³ remained in touch with local Shi'i Divines. He says, "Most of the Kashmiri soldiers such as the members of Dūna, Māgre and Dangar tribes are Shi'is. The inhabitants of Hasanabad and Jadibal quarters of Srinagar are Shi'is. The tomb and *khānqāh* of Mīr Shams 'Irāqī are situated in

(Jadibal). The descendants of Bābā 'Alī (Najjār), a *khalīfa* of Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn and his disciples who are very large in number are Shi'is. The inhabitants of a very lovely town Shihabud-Dinpur by name are Shi'is. The inhabitants of Basuka *pargana* comprising 208 villages are Shi'is. The Shi'is are also found in other villages of different *parganas*."

"The inhabitants of Baltistan were converted to Shi'ism by Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. The ruler of Baltistan, its soldiers and peasants are very sincere Imāmiyya Shi'is. They are so deeply devoted to Shi'ism that if a Sunni happens to visit Baltistan, the Shi'is impose *jizya* upon him. Although they live in the vicinity of the Emperor of India, they recite the *khutba* in the name of the Mūsawī Safawid rulers of Iran."¹⁴⁴ The *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* corroborates the above description. It says, "The author, Muhammad Qāsim Firishṭa, has made earnest enquiries from the highly educated travellers of Kashmir. They say that all the Kashmiri peasants are Hanafis. The majority among the soldiers are Shi'is. The number of the Shi'i 'ulamā' is very insignificant. The friendship with Kashmiri soldiers has made the ruler of Ladakh who is the neighbour of the Kashmiris such a fanatical Shi'i that if a stranger happens to visit Ladakh and does not curse the Prophet's companions, they turn him out of Ladakh. The Chaks claim that Mīr Shams 'Irāqī was a Shi'i. His contemporary heretics and rulers became his disciples and according to his orders recited the *khutba* in the name of twelve (Imāms). The book *Ahwat* was not compiled by Mīr Shams 'Irāqī but was written by some misguided heretic."¹⁴⁵ The observations of the Emperor Jahāngīr are also not different. According to him merchants and artisans of Kashmir were mostly Sunnis, while the soldiers were Imāmiyya Shi'is, a group belonged to the Nūr Bakhshiyya order.¹⁴⁶ This shows that until Jahāngīr's reign the Nūr Bakhshiyyas maintained a separate identity. It was in subsequent centuries that they merged either into Shi'i or Sunni sects.

Akbar's rule could not eliminate Shi'i-Sunni conflicts in Kashmir. The Shi'i 'ulamā' effectively refuted the Sunni polemics. Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī's visit, as we shall see in chapter four sharpened Shi'i 'ulamā's scholarly standards.¹⁴⁷ At the end of Akbar's reign the arrival of Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd (b. 965/1557-58), a Naqshbandiyya missionary, reinvigorated the Sunni-Shi'i disputes. Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd was a disciple of Khwāja Ishāq of Dehbed (close to Balkh) and had performed hard ascetic exercises at the tomb of Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband in the *Qasr-i 'Arifān* near Bukhārā. His anti-Shi'i missionary zeal and his

144 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 52.

145 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 337.

146 Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk*, Aligarh, p. 303.

147 *Infra*, pp. 351, 360.

militant involvement in puritanical Sunnī revivalist activities, prompted Jahāngīr to banish him to Kābul. One of his sons, Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, worked as missionary in the predominantly Shī'i Baltistan but was not successful. In the reign of Shāhjahān Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd again returned to Srinagar and began to mobilize the Sunnīs against Zafar Khān, the Shī'i governor of Kashmir. Even 'Allāmī Afzal Khān, Shāhjahān's influential *dīwān*, who was famous for his orthodox brand of Sunnī piety, was alarmed and advised Shāhjahān that the kind of leadership the Khwāja had assumed in Kashmir was a potential threat to the interest of government. Although Shāhjahān hesitated to take action against the Khwāja, who was nearly eighty, he accepted Afzal Khān's advice. The Khwāja was exiled to Lahore. His death occurred on 11 Sha'bān 1052/4 November 1642 in Lahore. An imposing tomb was built over his grave.¹⁴⁸

Besides Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd, his sons and disciples, the disciples of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, Mujaddid *Alf-i Sāni* and the disciples of the Mujaddid's descendants were also a potent threat to the Shī'is but they were never disheartened.

Bābur and the Shī'is

The founder of the Mughal rule in India was Zahīru'd-Dīn Muhammad Bābur. He was born on 6 Muharram 888/14 February 1483 in the Farghānā valley in the middle of Jaxartes (Sir-Daryā). Farghānā was a part of Khurāsān, which was ruled by Mirzā Shāhrukh (807-50/1405-47) and his son Ulugh Beg (850-53/1447-49) but from 873/1469 it came under Bābur's father 'Umar Shaykh Mirzā, a son of Sultan Abū Sa'id (855-73/1451-69) who was a great-grandson of Tīmūr. From the side of his mother Qutluq Nigār Khānam, Bābur was in the fifteenth degree from Chingīz Khān. In Ramazān 899/June 1494 he succeeded his father who died at a young age of thirty-nine falling from the top of his pigeon house. Until Muharram 910/June 1504 he struggled incessantly to retain possession over Farghānā and to seize Samarqand. Repeated failures turned his attention to Kābul which until 907/1501 was ruled by one of his uncles, Ulugh Beg bin Abū Sa'id (not to be confused with Ulugh Beg bin Shāhrukh). After Ulugh Beg's death in 1501 the Arghūnid Muqīm seized it. In 910/1504 Bābur drove him out of Kābul to Qandahār. He collected tributes from the neighbouring Afghān tribes. A year later he left Kābul for Hirāt to help Sultan Husayn Bayqarā against the Uzbeks. Hardly could Bābur render any military help that Husayn Mirzā died. Some thirty years of prosperous and stable Tīmūrid rule over Khurāsān came to an end. Bābur was shocked. None of Husayn Bayqarā's descendants, who were very large in number, could establish a firm government.

148 *A history of Sūfism in India*, II, pp. 181-85.

Bābur returned to Kābul. Shaybānī Khān, a direct descendant of Chingiz Khān who had seized Transoxiana exterminated the Timūrids from Khurāsān. The orthodoxy of the Sunni population of Transoxiana made Shaybānī Khān a champion of Sunni-ism. His growing power alarmed the Shi'i Shāh Ismā'il Safawī of Iran.

The Shāh was a descendant of the Turkish speaking Shaykh Safiū'd-Dīn Ishāq (d. 735/1334) whose *khānqāh* at Ardabil in eastern Āzarbayjān (Iran) commanded the respect of the Turkoman tribes from the region extending from Marāgha and Tabrīz to Asia Minor.¹⁴⁹ Clear Shi'i tendencies are not perceptible in Shaykh Safiū'd-Dīn and his son Shaykh Sadru'd-Dīn (d. 794/1392). The latter was persecuted for his political influence by the ruler of Tabrīz but not for his religious views. His son Khwāja 'Alī (d. 830/1427) was, however, a Shi'i. His success in obtaining the release of Turkoman prisoners from the custody of Timūr made the prisoners and their descendants ardent devotees to the Khwāja and his successors. 'Alī aroused Timūr's hatred against the Yazidis of Iraq and made him interested in the *futūwwa* of 'Alī bin Abi Tālib. He always dressed himself in black clothes and came to be known as *siyāh-posh*¹⁵⁰ (one who puts on black garments). The Khwāja's son Shaykh Ibrāhīm (d. 851/1447-8) who succeeded his father in young age was a man of quiet temperament. The military and political character of Shaykh Safiū'd-Dīn's *khānqāh* developed from the time of Shaykh Ibrāhīm's son Shaykh Junayd. His ten thousand *Ghuzāt-i Sūfiyya* (*Sūfi* crusaders) of the Turkoman origin, who deemed sacrificing their lives as the least of the degrees of devotion for their spiritual guide, became a terror even to Jahān Shāh (841-72/1438-67), the ruler of the Qarā Qoyūnlū (of black sheep dynasty) nomadic Turkoman tribes of Āzarbayjān although they were Shi'is. Junayd made alliance with Ūzūn Hasan (857-82/1453-78) a disciple of 'Alī Siyāhposh, of the Sunni Āq Qoyūnlū (of white sheep dynasty) and married Ūzūn's sister Khadija Begum. Junayd, however, could get no respite from Qarā Qoyūnlū. In Jumāda I 864/March 1460 he was killed near Tabarsaran in the Shirwān Shāh Khalīlu'llāh's territory.¹⁵¹

Junayd was succeeded by his son Haydar. The political expediency of the Āq Qoyūnlū, however, prompted his brother-in-law Ya'qūb (883-96/1478-90) to help Shirwān Shāh against Haydar. In 893/1488, the Safawids were defeated and Haydar was killed not far from the site

149 Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, Leiden, 1328/1910, p. 793; Ibn Bazāz Tawakkulī bin Ismā'il, *Sifāwatū's-safā'*, Bombay, 1329/1911, pp. 89-90, 97, 101, 102, 140, 141, 146.

150 *Silsilātu'n-nasab-i Safawiyya*, Cambridge University, Browne Ms., 12, ff. 34a-b; *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismā'il*, Cambridge University, Ms., no. Add. 255, f. 8b, 10b.

151 *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismā'il*, f. 12b; *Silsilātu'n-nasab-i Safawiyya*, ff. 46b, 47a.

his father fell fighting. Before his death he and his disciples had adopted the Ni'matu'llāhī turban of twelve gores as their head gear.¹⁵²

The rivalries between the Qarā Qoyūnlū who ruled over Āzarbayjān and Āq Qoyūnlū who had settled in Armenia, upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia first led to the fall of Jahān Shāh and the domination of Ūzūn Hasan over the Qarā Qoyūnlū. In 882/1478 Ūzūn Hasan died and the Āq Qoyūnlū also began to decline. Three little sons of Haydar who had been sent to Istakhr by Ūzūn Hasan were released from imprisonment by Ūzūn Hasan's successor Rustam Beg. Of these the eldest Sultan 'Alī became the rallying centre of the *sūfi* disciples of the family. 'Alī's growing popularity prompted Rustam to have him killed. 'Alī's younger brother Ismā'il escaped from Ardabil. The *sūfi* disciples of the family transferred him from place to place in order to save Ismā'il's life. In Lāhijān Ismā'il read the Qur'ān. In 902/1496-97 the Ottoman Sultan Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512) annihilated Rustam. This gave Ismā'il the much needed respite. He made Gīlān the centre of his political movement. The Turkoman tribes such as the Rumlū, Ustajlū, Takkalū, Zu'l-qadar, Warsaq, Shāmlū, Afshār, Qāchār and others rallied round Ismā'il. Their crimson Ni'matu'llāhī turban with twelve gores symbolising the Isnā 'Ashari Imāms adopted by Haydar nick-named them as the Qizilbāsh (red heads). An anonymous Italian merchant says, "This sophi (*sūfi*) is loved and revered by his people as a god, and especially by his soldiers, many of whom enter into battle without armour, expecting their master Ismā'il to watch over them in the fight."¹⁵³

Ismā'il started his career of conquest at the age of thirteen. His battle-cry was "Allāh! Allāh! wa 'Alī waliyu'llāh (God! God! and 'Alī is the friend of God)." In 907/1501 he routed the Āq Qoyūnlū Sultan at Ahwand and entered Tabriz. Before his coronation he decided to declare the Shi'i faith as the state religion. The Shi'i divines of Tabriz were upset. They represented to him that of the two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of that city atleast two-thirds were Sunnis and that the Shi'i formula had never been publicly uttered from the pulpit since the time of the Imāms themselves; and that if the majority of the people refused to accept a Shi'a ruler, it would be difficult to deal with the situation which would then arise. To this he replied, "I am committed to this action; God and the Immaculate Imāms are with me, and I fear no one. By God's help, if the people utter one word of protest, I will draw the sword and leave not one of them alive."

The Shāh ordered that the distinctively Shi'i formula, "I bear witness that 'Alī is the Friend of God" and "Hasten to the best of deeds (*Hayya*

152 *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismā'il*, f. 13a, *Silsilātu'n-nasab-i Safawiyya*, f. 47a.

153 E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, Cambridge, 1959, reprint, IV, p. 23.

'alā' Khayrī'l 'amal) should be publicly repeated in the *azān*, and Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Usmān should be publicly cursed.¹⁵⁴

Irānī population was predominantly Sunnī although Shi'ism had penetrated into Iran even in the reign of the first four caliphs. Under the Umayyads it was a centre of the *Ghulāt* movement. The Arabs settled in the northern towns of al-Jibal and near the Caspian region were Shi'is. Sabzwār, Qum and Kāshān became homogeneously Shi'is. Khurāsān, Tūs, (Mashhad) and Nishāpūr developed into important Shi'i centres. The Būyid rulers promoted Shi'ism in the region. Uljaytū Khudābanda gave much stimulus to Shi'ism in Iran. A number of dynasties that succeeded the Īlkhānids were Shi'is. Some of them were extremists.

The fourteenth and fifteenth century Kubrāwiyya and the Ni'matu'llāhī *sūfis* were Sunnis but their devotion to 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt had made them sympathetic to Shi'ism. The Shaykhiyya-Jūriyya order of the *sūfis* of Sabzwār established by Shaykh Khalifa (d. 736/1335) had spread to a greater part of Khurāsān. Mīr Qiwāmu'd-Dīn al-Mar'ashī belonged to a branch of this order. He had already established Shi'i state in Māzandarān. His dynasty residing in Āmul is known as the Sadāt-i Mar'ashī.¹⁵⁵ What Shāh Ismā'ildid was to transform the kaleidoscopic pattern of Shi'ism into the homogeneously accepted Isnā 'Asharism through his political decree. The Shi'ism saved Iran from being devoured by the growing Sunnī power of the Ottoman Turks on the west and the Sunnī Uzbeks in the east. Consequently it became the religion of the overwhelming majority in Iran.

Early in 915/1509 war started between Shāh Ismā'il and Shaybānī Khān Uzbek. The Shāh defeated Shaybānī in the battle of Merv. On 2 December 1510 Shaybānī died. The Shāh sent to Bābur his sister Khānzāda who had been taken captive after the death of her successive husbands Shaybānī and Sayyid Hādī. He invited Bābur to recover his ancestral territory with his military support. Bābur was deeply excited and sent envoys expressing his gratefulness to the Shāh. The account of the negotiations between the Shāh and Bābur is missing from the Bābur's autobiography but Khwandamir says that Bābur promised that if he conquered the rest of Transoxiana by Shāh's help he would have the *khutba* read in the names of twelve Imāms and the Shāh. The coins would also be struck in the name of twelve Imāms. Mrs. Beveridge rightly says, "These undertakings look like a response to a demand, and such condition cannot have been proffered; their acceptance must

154 *Tārīkh-i Shāh Ismā'il*, ff. 18b, 27a, 32b, 419; Abu'l-Hasan bin Ibrāhīm al-Qazwīnī, *Fawā'id-i Safawīyya*, Cambridge University, Ms., Or 6, ff. 6b; *A literary history of Persia*, IV, pp. 53-55.

155 *Majālisu'l-mu'mīnīn*, pp. 64.

have been compelled."¹⁵⁶ Shāh Ismā'il's troops enabled Bābur to seize Bukhārā.

In mid Rajab 917/October 1511 Bābur recaptured Samarqand after nine years of absence. He was, however, unable to subdue the orthodox Sunni population of the region. Mirzā Muhammad Haydar Dūghlāt says, "Although, in the hour of necessity, the Emperor had clothed himself in the garments of the Qizilbāsh (which was pure heresy, nay almost unbelief), they (the people of Samarqand) sincerely hoped, when he mounted the throne of Samarqand, (the throne of the Law of the Prophet) and placed on his head the diadem of the holy *sunna* of Muhammad, that he would remove from it the crown of royalty (*Shāhi*), whose nature was heresy and whose form was as the tail of an ass."¹⁵⁷

"But the hopes of the people of Samarqand were not realized. For, as yet the Emperor did not feel to dispense with the aid and support of Shāh Ismā'il; nor did he consider himself sufficiently strong to cope single-handed with the Uzbek; hence he appeared to overlook (*mudāra*) the gross errors of the Qizilbāsh. On this account, the people of Māvra'-u'n-Nahr ceased to feel that intense longing for the Emperor which they had entertained while he was absent—their regard for him was at an end."¹⁵⁷ Ultimately Bābur dismissed the Shāh's forces in order to placate the Sunni population and became indifferent to the Shāh's envoy. In obedience to his pledge with the Shāh, Bābur, however, had coins issued and the *khutba* read in the name of the Imāms. The departure of the Iranian troops prompted Shaybāni's successor 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek to collect orthodox Sunni troops under his leadership. He took an oath at the tomb of the Naqshbandiyya *sūfi* Khwāja Ahmad Yasawī (d. 514/1120) to re-introduce orthodox Sunni laws in Transoxiana. In Safar 918/April-May 1512 Bābur fought fiercely near Bukhārā but was swept away by the sheer weight of Uzbek numbers. He collected his family and moved to Hisar. The Iranian commander Najm Sāni with 11,000 Qizilbāsh soldiers rushed to Bābur's help. Both armies marched towards Bukhārā. Qarshi was seized and its inhabitants were slaughtered by the Qizilbāsh to the utter disgust of Bābur. On 3 Ramazān 918/12 November 1512 a fierce battle was fought near Ghujduwān between 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān and Bābur.¹⁵⁸ Irānis accuse Bābur of treachery. Mirzā Haydar Dūghlāt giving vent to his Sunni bigotry says, "The Uzbek infantry began to pour forth their arrows from every corner, so that very soon the claws of Islam twisted the hands of heresy and unbelief, and victory declared for the true faith. The victorious breezes of Islam overturned the banner of the schismatics. [The Turko-

156 A.B. S. Beveridge, *Bābur-nāma*, p. 354.

157 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, p. 246.

158 *Bābur-nāma*, pp. 261, 266, 268, 281-83.

māns] were so completely routed, that most of them perished on the field; all the rents that had been made by the swords at Karshī (Qarshī), were now sewn up with the arrow stitches of vengeance. They sent Mir Najm and all the Turkomān Amīrs to hell. The Emperor retired broken and crest-fallen to Hisar"¹⁵⁹ According to the Indian Mullā Badā'ūnī, Bābur shot an arrow into the Uzbek camp carrying the following couplet. It expressed his dissatisfaction with the Shāh and the rejection of Shī'ism:

'I made Najm Shāh road-stuff for the Uzbeks,
If I did wrong, [at any rate], I have now cleansed [my own] path.'

Badā'ūnī goes on to say that the following day when the two armies met, Bābur withdrew to one side, and the Qizilbāsh troops met their doom.¹⁶⁰

After his defeat Bābur returned to Hisār but 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān following his fallen adversary at his heels, re-captured Hisar. In the winter of 920/1514-15 Bābur returned to Kābul. After several reverses he seized Qandahār in Jumāda II 928/May 1522 and embarked upon the conquest of India. In Rajab 932/April 1526 he defeated the Afghān ruler Ibrāhīm Lodi at Panipat and in Jumāda I 933/March 1527 overthrew the formidable forces of the Rānā Sāngā, the hero of Rajasthan in the battle-field of Kanwah near Sikri. He became the Emperor of India but died on 6 Jumāda I 937/26 December 1530 at Agra.

His famous autobiography, the *Bābur-nāma* in Chaghtā'ī Turkish reveals his personality graphically. His father was deeply devoted to Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār (d. 895/1490) of the Naqshbandiyya order re-invigorated by Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389). 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār exercised immense political influence over the region and helped 'Umar Shaykh Mīrzā without reservation. On one occasion the Khwāja paid 250,000 *dinārs* (gold coins) and on another 70,000 *dinārs* to 'Umar Shaykh Mīrzā to relieve the Muslims of Tāshkent of a large part of their tax burden. The Khwāja's sons befriended the Bābur's uncles and cousins rather than their Uzbek rivals, undergoing considerable hardships under the Uzbek domination.¹⁶¹ Bābur was himself deeply devoted to Khwāja 'Ubaydu'llāh's teachings. He translated the *Risāla-i Waladiyya* by Khwāja 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār in order to popularize the Naqshbandiyya teachings. He also completed a *masnawī* entitled the *Mubayyan* dealing with the Hanafī *fiqh*. His Turkish *Diwān* mirrors his aesthetic and liberal mind. His own life story, however, goes a long way to showing Bābur as a versatile genius with a keen political acumen. No wonder that he did not hesitate to serve the orthodox Shī'ī Ismā'il in order

159 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 268.

160 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, I, p. 444.

161 *A history of Sūfism in India*, II, pp. 174-78.

to regain the possession of his homeland. The story of his betrayal of Najm Sāni, although believed both by the Īrānis and Indian Sunnis with different motives, does not conform with Bābur's nature and seems false. In India, he however got no time to crystallize a definite state policy. His army commanders were the Tūrāni Begs but some commanders of Iranian origin also accompanied him to India. Some of the Īrānis might have been Shi'is under *taqiyya*.

Humāyūn and Shi'ism

Bābur's eldest son and successor Nāsiru'd-Dīn Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh, born on 4 Zu'lqā'da 913/6 March 1508 at Kābul, inherited much of the Bābur's qualities of head and heart. He was ardently devoted to Shaykh Muhammad Phūl (d. 945/1538) and Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws (d. 970/1563) of the Indianized Shattāriyya order and ignored Khwāja Nūra, a grandson of Khwāja Nasiru'd-Dīn 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār who visited the Emperor to offer condolence at Bābur's death. The Khwāja's expectations of obtaining Humāyūn's patronage were belied and he left his court in frustration.¹⁶² An anecdote in the *Wāqi'āt-i Mushtāqi* by Shaykh Rizqu'llāh Mushtāqi, an uncle of the celebrated scholar of the *hadis*, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawi (d. 1052/1642) tends to show that Humāyūn was hostile to the Shi'is. The anecdote says that Humāyūn was told of an *imām* (leader) of his prayers of two years standing that the *imām* was seen in the company of the *Rāfizis* (Shi'is). The Emperor dismissed him and repeated all the prayers of two years again.¹⁶³

The anecdote might not be necessarily correct. It, nevertheless, shows that a sizeable section of Shi'is lived in Delhi and intellectuals moved in their company. Humāyūn might have dismissed his *Imām* and repeated two years prayers considering them to have been missed but he was not a bigoted Sunni like his uncle Mirzā Haydar or like his half-brother Mirzā Kāmran.

Humāyūn was an affectionate brother and loved his family members both close and distant dearly but he was not a successful general. The crushing defeat in the battle near Qanauj on 10 Muharram 947/17 May 1540 suffered by him against his formidable Afghān adversary Sher Shāh forced Humāyūn and his brothers to flee to the Panjab.

Sher Shāh Sūr (947-952/1540-45) carved out a strong Afghān empire extending from the frontiers of Kashmir, Multan and Upper Sind in the north-west to Bengal. He conquered Jodhpur, Ajmir, Abu and other Rajasthāni forts, introducing fiscal, civil and military reforms of far-reaching importance. He helped the Chaks of Kashmir in order to establish his

162 *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, pp. 399-400.

163 *Wāqi'āt-i Mushtāqi*, British Museum Ms., Rieu, II, 803b, p. 88.

overlordship over Kashmir. He ardently wished to annihilate the Qizilbāshes who blocked the pilgrim route to Mecca and had given rise to bigoted interference with Sunni-ism. Sher Shāh believed that he and the Ottoman Sultan of Rūm (Turkey) could encircle the Qizilbāshes, from opposite directions and annihilate the Shi'i rule of Iran.¹⁶⁴

The scheme was bizarre, nevertheless it indicates Sher Shāh's anti-Shi'i posture. Sher Shāh's preoccupation with war and the threat posed by the Mahdawī movement in his son Islām Shāh's (952-960/1545-52) reign gave Indian Shi'is a respite and they were not involved in any serious troubles.

Resuming our account of Humāyūn's misfortunes we find that he could not forge a workable unity among his ambitious brothers and cousins against Sher Shāh's bid to expel the Mughals out of India. From the Panjab, Humāyūn turned to Sind and Jodhpur respectively for help. Politically the trip was a failure but from the family point of view it was a great success. In Jumāda I 948/August-September 1541 Humāyūn married Hamīda Bānū Begum, a descendant of the revered saint Ahmad-i Jām Zanda Pil (d. 536/1141). On 5 Rajab 949/15 October 1542, in the desert fort of Amarkot she gave birth to Akbar who grew up to become the greatest Emperor of India. On 7 Muharram 950/13 April 1543, Humāyūn's most loyal general Bayram Khān joined him at Jūn, 75 miles south-west of Amarkot. By that time Raja Māldeo of Jodhpur who had earlier promised to help Humāyūn changed his mind. Forewarned of Māldeo's treachery by his envoys, Humāyūn turned towards Qandahār controlled by his half-brother Mirzā 'Askari. Near Qandahār he discovered that his own imprisonment at 'Askari's hands was imminent. He left baby Akbar with nurses and heavy baggages there and proceeded to seek help from the Shi'i Shāh Tahmāsp (930-984/1524-1576). It was great adventurism but there was no way out of the impasse for Humāyūn. The governor of Sistān under Shāh Tahmāsp gave Humāyūn a princely welcome. On his way to Hirāt Humāyūn received the answer of his letter written to Shāh Tahmāsp. The Shāh's invitation to visit him kindled in Humāyūn's mind hopes for a bright future. Detailed protocol instructions were issued by the Shāh to governors and the heads of the towns lying on Humāyūn's route from Hirāt to Qazwīn. Humāyūn visited Hirāt, travelled to Mashhad through Jām. He visited the shrine of Imām Rizā' and spent some days in the precincts of that holy structure. From thence to Shāh's camp Humāyūn stayed at Nishāpūr, Sabzwār, Bistām, Sūfiyābād (Simnān), and Ray (near Tehran). From Qazwīn the Emperor proceeded to Shāh's camp near Sultāniyya. In Jumāda I 951/July 1544 the Shāh accorded the Emperor a warm welcome. The Shāh promised Humāyūn the help he desired. Humāyūn presented to the Shāh the famous diamond acquired

164 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, I, p. 370.

by Bābur from Ibrāhīm Lodī. Abu'l Fazl says, "Without a doubt, all the expenditure which the Shāh, whether from his privy purse or through his officers, incurred on account of His Majesty Jahānbānī from the time of his entering the country to his exit therefrom was hereby repaid more than four times over."¹⁶⁵ Innumerable banquets and hunting expeditions were arranged. Bayram Khān was the spear-head in removing misunderstandings which emerged between Humāyūn's orthodox Sunni retinue and the Shāh's zealous Shi'is. The greatest help was Hamīda Bānū whose charm and tact had made her a fast friend of the Shāh's revered sister Sultān Begum. The Shāh's brother Bahrām Mirzā was, however, alienated from Humāyūn and the controversy over the catastrophe which fell on Najm Sānī and the Iranian auxiliary force placed at Bābur's disposal was reopened. Attempts were made to convince the Shāh that the treachery of Humāyūn's father Bābur was responsible for the ruthless destruction of the Iranians. Consequently no trust could be reposed in Humāyūn. Sultān Begum's rational arguments and persuasions assuaged the Shāh's passions. The Īrānis, however, believed that the orthodox Sunnis in Humāyūn's army were Khārijīs. It was impossible for Īrānī auxiliaries to fight for the cause of the Sunni Emperor. The Shāh therefore forced Humāyūn to embrace Shi'ism. According to Humāyūn's steward Jawhar Āftābchī, Humāyūn assured the Qāzi'ul-Quzāt Sadr-i Jahān that he was a sincere follower of the Prophet Muhammad's descendants and the impeccable Imāms. Sadr-i Jahān then brought three pieces of paper. He presented two pieces to Humāyūn who read them. Meanwhile the Shāh himself arrived near the tent and cursed the enemies of the Prophet Muhammad and those of the Imāms. The Shāh himself presented the third paper. Humāyūn read that and embraced Shi'ism.¹⁶⁶ Mullā 'Abdu'l Qādir Badā'ūnī who had read the *Tazkiratu'l-wāqī'āt* by Humāyūn's steward Jawhar Āftābchī and had made personal enquiries says that Humāyūn was reluctant to approve of the religious tenets of the Shi'as, and to all that which the later Shi'i writers had stated regarding the blessed companions of Muhammad. After prolonged discussions Humāyūn urged the Shāh's dignitaries to write down their beliefs on a sheet of paper. Accordingly they wrote and Humāyūn read them with a view to copying them and gave precedence in the *khutba*, after the custom of Iraq, to the recital of the names of the twelve Imāms.¹⁶⁷

165 *Akbar-nāma*, I, pp. 202-17; Bāyazīd Biyāt, *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 10-11, 32-34.

166 *Tazkiratu'l-wāqī'āt* with variations in manuscripts translated in Hindi; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Mughal kalīn Bhārat*, Aligarh, 1961, I, pp. 659-69.

167 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, I, p. 445.

It would seem that Humāyūn's devotion to the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and the Imāms had made the Shi'i and Sunni differences meaningless to him. He had earlier expressed his faith in his quartrains and verses and reiterated them to convince the Shāh and his dignitaries of his devotion to Imām 'Alī and his successors. To the Sunnis reading something written on a paper was not sacrilegious and amounted to conforming to the saying, "To imitate infidelity (without believing in it) is not infidelity at all."

The Shāh arranged more *qamargha* hunting expeditions and before his farewell awarded Bayram Khān the title of Khān. The list of 12,000 horsemen who had been seconded under Shāh's infant son, Prince Murād as Humāyūn's auxiliaries was presented to Humāyūn. A list of supplies placed at Humāyūn's disposal was also made available. The list of the officers indicates that the best Turkomān leaders were appointed the commanders of the auxiliary force. About 300 cuirassiers of the Shāh's body-guard belonging to the descendants of the Turkomān prisoners released by Timūr at Shaykh Sadru'd-Dīn's recommendations were also despatched.¹⁶⁸ Humāyūn ordered the auxiliaries to join him at the Helmand river. He himself marched leisurely. Visiting Tabriz, Ardabil, Khalkhāl, Sabzwār and other important towns he once again paid his homage at Imām Rizā's shrine in Mashhad. The '*ulamā'* of Mashhad called on him and he held pleasant religious discussions with them.¹⁶⁹ From thence he went to Sistān where Prince Murād and Shāh's officers joined him. Both Mirzā 'Askarī and Kāmran were taken aback. 'Askarī sent Akbar to Kābul. Humāyūn marched from Sistān and seized Bust. On 7 Muharram 952/21 March 1545 he reached Qandahār and besieged the fort. Bayram Khān was sent to Kābul to persuade Mirzā Kāmran to surrender. The strength of the mud walls of the Qandahār fort protracted the siege but the Turkomān sorties disconcerted the garrison. On 25 Jumāda II 952/3 September 1545 'Askarī surrendered. According to the terms with the Shāh the fort was made over to the Iranians. Before long the Turkomān troops became restless and according to the Mughal sources were terribly harsh to the local population. According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, the public recital of *tabarra* by Turkomān troopers intensely offended the Sunnis.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile the Shāh's son also died. Humāyūn could not move to Kābul leaving Qandahār into a mess. Consequently, his commanders at his order made a surprise entry into the fort. Although the Turkomān commander was permitted to leave, Iranians were slaughtered indiscriminately. Humāyūn made over

168 *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, pp. 51-55; *Akbar-nāma*, I, pp. 221-24.

169 *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, p. 38.

170 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, I, pp. 442-43.

Qandahār to Bayram Khān and wrote to the Shāh that violation of the Shāh's orders by Turkomān commanders had forced him to transfer the command of Qandahār to the Shāh's own vassal Bayram Khān.¹⁷¹ Humāyūn's apologies could not, however, absolve him of ungratefulness to the Shāh of Iran.

Humāyūn marched towards Kābul. Mirzā Kāmran's supporters lost heart and a large number of them deserted their master. On 12 Ramazān 952/17 November 1545 Humāyūn seized Kābul. Kāmran fled to Bhakkar ruled by his father-in-law Shāh Hasan Arghūn. Humāyūn conquered Badakhshān but before he could return to Kābul, it was again surprised and seized by Kāmran. Humāyūn hastened back to Kābul and recaptured it on 7 Rabi' I 954/27 April 1547. Kāmran who could not withstand the siege fled. His desperate effort to recapture Kābul, was successful more than once but he could not maintain his hold over it. In 959/1552 he visited Sher Shāh's successor Islām Shāh (952-960/1545-52) to obtain assistance but finding his imprisonment imminent, he escaped and sought refuge with Gakkhar chief Ādam. The latter made him over to Humāyūn who reluctantly blinded him at the end of 960/November-December 1553. He was allowed to depart for Mecca where he died on 11 Zu'lhijja 964/5 October 1557.

Like Mirzā Kāmran, Humāyūn's second brother Mirzā 'Askari was also not reconciled to Humāyūn's rule. He was a staunch supporter of Mirzā Kāmran. When Mirzā Kāmran recaptured Kābul in 957/1550 he assigned Jū'i Shāhi (Jalālābād) to 'Askari. When Humāyūn again expelled Kāmran from Kābul, 'Askari was taken captive and banished to Mecca. In 965/1558 he died between Mecca and Syria.

Humāyūn's youngest brother Mirzā Hindāl was also rebellious. When Humāyūn marched from Qandahār to seize Kābul, Hindāl surrendered and in future did not waver in his loyalty. In Zu'lhijja 958/November 1551 he was killed in a surprise attack by Mirzā Kāmran's soldiers to the great shock of Humāyūn and his sister Gulbadan Begum.

Humāyūn's nine years rule in Kābul was a period of un-ending military expeditions and frustrations but it totally eliminated his formidable rivals. His military expeditions did not give him much needed rest; nevertheless he did not neglect his astronomical studies and other intellectual pursuits. A number of Iranian scholars and artists who had found his company attractive during his visit to their towns moved to Kābul and some of them permanently settled down to the Mughal court. The arrival of Mawlanā Ilyās of Ardabil and Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim Jūzjāni at Kābul from Iran was a matter of great delight to the Emperor. He discussed with them the

171 *Akbar-nāma*, I, pp. 446-48.

Durratū't-tāj,¹⁷² an encyclopaedia of philosophy and sciences by Mawlānā Qutbu'd-Dīn Shirāzi, one of the leading disciples of Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī. Both Mawlānā Ilyās and Shaykh Abu'l-Qāsim were apparently Shi'is.

Humāyūn had met Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad of Shirāz whose father Khwāja Nizāmu'l-Mulk was a minister of Shāh Shujā' of Shirāz. He had met Humāyūn in Tabriz. The fame he had already obtained as a painter and calligraphist prompted Humāyūn to invite him to his court. 'Abdu's-Samad reported to the Emperor in Kābul. There he made exquisite miniatures on rice and on paper. Humāyūn commissioned him to teach painting to Akbar. Although Akbar paid no attention to reading and writing he took keen interest in the painting lessons.

Along with Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad, the famous Irāni painter Mir Sayyid 'Alī also joined Humāyūn's court at Kābul. Humāyūn was proud of both and sent their miniatures to Rashīd Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar giving a detailed account of their artistic achievements.¹⁷³

The Irāni commanders and soldiers who had chosen to stay back in Qandahār were placed under the control of Bayram Khān. Humāyūn's commanders and contingents were largely leaders of Sunnī tribal groups of Transoxiana and Kābul.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless the orthodox Sunnī parents of some of them had given them names such as 'Alī or Haydar. Some orthodox Sunnīs considered them Shi'is. For example, after Humāyūn's conquest of Kābul Shaykh Hamīd, a famous commentator of religious works, who enjoyed the Emperor's ardent devotion called on him. The names of Humāyūn's soldiers shocked him and he was unable to control his passions and asked Humāyūn whether his entire army consisted of Rāfizis (Shi'is). Humāyūn requested the Shaykh to spell out reasons for forming such an opinion. He said, "Everywhere the names of your soldiers are of this kind: Yār 'Alī (Friend of 'Alī), Kashf 'Alī (shoe of 'Alī), Haydar 'Alī (Lion of 'Alī). I have not found a single man bearing the name of any other companion." Humāyūn who was holding his drawing pencil flew in rage and dashing it on the ground said, "The name of my grandfather himself was 'Umar Shaykh and I know no more than this." He went into his harem but when his passions seem to have cooled

172 The *Durratū't-tāj* in Persian, by Qutbu'd-Dīn Mahmūd bin Mas'ūdu'sh-Shirāzi, the most profound among Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī's disciple, is an encyclopaedia of philosophy and sciences. The principal chapters deal with logic, philosophy, physics, mathematics, metaphysics, the fundamental and the secondary principles of faith, ethics and rules of religious life; *Supra*, p. 124.

173 *Akbar-nāma*, I, 221.

174 *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, pp. 68-69.

down he returned and calmly explained to the Shaykh the purity of his Sunnī faith.¹⁷⁵

Before long, however, Humāyūn got the opportunity to reconquer India. Sher Shāh's successor Islām Shāh was unable to crush the scramble of Afghan tribal groups to extend their power at the cost of the centre. After the death of Islām Shāh in Zu'lqa'da 960/October 1552 three Afghan Sultans nominally ruled the Delhi sultanate but the real power was wielded by one Himū of the Dhūsar caste of Vaishyas. The prevailing confusion and disorder enabled Humāyūn to seize Sirhind in Rajab 962/May 1555 and to re-enter Delhi victoriously on 4 Ramazān 962/23 July 1555.

Humāyūn was convinced of the inability of the Tūrānis to collaborate with Irānis even to re-conquer India. He, therefore, made three divisions of his army. The biggest under his own self-comprised 202 officers. Of these not more than fifteen were Irānis or Shi'is. The second division consisting of 56 officers was placed under Akbar. Of these only half a dozen were Irānis or Shi'is. The third contingent was placed under Bayram Khān. It consisted of 54 officers who were, with the exception of about six, Irānis.¹⁷⁶ Humāyūn marched with his own army to seize Delhi. Akbar and Bayram Khān were left in the Panjab to crush the Afghan leaders who were still in arms. In Delhi Humāyūn rightly felt that the scramble for independence by his Tūrānī Begs would never enable him to establish a strong central empire. Consequently, Humāyūn planned to make several seats of government at Delhi, Agra, Jaunpur, Mandu, Lahore, Qanauj and at other suitable places with independent governors. He himself wished to rule at Delhi commanding 12,000 troopers.¹⁷⁷

Before he could implement his bizarre scheme, he died on 13-14 Rabi' I 963/26-7 January 1556. It was left to his son Akbar who assumed the title, Abu'l Fath Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh and his tutor Bayram Khān to fight against Himū who had seized Delhi from the fickle-minded Tūrānī generals and to re-establish the Mughal central rule in the face of divisive leadership of Tūrānī Begs.

Long before north India entered into a new era of Akbar's reign of peace and concord with all religious communities of India, a new dimension was added to the Indian Shi'ism by Sayyid Rājū bin Sayyid Hāmid al-Husaynī al-Bukhārī. His missionary activities extended from Balūchistān and Sind to Multan. He was also influential among the Bukhārī Sayyids who had descended from Sayyid Jalāl Bukhārī Surkh (Red) a disciple of Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyya of Multan (d. 661/1262),

175 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, I, pp. 468-69.

176 *Tazkira-i Humāyūn wa Akbar*, pp. 176-87.

177 *Akbar-nāma*, I, p. 356.

the founder of the Suhrawardiyya order in India. Sayyid Jalāl Surkh's grandsons Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī known as Makhdūm Jahā-niyān (d. 785/1384) and his younger brother Sayyid Rājū Qattāl (d. 847/1443-44), rose to great eminence in Uch. They were orthodox Sunnis but some of their descendants embraced Shi'ism. Sayyid Rājū seems to have converted some Sunnis of Multan to Shi'ism.¹⁷⁸ Among the Indian Shi'is Sayyid Rājū pioneered the movement against *taqiyya*. According to him it was responsible for the conversion of the sons and grandsons of Shi'i parents to the Khārijī or Sunnī faith. When Humāyūn settled down in Delhi again, Sayyid Rājū went to call on him. The fame of Sayyid Rājū had already impressed Humāyūn. He decided to accord him a befitting reception but Makhdūmu'l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūri, about whom we shall soon learn more, prevented the Emperor to do so on the ground, that the Sayyid was an innovator and irreligious. Were the Emperor to show him respect, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk added, confusion in the Sunnī faith and disorder in the newly founded empire would arise. The Emperor replied that he wished to accord reception to a Sayyid and a member of the Prophet's family,¹⁷⁹ but in the interest of the faith he would reverse his decision. In fact Humāyūn was more concerned with the stability of his empire than with the faith. Makhdūmu'l-Mulk identified the Sunnī faith with empire and persecuted all those who in his view had departed from orthodox Sunnī-ism of his brand in the name of the stability of the empire. Naturally Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī always used harsh language against Makhdūmu'l-Mulk.

By the sixteenth century a group of Shi'is known as Siddiqiyyas had also emerged. They were the descendants of Ismā'il son of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. Consequently they called themselves Siddiqis. This made the Sunnis believe that the Siddiqis were descendants of Abū Bakr Siddiq. By the sixteenth century the Siddiqis had abandoned the Ismā'ili faith and adopted Isnā 'Asharī Shi'ism. According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī they numbered about 30,000 and lived in Multan, Lahore, Delhi and Gujarat. Their main profession was trade and commerce.¹⁸⁰

Shi'ism in Akbar's Reign

The history of Shi'ism in Akbar's (963-1014/1556-1605) reign may be divided into three parts: Firstly Shi'ism during the regency of Bayram Khān ending in Jumāda II 967/March 1560, secondly Shi'ism under the dominance of Makhdūmu'l-Mulk which ended in 987/1579, thirdly Shi'ism until the end of Akbar's reign.

178 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 64.

179 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

180 *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Akbar's tutor and protector Bayram Khān bin Sayf 'Alī belonged to the Bahārlū clan of the Shi'i Qarā Qoyūnlū Turkomān tribe. The latter had established their power around the region north of Lakes Van and Urmia in northern Iran. Bayram was the fifth in descent from Mīr 'Alī Shukr Beg Bahārlū¹⁸¹ who under the dominance of Qarā Yūsuf (809-823/1406-20) and his sons Iskandar (823-841/1420-38) and Jahān Shāh (841-72/1438-67) held Diynūr, Hamadān and Kurdistān.¹⁸² Not only the Qarā-Qoyūnlūs but the Timūrid Sultan Abū Sa'id (855-73/1451-69) of Khurāsān and Transoxiana held matrimonial alliances with 'Alī Shukr's son Pir 'Alī Beg. The latter had to share the misfortune of the Qarā-Qoyūnlū who were annihilated by the Sunnī Āq Qoyūnlū. Pir 'Alī served under different princes. In the reign of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī, Pir 'Alī's son Yār Beg left Iran and settled in Badakhshān. Finally he and his son Sayf 'Alī Beg entered into Bābur's service. Sayf 'Alī died during his son Bayram Khān's childhood. Bayram moved from Badakhshān to Balkh where he completed his education. When he was sixteen years old he called on the Emperor Bābur and was given a princely reception. At Humāyūn's request Bābur assigned him to his care, eulogising the eminent role played by Bayram's ancestors in history.¹⁸³ Bayram fought valiantly in the battle near Qanauj but after Humāyūn's defeat he fled to the Raja of Lakhnor (Sambhal). From thence he made his way to Gujarat narrowly escaping death at the hands of Sher Shāh. Finally he joined Humāyūn and served Humāyūn with intense devotion until the latter's death. Humāyūn gave him the lofty titles of *yār-i wafādār* (the faithful friend), *barādar-i nikū siyar* (noble brother) and *Farzand-i Sa'adatmand* (auspicious son). In 963/1555 Humāyūn made Bayram Khān the guardian of Prince Akbar and commissioned them to suppress Sikandar Khān Sūr who had been still ruling independently in the Panjab hills. After receiving the news of Humāyūn's death, Bayram Khān dealt with the challenging problems firmly and tactfully. He promptly crowned Akbar as king at Kalanaur on 2 Rabī' II 963/14 February 1556. Akbar appointed Bayram Khān the *wakilū's saltanat* (prime minister). This position made Bayram Khān the sole controller of the state affairs. Bayram prudently had Humāyūn's favourite Shāh Abu'l Ma'ālī, a Sayyid of Tirmiz, imprisoned. He got Tardī Beg Khān, the viceroy of Delhi who had failed to defend the capital against Himū's onslaught and had been waiting for an opportunity to overthrow him (Bayram), executed.¹⁸⁴ On 10 Muharram 964/13 November 1556 Himū was defeated at the battle-field of Panipat and killed. Akbar addressed Bayram

181 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī*, Calcutta, 1924, I, p. 11.

182 *Ibid.*, I, p. 48.

183 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 64-65, II, pp. 1-2.

184 *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 32.

as Khān Bābā and his title was the Khān-i Khānān.¹⁸⁵ Akbar married Salīma Sultān Begum, one of Humāyūn's nieces to Bayram. This was done in fulfilment of Humāyūn's earlier promise to Bayram. Begum was a descendant both of Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband and 'Alī Shukr.¹⁸⁶ Salīma's own intellectual achievements and political far-sightedness were superb. The wedlock was a priceless reward to Bayram Khān's services.

For four years Bayram Khān performed the uphill task of reorganising and extending the boundaries of the empire then in a shambles. Before long the Tūrānī leadership alienated Akbar from his protector. Akbar himself wished to rule independently. Helped by his wet-nurse Māham Anaga and her supporters, Akbar left Agra in March 1560 ostensibly on a hunting trip and arrived in Delhi and assumed the reins of government. Bayram left for Mecca. From Nagor he sent back his official *insignia* to Akbar who conferred it on Pīr Muhammad Khān. Bayram had raised Pīr Muhammad to the status of a noble but the latter's pride had become intolerable to his patron. Bayram had ordered him to leave for pilgrimage. Akbar's supporters showed incredible haste and indiscretion in despatching Bayram to Mecca. Bayram could not tolerate their excesses. He resolved to teach them a lesson but was defeated near the village Gunachur south-east of Jalandhar. He took refuge under Raja Ganesha of Talwara in Siwalik hills. Akbar proceeded towards Siwalik. In Muharram 968/September 1560 Bayram surrendered. Akbar pardoned him and allowed him to leave for Mecca.¹⁸⁶ On 14 Jumāda I 968/31 January 1561 he was stabbed to death by an Afghan on the Sahansa Lang Lake near Patan. He was buried not far from the site of his death but later on his dead body was transferred to the holy precincts of Imām Rizā' in Mashhad. Bayram's four years' old son 'Abdu'r-Rahīm was sent to Akbar's court.¹⁸⁷

The modern historians accuse Bayram Khān of introducing the pro-Shi'i policies in India. Bayram Khān's Qarā Qoyūnlū ancestors were Shi'is but Bayram Khān himself was brought up in Badakhshān and Balkh and from the young age of sixteen lived under the care of Humāyūn. It would seem that he might have obtained elementary Shi'i education under his father Sayf 'Alī Beg or through his other relations. In Humāyūn's court Bayram Khān could hardly get any opportunities to obtain Shi'i training. His perceptive mind might have collected the truths of Shi'ism from Sunnī works which he studied from his Sunnī teachers in Badakhshān. As a poet he lyrically expressed his ardent love for 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt.

185 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

186 *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmī*, II, pp. 35-36.

187 *Akbar-nāma*, II, pp. 131-32.

His stay in Shāh Tahmāsp's court and in Qandahār seems to have sharpened his perception of Shi'ism. A passing remark by Abu'l-Fazl in connection with hostilities between Bayram Khān and Tardi Beg suggests that both belonged to different religious sects. He says, "Each, too regarded points of bigotry as of the essence of religion, and made them additional reasons for matching for opportunities to ruin one another."¹⁸⁸

The military and civil dignitaries appointed or promoted by Bayram Khān were largely Tūrānis and Sunnis. Indeed Bayram Khān's first *sadr* Mīr 'Abdu'l Hayy belonged to Mashhad. For some time he was a *sadr* under Humāyūn, his brother Mīr 'Abdu'llāh the jurist was also Humāyūn's intimate and specially honoured confidant. According to Mullā Badā'ūnī both brothers were exceedingly pious and holy.¹⁸⁹ 'Abdu'l Hayy, however, did not attend prayers with the Sunnī congregations. Abu'l-Fazl's father Shaykh Mubārak wrote a note to the Mīr giving him advice on religious matters and among other things, he advised him to attend prayers with Sunnī congregations. Mīr 'Abdu'l Hayy presumed that the Shaykh accused him of being a Shi'i. Consequently he lodged complaints against Shaykh Mubārak with Bayram Khān. It would seem that the Mīr's contemporaries also thought him to be a Shi'i.¹⁹⁰ Bayram Khān in deference to public opinion or because of his friendship replaced him with Shaykh Gadā'i. Akbar re-appointed Mīr 'Abdu'l-Hayy in his judicial and religious ministry. In the 35th year of the Emperor's reign the *sadr*'s-*sudūr* Sadr-i Jahān and Mīr 'Abdu'l Hayy who was *mīr 'adl* took part in a drinking bout to the great amusement of Akbar and his favourites. He seems to have had a very long life.¹⁹¹ In the *Ā'in-i Akbari* completed in 1597-98, the Mīr is mentioned as a *mansabdār* of 500. The Mīr was an expert in the difficult Bāburī script and was a poet. According to Akbar's foster brother Mirzā 'Aziz Koka, the Mīr was not proficient in Bāburī Script. Badā'ūnī also endorses the Mirzā's views but his views¹⁹² about the Mīr's piety are irreconcilable with the Mīr's drinking bouts.

Bayram Khān's second *sadr* Shaykh Gadā'i has been accused of Shi'ism by modern scholars. Smith says, "In the third year of the reign (1558-9) a person named Shaikh Gadā'i, son of a Delhi versifier, and a member of the Shi'a sect was appointed at the protector's instance to the exalted

188 *Akbar-nāma*, I, p. 32, tr. by H. Beveridge; the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu'l-Fazl, II, New Delhi, 1979, second Indian reprint, p. 51.

189 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 273.

190 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 67-68.

191 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 582. Akbar himself recited the following verse:

In the era of the fault-forgiving king,

The Qāzī drained flagons, the Mūftī quaffed cups.

192 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 273-74.

office of *sadr-i sudūr*, and thus, as Badāoni remarks, was 'put over the heads of all the magnates of Hindustan and Khurāsān'. Smith goes on to say, "The appointment of a Shi'a to a position so important naturally gave extreme offence to the orthodox Sunni courtiers, and had much to do with the subsequent fall of Bairam Khān, who was hated as being a Shi'a. Badāoni makes the elevation of Shaikh Gadā'i the theme of his most bitter gibes and venomous puns. The Shaikh enjoyed his much envied dignity until the fall of his patron, Bairam Khān, when he shared the minister's disgrace."¹⁹³

According to Āshirbādi Lāl Srivāstava, Shaykh Gadā'i was "an arrogant upstart, on whom the *Khān-i Khānān* (Bayram Khān) had so much reliance that in political and financial matters he did nothing without consulting him". Enumerating the reasons for Bayram Khān's fall, Srivāstava says, "Sixthly, the appointment of Shaikh Gadā'i, a Shi'a divine, to the important office of the chief *sadr* caused the greatest offence to the Sunni court and the nobility, who suspected that the prime minister's policy was of deliberate abasement of Sunnism and the promotion of the interest of his own religion, Shi'ism. Heaping insult on such widely venerated Sunni saints as Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus lent colour to this suspicion."¹⁹⁴

A. S. Bazmee Ansāri, who is better acquainted with Islamic religious and literary works than Smith and Srivāstava, also toes the line set by V. Smith. He writes in his article on Bayram Khān in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, "Bayram committed a tactical mistake in appointing Shaykh Gadā'i Kamboh of Delhi, a bigoted Shi'i, as *sadr-i sudūr* in 966/1558-59. This caused great resentment among the people and the Tūrāni nobles, who were almost all of them Sunnis, and al-Badā'ūni (Eng. trans. II 22-4) makes it the peg on which to hang his 'most bitter gibes and venomous puns'." Ansāri also says that one of the reasons for Akbar's alienation against Bayram Khān was the elevation of members of the Shi'i sect to state offices.¹⁹⁵

Shaykh Gadā'i's Shi'ism is the figment of modern scholars' imagination for he was the eldest son of Shaykh Hamīd bin Fazlu'llāh known as Dervish Jamāli Kamboh Dihlawī. Shaykh Jamāli was the disciple of the celebrated Suhrawardiyya *sūfi*, Shaykh Samā'u'd-Dīn (d. 901/1496). Both Sultans Bahlūl Lodi (855-94/1451-89) and Sikandar Lodi (894-923/1489-1517) deeply respected Shaykh Samā'u'd-Dīn. At Shaykh Samā'u'd-Dīn's instigation Jamāli carved out for himself a distinguished position both at the courts of the Afghans, and the Mughals. Jamāli was passionately fond of travelling. He visited all the important Arab, Iranian,

193 Smith, V. A., *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1917, p. 42.

194 Āshirbādi Lāl Srivāstava, *Akbar the Great*, Agra, 1972, second revised edition, pp. 33, 37.

195 E. I.², p. 1136.

'Irāqī, Central Asian, Egyptian and African towns. He arrived at Hirāt before Jāmi's death on 9 November, 1492 and held interesting discussions with the great mystic poet. Sultan Sikandar Lodi was an ardent admirer of Jamāli but the favourites of Sikandar Lodi's successor Ibrāhīm Lodi (923-32/1517-26) alienated Jamāli with the Sultan. Jamāli wrote a panegyric on Bābur. Humāyūn highly respected him. Jamāli accompanied Humāyūn on his Gujarat campaign and died on 10 Zu'lqa'da 942/1 May 1536. The massive collections of his poems are the monument of his fame but his biographical dictionary of the Indian *sūfis*, particularly the Suhrawardiyyas is very famous. It is entitled the *Siyarū'l-'arīfīn*.¹⁹⁶

Although the younger son of Jamāli, Shaykh 'Abdu'l Hayy by name was loyal to Sher Shāh, Jamāli's eldest son Shaykh Gadā'i was devoted to Humāyūn. After Humāyūn's flight from Delhi, the Shaykh moved to Gujarat and helped Bayram Khān to escape to join Humāyūn in Sind. Gadā'i performed pilgrimage to Mecca and was able to join Akbar's court before his victory against Hīmū. According to Badā'ūnī, Shaykh Gadā'i with others urged Akbar to execute Hīmū.¹⁹⁷ Bayram Khān replaced him with Mīr 'Abdu'l Hayy. Although Bayram repaid his debt of gratitude by elevating Shaykh Gadā'i to the position of *sadrū's-sudūr*, the Shaykh was by no means an unknown personality. Both he and his father were high dignitaries of Humāyūn's court long before Bayram Khān assumed the supreme control of the Government. None of the scholars who call Shaykh Gadā'i a Shi'i seems to have paused to consider how and when Jamāli's son embraced Shi'ism. As a *sadr* Gadā'i promoted the interest of the Suhrawardiyyas and Chishtiyyas. He ruthlessly resumed the *madad-i ma'āsh* grants of the Afghan's religious dignitaries to the *khālisa* which they had obtained under their Afghan rulers. Although Suhrawardiyyas were hostile to *samā'* (*sūfi* music) Shaykh Gadā'i regularly organized *samā'* parties. These were attended by eminent courtiers of Akbar including Bayram Khān who loved poetry and music. The Emperor also attended these parties. Naturally sycophants and parasites also flocked there. Not only were the court dignitaries but the *sūfi* Shaykhs, who are called by Badā'ūnī as "servile in disposition, and low-minded", also belonged to the class of sycophants. Those who were left behind in the race of servile flattery and suffered worldly losses were annoyed and wrote insulting verses against Shaykh Gadā'i. The verses also do not indicate that Gadā'i was accused of Shi'ism. Badā'ūnī quotes the following verse :

"Mention not Gadā'i's name, eat not his bread,
Since beggary (Gadā'i) is bad, Gadā'i's face is black."

196 *A history of sūfism in India*, I, pp. 201-2, 206, 214, 277, 285-88, 308.

197 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, II, p. 16.

Badā'ūnī ascribes Shaykh Gadā'ī's indifference to the famous Shattāriyya leader Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws "to jealousy, hypocrisy and envy" customary with the Indian *sūfis*. That may not be necessarily correct. Shaykh Gadā'ī knew that Humāyūn's devotion to Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws and his elder brother Shaykh Phūl was hated by the *sūfis* and 'ulamā'. In Gujarat Shaykh Ghaws' *Risāla-i Mi'rājīyya* describing the circumstances of his own exaltation in his waking moments to Divine proximity and his own interview and conversation with the Lord had aroused fierce storm of opposition against the Shaykh. Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws had arrived in Agra with state and pomp and wished to assert his religious supremacy over the newly-founded empire. Shaykh Gadā'ī humiliated Shaykh Ghaws by posing awkward questions on the *Risāla-i Mi'rājīyya*. Shaykh Muhammad Ghaws returned to Gwalior broken-hearted.

In 966/1559 Bayram Khān dismissed his protege Mullā Pir Muhammad Khān because of misunderstandings and replaced him with one of his old servants, Hājji Muhammad Khān Sistānī. According to Abu'l-Fazl, Shaykh Gadā'ī's influence over Bayram Khān had made the former a real *wakil* (prime minister). Shaykh Gadā'ī urged Bayram Khān to fight against his enemies firmly but the Khān did not agree. The noblemen were hostile to Shaykh Gadā'ī, for his dominance was a threat to their political career and not because of his alleged Shi'ism. After the assassination of Bayram Khān on 31 January 1561, Shaykh Gadā'ī lived in the mountainous region of Jaisalmir for fear of his life. Before long Akbar pardoned him and he returned to Delhi and was content to be supported by a minor *madad-i ma'āsh*. At Delhi his *samā'* parties again filled the capital with the spiritual music. On the death anniversaries of the eminent *sūfis* his *samā'* parties fervently bewitched the heart of the Delhi mystics. In 977/1569-70 Shaykh Gadā'ī died. Although he was entitled to use the venerated title Hājji, because of performing a pilgrimage to Mecca. Shaykh Gadā'ī's memory was vilified by his enemies. The chronogram of his death was:

You are dead you great hog.¹⁹⁸

Conversely both the *sūfis* and 'ulamā' respectfully treasured the memory of Bayram Khān. Both Shaykh Rizqu'llāh Mushtāqī and his nephew Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī were deeply impressed with the piety of Bayram Khān. Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq wrote, "Khān-i Khānān Muhammad Bayram Khān despite his exalted office, magnificence and glory exhibited humility, devotion and love to the dervishes. He was

198 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, p. 37, 39, 120; *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, III, pp. 76-77, 4-6; *A history of Sūfism in India*, II, pp. 59-60, 155-71.

exceedingly magnanimous and hospitable to them. He was endowed with unique ability to show respect to the Divine command and kindness to the Divine creatures.¹⁹⁹ He led his life like fortunate lovers of God and met his death by martyrdom." His dead body was buried in Shaykh Husāmu'd-Dīn's tomb near Sahasling in Patan (Gujarat). Among the articles plundered by the Afghan assassin there was a standard worked with pearls and gems which the Khān-i Khānān had made and intended to send it to the shrine of Imām-i Rizā'. Seventeen years later his body was interred in the holy ground of Mashhad. Mullā Badā'ūni says, "The Khān-i Khānān always had a sympathetic heart, and was devoted to the words of the Great Shaykhs and in his noble company the talk was ever of the word of God, and the word of the Prophet..... Moreover Friday's prayers and attendance at the mosque were never neglected by him."²⁰⁰

It would seem that he performed prayers behind Sunnī *imāms* and visited Sunnī dervishes and holymen. His Shi'ism was confined to his private life. It never interfered with his state duties. He was more like Mir 'Abdu'l-Latif Qazwīnī who arrived in India in the first year of Akbar's reign with his talented son Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn (later Naqīb Khān). The Mir was a Sayfi Sayyid of Qazwīn. He and his father Mir Yahya were known as bigoted Sunnīs in Iran and were considered as the leaders of the Sunnīs of Qazwīn. Shāh Tahmāsp imprisoned Yahya at Isfahān where he died eighteen months later in 962/1555. Humāyūn had called on Mir Yahya²⁰¹ at Qazwīn and enjoyed his company. Naturally his son 'Abdu'l Latif took shelter in India. Bayram Khān appointed him Akbar's tutor. Abu'l-Fazl who was deeply impressed with the intellectual attainments of Mir 'Abdu'l-Latif says, "From his lack of bigotry and his broadmindedness he was called in India a Shi'i and in Persia a Sunnī. In fact he was journeying on towards the serene city of universal tolerance and so the zealots of each sect used to censure him."²⁰² Bayram Khān's encomiums on Imām 'Alī were, however, deeply emotional. For example one of his verses on Imām 'Alī says,

"Though a king be so great that his crown towers over the nine heavens.

If he be not the slave of 'Alī let dust be cast upon his head."²⁰³

199 *Akhhāru'l-akhbār*, p. 53.

200 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 42, III, pp. 191-92.

201 Mir Yahya bin 'Abdu'l-Latif al-Husaynī al-Sayfī al-Qazwīnī was imprisoned by Shāh Tahmāsp in 960/1552-53 because of his alleged leadership of Sunnīs of Qazwīn. In 962/1555 he died in the Isfahān jail. His son 'Alā'u'd-Dawlā Kāmī Qazwīnī, the author of the *Nafā'isu'l-ma'āsir* was also a distinguished scholar. Yahya was the author of a general history in Persian entitled the *Lubbu't-tawārikh*.

202 *Akbar-nāma*, II, 20; Bev. II, 35.

203 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, III, p. 791; Haig, p. 266.

Bayram Khān's dominance, however, saved Shi'is from the persecution by bigoted Sunni dignitaries. The rise of the Uzbeks in Central Asia and the Safawids in Iran and constant changes in government had made life from Hirāt to Tabriz precarious. During the domination of 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek over Khurāsān the Shi'is were ruthlessly slaughtered. When Shāh Tahmāsp in turn seized power in the region he did not spare Sunnis.²⁰⁴ The frequent movement of armies both in eastern Iran and Central Asia had made the life of the intellectuals singularly difficult. The Sunnis from Central Asia were proud of the Tīmūrid rule over India. The Sunnis of Khurāsān were the descendants of the dignitaries of the Tīmūrids of Khurāsān. They also were equally proud of the Indian Tīmūrids. Along with them the Shi'is under *taqiyya* sneaked into India for a peaceful living. Bayram Khān was not necessarily partial to them but their talents and loyalty made them indispensable to Akbar. For some years Bayram Khān's loyal dignitaries and relations were relegated to background. Before long they, however, rose to eminence again by sheer dint of merit. Bigoted Sunni domination of Makhdūmu'l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūri and that of *sadrū's-sudūr* Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī could not eliminate Shi'ism.

Makhdūmu'l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūri belonged to the family of the Ansārs; his ancestors had settled at Sultanpur in the Panjab. Before his flight from India Humāyūn had given him considerable power and awarded him the title of Makhdūmu'l-Mulk. Islām Shāh believed that Bābur had five sons. Four of them (Humāyūn, Kāmrān, 'Askari and Hindāl) had left India but the fifth one (Makhdūmu'l-Mulk) was still living in India. One of his dignitaries asked him the reason for associating with such a treacherous person. Islām Shāh said that no better man than Makhdūmu'l-Mulk was available. Islām Shāh invited Makhdūmu'l-Mulk to sit upon his throne and gave him valuable presents.²⁰⁵

After Humāyūn's return to Kābul from Iran, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk re-established contacts with him through merchants. When Humāyūn approached Lahore, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk, along with other '*ulamā'* and *sūfis* went outside the walls to welcome him. Makhdūmu'l-Mulk quarrelled with Hājji Mahdī an eminent '*ālim* for precedence and Humāyūn's attempt to make peace between them failed.²⁰⁶ Makhdūmu'l-Mulk again became Humāyūn's favourite. He accompanied Humāyūn to Delhi but he also made intrigues with Sikandar Sūr who had collected considerable Afghan forces in the Panjab hills. When the Mughal army under Akbar and Bayram Khān marched to give battle to Hīmū, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk wrote treacherous letters to Sikandar. He himself moved to Lahore.

204 Hasan-i Rumlū, *Ahsanū't-tawārikh*, Baroda, 1931, I, pp. 265-82.

205 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, I, p. 416.

206 *Tazkiratu'l-wāqi'āt* in S. A. A. Rizvi, *Mughul-kālīn Bhārat*, Humāyūn, Aligarh, 1961, I, p. 719.

The Afghan bands of Sikandar became a potent threat to the Mughal rule. Khizr Khwāja Khān, who was made governor of the Panjab, made Hājji Muhammad Khān Sistāni a protege of Bayram Khān his deputy and himself marched against Sikandar. When intrigues of Makhdūmu'l-Mulk were confirmed, Hājji Muhammad Khān Sistāni imprisoned him, and put him in earth upto his navel, and brought out from the ground gold bricks which Makhdūmu'l-Mulk had buried under the pretence that they were dead bodies.²⁰⁷ At the end of the second year of Akbar's reign, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk retrieved his importance by persuading a Gakkhar chief, Ādam by name to submit to the Emperor. According to the *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngiri*, Bayram Khān sent Hājji Muhammad to apologize to Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and compensated him with a land grant worth a lac of rupees.²⁰⁸ Makhdūmu'l-Mulk played an active role in organizing Bayram Khān's final submission to Akbar. He took part in a number of important political missions.

Makhdūmu'l-Mulk had acquired an adequate knowledge of Arabic, *hadis* and *fiqh*. He wrote a book called the *Ismat-i Anbiyā'* and a commentary on the *Shamā'ilu'n-Nabi*.²⁰⁹ He was the first Indian 'ālim to write a book on the Shī'i-Sunni polemics. It is in Arabic and is entitled the *Minhājū'd-Din wa mi'rājū'l-Muslimīn*.²¹⁰ The date of its compilation is not known but *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa fi'r-radd 'alā' ahli'l-rafd wa'l-zandaqa* by ibn Hajar al-Haysāmi (909/1504-974/1567) completed in Shawwāl 950/January 1544 seems to have motivated the Makhdūmu'l-Mulk to write his *Minhājū'd-Din*. It seems that the *Minhāj al-Sunnat al-Nabawiyya fi naqd kalām al-Shī'a al-qadriyya* completed by ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), before 720/1321 was also consulted by Makhdūmu'l-Mulk. The influx of the Shī'is even after the fall of Bayram Khān and under his own control of religious affairs had sorely disappointed him. He relentlessly executed them. Mullā Badā'ūni says, "He (Makhdūmu'l-Mulk) always strenuously exerted himself to enforce the holy (Sunni) law, and was a bigoted Sunni. Owing to his exertions many *malāhida* (heretics) and Rawāfiz (Shī'is) went to the place prepared for them (hell)."²¹¹

Makhdūmu'l-Mulk did not spare even the books written by highly respected Sunni divines such as the *Rawzatul-ahbāb fi Siyarū'n-nabi wa'l*

207 *Akbar-nāma*, II, p. 47.

208 Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl-nāma-i Jahāngiri*, Aligarh, Salām, p. 276/46, 137b.

209 An exposition of the person and character of the Prophet Muhammad. Muhammad bin 'Īsa al-Tirmizī (d. 892-93 A.D.), the author of one of the six canonical traditions of Sunnīs, was also the author of the *Shamā'ilu'n-Nabi*. Many Persian translations of the work were made, the most famous one is by Muhammad Muslihu'd-Dīn Lāri (d. 1571-72 A. D.), (Storey I, pp. 174-75).

210 Raza Library, Rampur, Arabic Ms.

211 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, III, p. 70.

āl wa'l-ashāb by Amir Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Atā'u'llāh bin Fazlu'llāh al-Husaynī al-Dashtakī al-Shīrāzī (d. 926/1520) of the court of Sultan Husayn Bayqarā of Hīrāt. Its first volume compiled in 888/1484 comprises the biography of Prophet Muhammad, the second volume deals with the biographies of the first three successors of the Prophet, and the third volume consists of the biographies of 'Ali and the eleven Imāms with an alphabetical list of famous companions. The work was written at the request of Mīr 'Ali Shīr Niwā'i. Badā'ūnī gives the following story relating to Makhdūmu'l-Mulk's resentment and bitterness against the *Rawzatul-ahbāb*. He says, "In the years in which Gujarat was conquered (1572) and while Mawlānā 'Abdu'llāh possessed great honour and dignity as agent of the exalted Court in Fathpur, I, who had just then returned from my journey to the Panjab, went in company with Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, who had not yet entered the Imperial service, and Hājjī Sultān of Thanesar²¹² to see Makhdūmu'l-Mulk. We saw that he had before him the third volume (of the *Rawzatul-ahbāb*), and he said to us, 'See, what mischief the *Muqtadayān-i Wilāyat* (Īrānī leaders) have wrought on the faith' and thus saying he showed us that couplet which occurs as encomium to Imām 'Ali :

"This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God,
That it has been doubted that he himself was God."

Makhdūmu'l-Mulk said, 'He has passed beyond mere *rifz* (Shi'ism) here, and has placed the question of his mischief in quite another category, avouching his belief in the doctrine of *hulūl* (incarnations). I am firmly resolved to burn this book in the presence of a Shi'a'. I (Badā'ūnī), notwithstanding that I was unknown to any present, and had never met Makhdūmu'l-Mulk before, made bold to say, "This couplet is a translation of those verses which are attributed to Imām Shāfi'i."²¹³

"He looked towards me sharply and asked, 'From what are you quoting?' I said, 'From the commentary on Imām's *Diwān*.' He said, 'The commen-

212 For four years he was employed on the translation of the *Mahābhārata* and seems to have translated its two parts. He was banished to Bhakkar for cow-killing in Thanesar. Khān-i Khānān 'Abdu'r-Rahīm had him restored to Akbar's favour and he was appointed a *karorī* (revenue collector) of his home town Thanesar. Local Hindus hated him and his harsh administration made them bitterly hostile to him. On his way back from Lahore to Agra, Akbar made enquiries into his mal-administration and executed him at the end of 1598. He was the father-in-law of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (Mujaddid Alf-i Sānī). Hindus seem to have desecrated his tomb making his son-in-law the Mujaddid their bitter enemy.

213 Imām Shāfi'i (d. 204/819) was the founder of science of *usūl al-fiqh*. His *Risāla* discusses the method of legal reasoning.

tator, Qāzi Mīr Husayn-i Maybuzi²¹⁴ has also been accused of *rifz* (Shī'ism). I said, 'This is wandering from the point.' Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl and Hājji Sultān, with their fingers on their lips, were every now and then making signs to me to be silent. Again I said, 'I have heard from some trustworthymen that the third volume is not the work of Mīr Jamālu'd-Dīn, but is the work of his son Sayyid Mīrak Shāh, or some other person, and that it is for this reason that its style differs from the style of the first two volumes, being poetical, and not the style peculiar to traditionalists.' He answered saying, 'My child! In the second volume also I have found passages which clearly prove the *bid'at* (sinful innovation) and mischief of the author's belief, and I have written notes on them'....."

Abu'l-Fazl and Hājji Sultan persistently pressed Mullā Badā'ūnī's hands and warned him to be silent. At Makhdūmu'l-Mulk's request they introduced Badā'ūnī to him. When the meeting ended and they left the place Abu'l-Fazl and Hājji Sultān congratulated Badā'ūnī for overcoming a great crisis. They added that had Mullā decided to persecute him (Badā'ūnī) none could save him.²¹⁵

Makhdūmu'l-Mulk's rival was Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī but both vied with one another in persecuting Shī'is. Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī was Akbar's own discovery. He was the son of Shaykh Ahmad and the nephew of the celebrated Chishtiyya *sūfi* Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Quddūs Gangohī (d. 944/1537).²¹⁶ In his youth he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and studied *hadīs* under some *faqīhs* (jurists) there. After his return to his native land he came into sharp conflict with his father and uncles who were ardent supporters of the *Wahdatu'l-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) and *samā'*. His father wrote a treatise defending the *samā'*. 'Abdu'n-Nabī wrote a rejoinder against his father's views.²¹⁷ The controversy brought him into lime-light and paved the way for his appointment as the *sadrū's-sudūr* (chief *sadr*).

Before long Akbar was so intensely devoted to the Shaykh that he went to the Shaykh's house to listen to his lectures on *hadīs*. He did not hesitate to place the Shaykh's shoes together to help him to put them on. Once when the Emperor was putting a robe of saffron colour, the Shaykh strongly reprimanded him in open court and was on the point of hitting him with his stick. When Akbar complained to his mother, the pious lady consoled him saying that the incident would go down in history as an example of a mighty Emperor's respect for the *shari'a*.²¹⁸

The atrocities perpetrated by Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu'n-

214 Husayn bin Mu'īnu'd-Dīn al-Maybuzī (d. 890/1485) was commentator on works of poetry, logic, dialectics, physics and metaphysics.

215 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 70-72; Haig, pp. 113-16.

216 *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 339-49, 385, 86.

217 *Akhbārū'l-akhyār*, p. 222.

218 *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, I, pp. 72-73; *Mā'āsiru'l-'umarā'*, II, p. 561.

Nabi against Shi'is or against those who were suspected as Shi'is were shocking. Only some instances are preserved in the contemporary sources.

Early in 1560s a Sayyid of Iraq who was an *imām* became the target of bigoted Sunni '*ulamā'*. According to Abu'l-Fazl he was "among the choicest souls of the age". His conduct and character were virtuous and his precepts harmonized with his actions. The Emperor's interest in the Sayyid prevented the '*ulamā'* from persecuting him. One day in royal presence on the basis of some old Hanafi law books his enemies submitted to the Emperor that the testimony of the *Īrāqī ashraf* (dignitaries) was not acceptable, so how could an *Īrāqī* be allowed to lead prayers? The prospects for the Sayyid continuing his position of *imām* seemed gloomy. He was friendly with Shaykh Mubārak who encouraged him to defend himself fearlessly and advised him to argue that the court '*ulamā'* did not understand the implications of the traditions correctly. What had been quoted from the Hanafi works referred not to Iranian but to Arabian Iraq. Shaykh Mubārak provided him with extracts from the leading authorities on his viewpoint. The Sayyid submitted the defence prepared by Shaykh Mubārak to the Emperor. The '*ulamā'* were confounded and could not press their point. When they discovered Shaykh Mubārak's hand in the defence they were inflamed with jealousy. Similar instances of assistance rendered by Shaykh Mubārak to the Shi'is were also discovered. Naturally Shaykh Mubārak also came to be accused as a Shi'i.²¹⁹

In 971/1564 Mīr Murtazā a descendant of the famous Sunni scholar, Sayyid Sharif Jūzjānī²²⁰ (d. 816/1413) who was an expert both in rational and traditional science, moved to Akbar's court. He was a widely travelled scholar and had performed pilgrimage to Mecca and had visited other holy shrines. Akbar warmly welcomed him and lavishly awarded him gifts. He used to lecture on mathematics and *hikma*.²²¹ In 974/1566-67 he died at Delhi and was buried near the grave of Amīr Khusraw (d. 725/1325), the greatest Persian poet of India. Before long Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and their friends represented to Akbar that Amīr Khusraw was a native of India and a Sunni, while Mīr Murtazā was a native of Iraq (Iran) and a Rāfiẓī (Shi'i). Consequently Mīr Murtazā's company would upset Amīr Khusraw for there could be no doubt, but that:

"To the spirit the presence of the base is a fearful torment."

219 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Lucknow, 1895, III, pp. 206-7.

220 Sayyid Sharif Jūzjānī (d. 816/1413) was a brilliant scholar. When Timūr conquered Shīrāz he took Jūzjānī to Samarqand where he had discussions with Sa'du'd-Din Taftāzānī. After Timūr's death Jūzjānī went back to Shīrāz and died there. He was the author of several commentaries and glosses.

221 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, Calcutta, 1927, II, p. 357.

The Emperor ordered that Mir Murtazā's dead body should be taken out from his grave and should be buried somewhere else. Even Mullā Badā'ūnī was shocked. Contemporary poets paid glowing tributes to the memory of the Mir in their chronograms. One of them says:

'Knowledge has deserted the 'ulamā'.'

A different poet wrote:

'Allāma (the paragon) has left the world.'²²²

Around 977/1569-70 a Shi'i jurist Mir Habsh Turbati was executed. It was in 986/1578-79 when Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Mullā 'Abdu'n-Nabī became implacable enemies of each other that Makhdūmu'l-Mulk disclosed that Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī had unjustly killed the Mir.²²³ The execution of Akbar's envoy to Sultan Ya'qūb of Kashmir, Mirzā Muqīm by Makhdūmu'l-Mulk has already been discussed.²²⁴ Earlier Mirzā Muqīm was in the service of Husayn Khān Tukariyā, the patron of Mullā Badā'ūnī. Husayn Khān had started his career under Bayram Khān, but he was an orthodox Sunnī. Tukariyā was deeply impressed of Mirzā Muqīm but when he was convinced that the Mirzā was a Shi'i, he dismissed him. Akbar took him in his service, exalted him to the position of an envoy but could not save him from Makhdūmu'l-Mulk's brutality.²²⁵

Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī did not leave Shaykh Mubārak, his son Fayzī and Abu'l-Fazl alone because they fearlessly defended the Shi'is, Mahdawis and the other unfortunate victims of the 'ulamā's tyranny. In 978/1570-71 the Mubārak family had to go underground and had to move from place to place for safety although Fayzī had entered Akbar's court in 975/1567 and had made his mark as a poet.²²⁶

The atrocities of Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī alarmed the great poet Ghazālī Mashhadī²²⁷ who had entered Akbar's court after his patron 'Alī Qulī Khān-i Zamān Shaybānī's defeat and death in 974/1567. He consulted the poet Qāsim-i Kāhī²²⁸ who had joined Humāyūn's retinue in Kābul and was known as a *malāmātī sūfī* and a heretic but not a Shi'i. Kāhī suggested that like his ownself Ghazālī Mashhadī should also declare himself a heretic and the 'ulamā' would leave him alone.²²⁹

222 *Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 99.

223 *Ibid.*, p. 255.

224 *Supra*, pp. 178-180.

225 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 124.

226 S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi, 1975, pp. 92-103.

227 See volume II.

228 See volume II.

229 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 283.

In Zu'lqā'da 982/February-March 1575 Akbar erected an edifice in Fathpur Sikri near the north-east bastion of the Jāmi' mosque called the 'Ibādat Khāna for the religious discussions. Originally the Sunni 'ulamā' alone were invited. Before long it was revealed that both Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi were narrow-minded and bigoted Sunnis whose principal concern was to amass riches and to strengthen the army of their own sycophants. It was reported that Makhdūmu'l-Mulk had given a *fatwa* that the obligation to go on pilgrimage was no longer binding, but even harmful. When people asked him the reason, he said that both the roads to Mecca, either through Iran or through Gujarat, were impossible, for, going overland through Iran, the pilgrims had to listen to *tabarra* and those going by sea had to enter into a contract with the Portuguese, who issued passports with a picture of Mary and Jesus stamped on it.

A serious allegation regarding Makhdūmu'l-Mulk's evasion of *zakāt* was also discussed in the 'Ibādat Khāna. Towards the end of each year he made over all his property to his wife, but before the year had run out he took it back again. *Zakāt* is payable on property defined by law, provided that one had been in possession of it for the whole year (*hawlu'l-hawl*). Makhdūmu'l-Mulk's fraud, which was by no means original, absolved both husband and wife from the payment of *zakāt*.²³⁰

Akbar's growing interest in religion concerned him about the number of free-born women that one was legally permitted to marry. Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi had once told him that one of the *mujtahids* had allowed as many as nine wives. Some of the 'ulamā' present replied that ibn Abi Laylā²³¹ had even allowed eighteen free-born wives from a too literal translation of the verse of the Qur'ān, '.....Marry of the women, who seem good to you, two and two, three and three and four and four.'²³² The 'ulamā' had rejected these interpretations and not more than four free-born wives could be married. The Emperor referred the matter

230 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 203. Badā'ūnī gives a different story of evasion in the *Najātu'r-Rashīd*. He says that at the end of each year Makhdūmu'l-Mulk prepared accounts of *zakāt* payable by him. He then bought some maunds of wheat or barley and declared its total value equal to several thousand *dīnārs*. He then took them to some miserable beggar and sold orally his wheat or barley to him for the amount which was payable by Makhdūmu'l-Mulk as *zakāt*. The beggar did not have to pay money. He got corn or barley and Makhdūmu'l-Mulk believed that he was absolved of the payment of *zakāt*. *Najātu'r-Rashīd*, p. 183.

231 Ibn Abi Laylā (d. 148/765), the rival of Abū Hanīfa was known for his unusually retentive memory and reliability as a transmitter of *ahādīs*. Ahmad bin Hanbal preferred his *fiqh* to *hadīs*. In 125/742 he was appointed the *qāzī* of Kūfa and held this position under the later Umayyads and early 'Abbāsids. He based his judgement on his own considered opinion (*ra'y*). E. I.², III, p. 687.

232 Qur'ān, IV, 3.

to Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī who replied that he had merely wished to point out the differences in opinions and did not mean to legalise irregular marriage proceedings. The Emperor was annoyed and accused Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī of hypocrisy and misguiding him. The 'ulamā' collected all the known traditions on the subject and decreed, "firstly that by *mut'a*.²³³ [not by *nikāh*] a man might marry any number of wives he pleased; and *secondly* that such *mut'a* marriages were allowed as legal by Imām Mālik. The Shi'is, as was well-known, loved children born in *mut'a* wedlock more than those born of *nikāh* wives contrary to the Sunnis (*Ahl-i Jamā'at*)."²³⁴ Mullā Badā'ūnī added, "The conclusion to be drawn from so many contradictory traditions and sectarian customs is in a word this: Imām Mālik and the Shi'as are unanimous in looking upon *mut'a* marriages as legal; Imām Shāfi'i and the great Imām [Abū Hanifā] look upon *mut'a* marriages as illegal. But should at any time a Qāzī of the Mālikī sect decide that a *mut'a* marriage is legal, it is legal according to the common belief, even for Shāfi'is and Hanafis." Akbar was very pleased. The Hanafī Qāzī Ya'qūb protested but Mullā Badā'ūnī's forceful arguments silenced him. Akbar replaced Qāzī Ya'qūb with Qāzī Husayn Mālikī who forthwith gave the *fatwa* legalising the *mut'a* marriages. The above controversies undermined the influence of Makhdūmū'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu'n Nabī.²³⁴

The inability of the Sunnis to make any significant contributions to the debates in the 'Ibādāt Khāna prompted Akbar to invite the Shi'is to the discussions there. The wide range of Shi'i-Sunni controversies and polemics aroused heated discussions. To the utter disgust of the Sunnis, topics such as the superiority of 'Alī, who from his birth had never touched wine or pork, over the first three caliphs who were before they embraced Islam infidels, the 'Umar's opposition to the Prophet's decision to write his will,

233 *Mut'a* is a marriage for a fixed period after which no divorce is needed. Mullā Badā'ūnī explains it thus, "It is consummated for entering into sexual intercourse on payment of an agreed amount for a fixed period. In the early years of the beginning of Islam this wedlock was prevalent. When Mecca was conquered some Arabs complained of their inability to live in the warm climate of the town without a wife. The Prophet allowed them to marry on the *mut'a* basis. Some took wives for two or three nights and gave them money or clothes. Some *ahādīs* books say that in the Prophet's life-time the permission was withdrawn. The *Sharh Bukhārī* says that for three times *mut'a* was allowed and cancelled. 'Umar permanently cancelled it and until eternity would not be re-validated. The *Sharh Maqāsīd* says that in the Prophet's life-time three things were permissible but the second caliph in public interest prohibited them; (1) marriage by *mut'a* (2) *hayya 'alā'-khayri'l 'amal* (hasten to the righteous deeds) in *azān* (3) *mut'a* during pilgrimage. (*Najātu'r-Rashīd*, pp. 434-35). According to the Shi'is whatever was made legal by the Prophet was legal until the Day of Judgement and vice versa.

234 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 207-8; Lowe, II, pp. 210-12.

'Umar's unwillingness to believe the news of the death of the Prophet, Abū Bakr's rejection of Fātima's claim to succeed to her father's estate of Fadak, the maladministration of the first three caliphs particularly that of the third Caliph 'Usmān, the stories in the authentic Sunnī *ahādīs* saying that the Prophet took 'Ā'isha with him to the dancing parties and the like were discussed. The comments made by the Shi'is at the time of reading historical works to Akbar were also disgusting to the Sunnis.²³⁵ Mullā Badā'ūnī says, "But it is impossible for me to relate the blasphemous remarks which they made about the Companions of the Prophet, when the historical books happened to be read out, specially such as contained the reigns of the first three *Khalifas*, and the quarrel about Fadak, the war of Siffin etc. would that I were deaf! The Shi'as, of course, gained the day and the Sunnis were defeated; the good were in fear, and the wicked were secure."²³⁶

The Shi'i case was advocated by Mullā Muhammad of Yazd; details of his career are not known. He was a disciple of the Sunnī savant Mirzā Jān Shirāzī.²³⁷ He arrived in India in 1575-76. When the 'Ibādat Khāna was opened to the Shi'is he was invited to participate in the discussions. Mullā Badā'ūnī says, "Attaching himself to the Emperor, [Mullā Yazdī] commenced openly to revile the *sahāba* [the Prophet's companions], told queer stories about them, and tried hard to make him a Shi'a. But he was soon left behind by Bir Bal—that bastard! and by Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl and Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, who successfully turned the Emperor from Islam, and led him to reject inspiration, prophethood, the miracles of the Prophet and of the saints, and even the whole law, so that he could no longer bear their company."²³⁸

Hakims Abu'l-Fath, Humām and Nūru'd-Dīn, sons of Mawlānā 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, *sadr* of Gilān, arrived about the same time. They were also Shi'is but they did not join the race of the orthodox of different religious communities to convert the Emperor to their respective faith. They along with Bir Bal, Abu'l-Fazl, Fayzi and some other intellectuals weaned the Emperor away from dogmatism and made him the pioneer of universal peace and concord. Their contributions to the intellectual life of the country will be discussed in the second volume. Mullā Badā'ūnī's allegations against the Gilānī brothers, Abu'l-Fazl and Fayzi are sweeping, nevertheless they indicate their hostility to dogmatism.

During 1576-78 the Emperor could not stay in Fathpur much. He went twice to Ajmir ostensibly to perform pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwāja

235 *Dabistān-i Mazāhib*, Lucknow, 1904, pp. 312-15.

236 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 308; Lowe, p. 318.

237 Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mir'at'u'l-'ālam*, Lahore, 1979, II, p. 433.

238 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 211; Lowe, p. 214.

Mu'inu'd-Din Chishti but in reality to direct the military operations against the rebel Rājput chief Mahārānā Pratāp. In the second week of May 1578 he returned via Bhira where he arranged a big *gamargha* hunt. When games were collected and slaughtering was in progress he felt an indescribable mystical experience. After his return to Fathpur he opened the 'Ibādat Khāna discussion to Hindus and Jains. Pārsi leaders and Jesuit missionaries were also invited. Both Shi'i and Sunnī leaders were shocked at the attacks on Islam which they could not refute through the traditional weapons in their armoury. Nothing but the rationalistic approach convinced the Emperor. He condemned bigotry and fanaticism without any inhibitions.

The last nail in the coffin of fanaticism was struck by Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī's execution of a rich brahmin of Mathura who had forcibly seized the material collected by the *qāzī* of Mathura for the construction of a mosque. When the brahmin was stopped he abused the Prophet in presence of witnesses.

The incident aroused considerable excitement in the capital. The Hindu *mansabdārs* and Hindu wives of Akbar defended the brahmin, the Muslim noblemen and dignitaries wished that the brahmin be executed. Akbar avoided giving a clear order in the hope that the political tension in the capital would prevent Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī from executing the brahmin. All he said to Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī was that the punishment for offences against the *shari'a* was to be meted out by the '*ulamā'* and that was why he was urged to intervene. Such an answer implied that he was not in favour of capital punishment. The execution of the Shi'is was the order of the day. The delay in taking action by Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī shows that he was scared of implications of the execution of the brahmin. He repeatedly urged the Emperor to give him a firm order but Akbar did not reverse his earlier decision. Ultimately Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī executed the brahmin to save face among Muslims. The Emperor was shocked. In an open debate at Anūp Talā'ō in front of the Diwān Khāna-i khāss of Fathpur Sikri, 'Abdu'n-Nabī's enemies assailed his judgement on the basis of the Hanafi law books and the Emperor observed to Badā'ūnī, "Have you heard it said that supposing there are ninety-nine traditions inflicting the punishment of death for a certain offence, and one tradition allowing the accused to be set at liberty, *muftis* should prefer that one tradition?" Badā'ūnī endorsed Akbar's statement but defended 'Abdu'n-Nabī on the ground of political expediency. Akbar lost his temper for he believed that he himself was the sole judge of political expediency.²³⁹

The stalemate in the controversy was broken by Abu'l-Fazl's father Shaykh Mubārak who through a document called *mahzar* dated Rajab

239 *Ibid.*, III, pp. 79-83; Haig, pp. 127-31.

987/August-September 1579 had the powers of the *Imām-i 'Ādil* (The Just Ruler) reaffirmed by the 'ulamā' within the framework of Sunni law. The document was designed to strike a balance between the political expediency and the injunctions of *sharī'a*. The ignorance of the correct implications of the terms of Hanafiyya *fiqh* such as *Imām-i 'Ādil*, *ijtihād* and the like in the *mahzar* has confused the modern scholars and they have offered fantastic interpretations to the *mahzar*. For example, Bucklar says, "So the Mughal 'ulamā' simply placed Akbar above the *mujtahids*, the Shi'a 'ulamā' of Persia—and therefore beyond the Persian religious jurisdiction." The use of the terms *mujtahid* in the *mahzar* was based on the Sunni traditions of *ijtihād* and had no relevance with Shi'i *ijtihād*. Mawlānā Abū'l Kalām Āzād, an eminent Sunni theologian could find no objections to the use of Sunni legal terms in the document but frowns upon the fact that when the *mahzar* was signed Akbar could no longer be called as *Imām-i 'Ādil*.²⁴⁰ Mawlānā Abul Kalām would have realized that Akbar's position as an *Imām-i 'Ādil* could be impugned only from the Shi'i point of view who believe that their twelfth *Imām* alone is the *Imām-i 'Ādil*. No other ruler on earth is the *Imām-i 'Ādil*. Under the Ghazālian theory of kingship, "An evil doing and barbarous Sultan, so long as he is supported by military force, so that he can only with difficulty be deposed and that the attempt to depose him would cause unendurable civil strife, must, of necessity, be left in possession and obedience must be rendered to him, exactly as obedience must be rendered to emirs."²⁴¹ Dawwānī explains the issue rather bluntly. He says:

"If a Shi'i is asked about the *imām* of the times he would say that Muhammad son of Hasan is the *imām* of the times. If you ask a Sunni he would say that Sultan Ya'qūb Hasan Beg Turkomān (a petty ruler of Shirāz) is the *imām* of the times."²⁴²

This is not the place to examine the *mahzar* which the present author has done in his *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*. It, however, marked a turning point in the history of the Indian religious communities. Shi'is like other non-Sunnis could no more be persecuted on flimsy grounds. The Sunni 'ulamā' could not oppose the *mahzar* which they had themselves signed. The 'ulamā', however, became the leaders in spreading scandals against Akbar such as he intended to assume prophethood or even Godhead. In November 1579 Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī and Makhdūmu'l-Mulk were appointed leaders of the party of Indian pilgrims

240 *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 141-160.

241 Ghazālī, *Ihya' 'ulūm al-dīn* in H. A. R. Gibb, *Islamic Society and the West*, London, reprint 1960, I, p. 31.

242 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 347.

to Mecca, and forbidden to return. The disgruntled 'ulamā' became the spearhead of the movement of whipping up religious frenzy. The crisis was confounded by Akbar's new revenue laws and orders to *mansabdārs* to have horses of their retinue branded in order to crush the malpractices of *mansabdārs*. The revenue reforms which largely undermined the financial interest of the Tūrānī dignitaries and largely eliminated fraudulent practices among the *mansabdārs* were worked out by three revenue experts of Akbar's reign. One of them was the celebrated Khattri Raja²⁴³ Todar Mal and the two were Īrānīs, probably Shi'is. One of them was Khwāja Shāh Mansūr of Shīrāz. The second was Khwāja Muzaffar 'Alī Khān Turbatī. The latter was a *diwān* of Bayram Khān and Mullā Badā'ūnī considered him superior to Raja Todar Mal and Shāh Mansūr. Akbar, however, harnessed all the three to state duties and heavily drew benefits from their talents.

In 988/1580 Shāh Mansūr instituted strict enquiries against the dignitaries of Bengal. Thereupon Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, a foster brother of Akbar's half brother, Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm rebelled. The Tūrānī dignitaries in the region joined Ma'sūm Khān's rebellion. Ma'sūm Khān also instigated Mirzā Muhammad Hakīm to invade the Panjab. The rebels believed that the insurrection in the eastern province in conjunction with Mirzā Hakīm's invasion of the Panjab would destroy Akbar. Khwāja Muzaffar who was the governor of Bengal defeated the rebels on several occasions but tactlessly rejected the rebel leaders' demands of full pardon and permission to leave for Mecca. Meanwhile Mirzā Sharafu'd-Dīn Husayn son of Khwāja Mu'in Naqshbandī, who had been imprisoned because of his rebellion in Gujarat and placed in Khwāja Muzaffar's custody, escaped and exaggerated Muzaffar's vulnerable position to the rebels. Courage returned to Khwāja Muzaffar's enemies and they defeated and killed him in April 1580. The Khwāja's associate Hakīm Abu'l-Fath was imprisoned but he made his escape. His brother Nūru'd-Dīn "Qarāri" was killed. The rebels established their own government and recited the *khutba* in the name of Mirzā Hakīm.

The disgruntled 'ulamā' also played an important role in arousing the Islamic fanaticism against Akbar. In February 1580, Akbar had appointed the Shi'i Mullā Muhammad Yazdī, the *sadr* of Jaunpur. He also joined the Sunni 'ulamā' and began to spread wild rumours against Akbar's religious beliefs. As he was a known favourite of Akbar, the scandals circulated by him were readily believed. He issued a *fatwa* saying that rebellion against Akbar was lawful. He found a strong supporter in Mu'izzu'l-Mulk, a Sayyid from Mashhad who had been holding a responsible position in the *sarkār* of Bihar since 1577. According to them the rebellion

243 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, pp. 65-66.

was a Divine vengeance against Akbar's usurpation of the 'ulamā's *madad-i ma'āsh* grants.

When the reports of the Mullās' rebellion reached Akbar he decided to take prompt action but he proceeded with circumspection. Mullā Muhammad Yazdī and Mīr Mu'izzu'l-Mulk were summoned on some pretext to the court. When they arrived at Firuzabad, near Agra, the Emperor ordered that they should be separated from their guards, and be taken to Gwalior through the Jamuna on a rickety boat. In the deep water the sailors made the boat sink and the 'ulamā were drowned. Mu'izzu'l-Mulk's younger brother 'Alī Akbar was summoned from Zamaniya (Eastern U. P.) where he was holding an important position and imprisoned. Severe punishments were inflicted on other rebel 'ulamā. The action against the 'ulamā was designed to crush the rebellion, Akbar's enemies interpreted it as a war against the Prophet and God.²⁴⁴ It is remarkable that some orthodox Shi'i 'ulamā joined the Sunnī 'ulamā in their efforts to overthrow Akbar, nevertheless some modern historians uncritically believe that only the Sunnis were the leaders of rebellion against Akbar. For example I. H. Qureshī says, "There is little doubt that Akbar's policy was not based upon favouring any particular sect; a good deal of what he did was repugnant to the Shi'is and Sunnis alike; yet it was only the Sunnis who resented the monarch's lapse from the teaching of Islam. It was they who foresaw the disastrous effects of Akbar's heterodoxy; it was they who struggled against it."²⁴⁵ Perhaps Qureshī was unaware of the role of Mullā Yazdī who according to Badā'ūnī was hated in the 'Ibādat Khāna for his obdurate condemnation of Sunnī-ism. He was nicknamed Yazidī, after the tyrant Yazīd who killed Imām Husayn.²⁴⁶ It was the filthiest invective that Mullā Badā'ūnī could think of the Shi'i Yazdī; however, he recklessly joined the Sunnī 'ulamā for the cause he believed to be right. Although no information is available on Mīr Mu'izzu'l-Mulk of Mashhad who suffered death along with Mullā Yazdī and 'Alī Akbar, they also seem to have been Shi'is.

In early February 1581, Akbar marched northwards, to suppress the rebellion of Mīrzā Hakīm. In March Akbar executed near Shahabad his loyal revenue expert Shāh Mansūr on the basis of some letters said to have been written by him to Mīrzā Hakīm. Thorough investigations at Kābul convinced the Emperor that the letters were forged. The forgery was done by Karamu'llāh the brother of Shahbāz Khān Kamboh. The latter was an inveterate enemy of Shāh Mansūr's reforms and an orthodox Sunnī. Other dignitaries of Akbar were also mightily pleased. Hakīm Abu'l-Fath

244 *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 160-61.

245 I. H. Qureshī, *The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent*, The Hague, 1962, p. 162.

246 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 211.

was perhaps the only dignitary who opposed a hasty action. He reminded the Emperor that he himself used to say that in times of war letters were often forged in the name of the dignitaries of rival armies and much reliance should not be placed on them, but Akbar dismissed Hakim Abu'l-Fath's representations with the remark that Shāh Mansūr's case was a different one.²⁴⁷ Hakim Abu'l-Fath's sympathies with Shāh Mansūr show that the latter was a Shī'i. When Akbar was convinced of Shāh Mansūr's innocence he deeply regretted the loss of his brilliant revenue expert. He frequently reiterated, "From that day (execution of Shāh Mansūr) the market of accounts was flat and the thread of accounting dropped from the hand."²⁴⁸ A poet found the chronogram of his death, "Sānī-i Mansūr Hallāj" (A second Mansūr Hallāj the *sūfī* martyr-309/922).

Early in August 1581 Akbar defeated Mīrzā Hakīm, and entered the citadel of Kābul but he forgave his half-brother. The government of Kābul was restored to him and the Emperor returned to his capital. Early in November 1581 he crossed Rawi and stayed at Sarā'i Dawlat Khān. There he appointed the following provincial *sadr*s:

Delhi, Malwa and Gujarat	Hakim Abu'l-Fath
From Hajipur (Bengal) to Saru (Sarju Awadh)	Hakim Humām
Bihar	Hakim 'Alī
Bengal	Hakim 'Aynu'l-Mulk
Panjab	Qāzī 'Alī Badakhshī
Agra, Kalpi and Kalinjar	Fayzī ²⁴⁹

The position of the *sadr* at the centre (*sadrū's-sudūr*) which had fallen vacant because of the banishment of Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī was not filled. The *sadrū's-sudūr* controlled the religious law in the judiciary, the *qāzis* of the empire were under his control. The *sadrū's-sudūr* also exercised the powers of High Inquisitors. He conferred land grants known as *milk* or *madad-i ma'āsh* on the 'ulamā', *sūfīs*, intellectuals and the deserving people. He also paid cash grants.²⁵⁰ The fraudulent practices were very common among the *madad-i ma'āsh*-holders and the bribery was rampant in the ministry under *sadrū's-sudūr*s. Sher Shāh had also taken significant steps to eliminate fraudulent practices.²⁵¹ Akbar was deeply concerned with the corruption in the *sadrū's-sudūr*'s ministry but after the banishment of Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabī, Akbar embarked upon firmly implementing the policy of universal peace and concord among all religious communities of India.

247 *Ruqa'āt-i Hakīm Abu'l-Fath Gīlānī*, Lahore, 1968, p. 14.

248 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 344; Bev., III, p. 504.

249 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 372.

250 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, I, p. 141.

251 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *Tārīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, Dacca, 1964, p. 226.

The new board of the *sadrs* was unquestionably most qualified to implement Akbar's religious policies. It is remarkable that among the members of the board Hakim Abu'l-Fath, Hakim Humām and Hakim 'Alī were Shi'is.

In large cities Akbar appointed such *qāzis* as were free from bigotry. The *sadrs* were ordered to supervise the work of the *qāzis* and to exercise vigilance in regard to the activities of 'that crew of large-turbaned and long-sleeved ones (the 'ulamā')'.²⁵²

In Mecca, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk and Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi did not give up their hostility to each other, but they were united in slandering and making insinuations against Akbar. The news of Mirzā Hakim's rebellion and uprising in the eastern provinces, stimulated them to leave Mecca in the hope of taking advantage of the disaffection against Akbar. When they landed in India in the middle of 1582 they were dismayed to find that the rebellion had been crushed. They tried to seek the protection of the royal ladies with whom they had returned; but Akbar managed to have them promptly imprisoned before the ladies could intervene.

Makhdūmu'l-Mulk, who was over seventy, died at Ahmadabad. Orders were given that a valuation should be made of his property. Several boxes of gold ingots were discovered in his family grave-yard, which he had buried as corpses. These were confiscated together with his vast wealth including books.

Shaykh 'Abdu'n-Nabi was brought to Fathpur Sikri. Raja Todar Mal was ordered to audit the account of the disbursement of money given to the Shaykh. For a long time he remained imprisoned; one night in 992/1584 a mob burst into his prison and strangled him to death. It was believed that Abu'l-Fazl engineered the murder.²⁵³

Towards the end of 1582 Akbar appointed 'Abdu'l-'Azim known as Khwāja Naqshbandī, the son of Khwāja Khāwand Dūst, a spiritual descendant of Khwāja Nasirud-Dīn 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār to the vacant position of the *sadr-i-sudūr* or the *sadr-i kul*. He was not very learned but his Naqshbandiyya affiliations had escalated his dignity. In 984/1576-77 Akbar himself intended to go on pilgrimage but the representations of his dignitaries prompted him to change his mind. He appointed Sultān Khwāja as the *amir-i hajj* (leader of the party of pilgrims) and sent enormous gifts to the dignitaries of Mecca and Medina and the deserving pilgrims. At the end of 986/1579 he returned from Mecca with the caravan of the pilgrims.²⁵⁴ At the end of July 1584 he died and was succeeded by Shāh (Mīr) Fathu'llāh Shirāzī.

252 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 372.

253 *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 165-66.

254 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 263.

Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī

The arrival of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī was the turning point in the history of Shi'ism in the northern India. He was one of the leading disciples of Mullā Dawwānī's rival Mir Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Shirāzī²⁵⁵. Both Amīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn and the celebrated Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī were widely known to the Muslim intellectuals in India. Shāh Fathu'llāh's own student Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Maqsūd Afzal Khān Shirāzī,²⁵⁶ the *mīr jumla* and the *wakīlu's-saltanat* (prime minister) of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I of Bijapur (965-88/1558-80) who had collected a considerable number of intellectuals in Bijapur aroused his Sultan's interest in his own teacher, Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh sent an enormous amount of money as gift and paid expenses for the Shāh's comfortable journey from Shirāz to Bijapur. In Bijapur he was a tower of strength to his pupil Afzal Khān Shirāzī.²⁵⁷ Shāh Fathu'llāh's fame made Akbar crazy for the Shāh's company. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh did not, however, oblige Akbar by sending Shāh Fathu'llāh to the Mughal court. Early in the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's successor, Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (988-1037/1580-1627) the domination of Dilāwar Khān Habashī made the life of the Shi'i dignitaries of Bijapur impossible.²⁵⁸ Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī was imprisoned.²⁵⁹ The news gave Akbar an opportunity to intervene and to have his ambition of adorning his court with Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī fulfilled. He ordered Ibrāhīm to send Shāh Fathu'llāh to his court. The *jāgīrdārs* on the road from the Deccan to Fathpur Sikri were ordered to honourably escort the Shāh to court. In May 1583 he arrived at Fathpur Sikri. Important dignitaries such as Bayram Khān's son, the Khān-i Khānān 'Abdu'r-Rahīm and Hakīm Abu'l-Fath were deputed to meet him. The chronogram of the Mir's arrival at the court was found as follows:

Shāh Fathu'llāh, *Imām-i awliyā'*
(Shāh Fathu'llāh the leader of the eminent saints).²⁶⁰

Immediately the Shāh became the leader of the intellectuals at the court. Unrivalled in all branches of philosophy and sciences, he was an eminent authority on Avicenna's works and on Ishrāqī theosophy. In mathematics, astronomy and engineering he was unique in his age. We shall be discussing Shāh Fathu'llāh's contributions to these branches

255 *Supra*, pp. 133-35.

256 *Infra*, pp. 271-72.

257 Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shirāzī, *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, British Museum Ms.; Mīrzā Ibrāhīm Zubayrī, *Basātinu's-salātīn*, Hyderabad, n. d., pp. 130-32.

258 *Infra*, pp. 273-74.

259 *Basātinu's-salātīn*, p. 158.

260 *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 391, 401; *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, pp. 315-16, III, p. 155.

of learning in the second volume.²⁶¹ In this chapter we trace Shāh Fathu'llāh's career at Akbar's court and his contributions to Shi'ism.

For one and a half years after his arrival Shāh Fathu'llāh remained busy in preparing his mechanical contrivances and in compiling mathematical tables.²⁶¹ He fearlessly asserted his Shi'i views and practices. According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, about a year before the arrival of Shāh Fathu'llāh, the Islamic *shari'a* was totally rejected by the Emperor. He alleges that the *sajda* (prostration) before Akbar in the name of *zamin-bos* was instituted. A wine shop near the palace was opened in order to sell wine to those who were recommended to drink it on medical grounds. Although Badā'ūnī was not certain, it was alleged that swine-flesh formed a constituent part of that wine. A brothel for the prostitutes called Shaytānpurā was opened outside the city. Regulations for drinking and prostitution were framed but the libertines violated the laws with impunity. The beef-eating was banned. Beard disappeared from the faces of the courtiers. People ceased to consider swine and dogs as unclean. The courtiers took dogs to their table and ate their meals with them. The ceremonial washing after the emission of semen was discouraged. People were encouraged to offer food before their own death. Flesh of boars and tigers was also permitted. Marriages between cousins were prohibited. The wearing of gold and silk dresses was made obligatory. The *hijra* era was abolished. Reading and learning Arabic was deemed as a crime. The study of *fiqh* (law), *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic exegesis) and *hadīs* was considered ridiculous and worthless. Even the use of letters peculiar to Arabic language was banned. The important Islamic beliefs such as prophethood, actual seeing of God in paradise, obedience to the laws of *shari'a*, traditions about creation, the details of the day of resurrection and judgement were deemed as doubtful and ridiculed. Fantastic observations against the Prophet were made.

This is not the place to examine Mullā Badā'ūnī's allegations. The present author has examined them in his *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*.²⁶² In contrast, Badā'ūnī says that although Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī was crazy for offices and promotions and was a great flatterer of the dignitaries, he was such a staunch Shi'i that he would not give up a single point of bigoted Shi'i laws. In the *Dīwān Khāna-i Khāss* where none dared to perform prayers, Fathu'llāh said his Shi'i prayers with greatest composure.²⁶³

Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī also believed in the bodily ascension of the Prophet to Divine proximity (*mi'rāj*). According to Badā'ūnī Akbar

261 *History of Isnā 'Asharī Shi'is in India*, II, pp. 196-211.

262 *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 290-91.

263 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, II, p. 315.

rejected that belief. He reproduces Akbar's speech and reaction to it in the following words, "I [Akbar] really wonder how anyone in his senses can believe that a man, whose body has a certain weight, could in the space of a moment leave his bed, go up to heaven, there have 90,000 conversations with God, and yet on his return find his bed still warm!" So also was the splitting of the moon ridiculed. "Why," said His Majesty lifting up one foot, "is it really impossible for me to lift up the other? What silly stories men will believe" and that wretch [Bir Bal] and some other wretches whose names be forgotten, said, 'Yea, Your Majesty is right,' and chirped in confirmation. But Fathu'llāh—His Majesty had been every moment looking at him, because he wanted him to say something: for he was a new-comer—looked straight before him, and did not utter a syllable, though he was all ear."²⁶⁴ According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, Akbar included Shāh Fathu'llāh to the class of *ahl-i taqlid*, (blind imitators, in contrast to the *mujtahids*) but he connived at his practices, because he thought it desirable to encourage a man of such attainments, wisdom and far-sightedness. The influence of Shāh Fathu'llāh was a tower of strength to the Shi'is and some of their leaders began to assert their faith effectively.

According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, Akbar made Shāh Fathu'llāh joint *wazir* with Raja Todar Mal.²⁶⁵ Abu'l-Fazl says that early in the 30th year of his reign [beginning from 10 or 11 March 1585] Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī was made Amīnu'l-Mulk (trustee of the empire), and an order was issued that Raja Todar Mal should conduct the financial and administrative offices of the empire in consultation with the Shāh. He was also ordered to re-examine the reforms of Khwāja Muzaffar Turbati and chalk out a master plan of revenue reforms. In other words Shāh Fathu'llāh was made the *wazir* and Raja Todar Mal was appointed his junior associate. Shāh Fathu'llāh carefully examined the earlier records and Khwāja Muzaffar Turbati's reforms. He detected discrepancies and shortcomings in the revenue administration of the empire and submitted a master plan comprising twenty suggestions for improvement. Not only did these suggestions facilitate the calculation and collection of land revenue but they also protected the cultivators from the high-handedness of the predatory officials. Even the hardships of the soldiers in replacing dead horses were not ignored. According to Abu'l-Fazl, Shāh Fathu'llāh's master plan was approved by the Emperor and the labours of that wise man (Shāh Fathu'llāh) made the tribunal of the *wazir* a house of delight for the people.²⁶⁶

Shāh Fathu'llāh also detected discrepancies in the rules governing the

264 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, pp. 316-17; Lowe, p. 326.

265 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 316.

266 *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 457-59.

value of silver and copper coins and framed a fair schedule of currency rates.²⁶⁷

In 1585 the death of the *sadru's-sudur* Sultān Khwāja prompted Akbar to make Shāh Fathu'llāh the *sadru's-sudur*. During Shāh Fathu'llāh's tenure of office, the rules of succession for *madād-i ma'āsh*-holders were made more stringent and the *sadru's-sudur* could not grant more than fifteen *bighas* of land without the Emperor's permission. The grantees began to lay out orchards on their holdings.²⁶⁸ The scheme was launched to streamline the administration of the *madād-i ma'āsh* grants but gradually became instrumental in the development of a new category of Muslim agricultural property which could withstand all vicissitudes and upheavals of governments and administration. It also led to the stepping up of the Muslim interest in the village leadership.

The Shāh's ostentatious title of 'Azudu'd-Dawla (arm of the empire), earlier given by the 'Abbāsīd caliphs to their Shi'i Būyid viziers enhanced the Shāh's prestige. The duties of *sadru's-sudur* were performed by his deputy and he himself went to Raja 'Alī Khān of Khandesh as Akbar's ambassador. Some wise men were also associated with the Shāh. Their objective was to persuade Raja 'Alī Khān of Khandesh to accept Akbar's suzerainty. In the event of their success in Khandesh they were to proceed to other courts of the Deccan to achieve the same objective. Shāh Fathu'llāh failed to convince Raja 'Alī Khān. On his way to Gujarat in April 1586 he was deeply harassed by the rebellious chieftains.²⁶⁹

From thence he arrived at Akbar's court and resumed his duties as *sadru's-sudur*. In March 1588 Shāh Fathu'llāh, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, Khān-i Khānān and Abu'l-Fazl were commissioned to make enquiries into the administration of Shahbāz Khān Kamboh, the governor of Bengal. Their enquiries satisfied Akbar of his doubts against Shahbāz Khān.²⁷⁰ In March 1589 the Shāh was again appointed a member of a board commissioned to enquire into the allegations against a *shiqdār* (revenue official) near Sialkot in the Panjab.²⁷¹

Early in 1589 Akbar assigned the whole of Basawar, in Rajasthan, the homeland of Mullā Badā'ūnī along with the *a'ima* (*madād-i ma'āsh*) lands to Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzī. Pointing towards Mullā Badā'ūnī Akbar said that he had on his own initiative transferred that young man's (Mullā Badā'ūnī's) *madād-i ma'āsh* from Basawar to Badaun.

Shāh Fathu'llāh presented in a bag an amount of 1,000 rupees, which

267 *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, I, p. 35.

268 *Ā'in*, I, p. 141.

269 *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 465, 490.

270 *Ibid.*, p. 529.

271 *Ibid.*, p. 538.

his *shiqdārs* had, according to Mullā Badā'ūnī, tyrannously exacted from the poor widows and orphans of the *a'ima*-holders of Basawar. The Shāh submitted that his collectors had made savings from the *a'ima* lands. The Emperor made him a present of it.²⁷² The story is designed to prove Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī's oppressive administration as a *sadr*. Elsewhere in his history Mullā Badā'ūnī says that Shāh Fathu'llāh, for all his pomp and circumstances, could not make a grant of five *bighas* of land. The resumption of *a'ima* lands was deemed as savings but neither were the *a'ima*-holders nor were the cultivators left on the land which became the abode of wild animals, and of noxious beasts and reptiles.²⁷³

In May 1589 Shāh Fathu'llāh accompanied Akbar on his visit to Kashmir. Early in June the Imperial camp reached Srinagar. Before entering the town Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī fell seriously ill and died in August 1589. His dead body was buried in the *khānqāh* of Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamādānī but Akbar transferred it to a picturesque site at the top of the Sulayman mountains. His death was an irreparable loss to the Emperor who often said that the Mīr (Shāh) was his *wakil*, philosopher, physician and astronomer, and that no one could understand the amount of his grief for him. He added, "Had he fallen into the hands of Franks, and had they demanded all my treasures in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered upon such a profitable traffic, and have bought that precious jewel cheap." Abu'l-Fazl acknowledged that the company of that spiritually great man had wrought a revolution in his own ideas,²⁷⁴ Fayzī composed a touching elegy. Mullā Badā'ūnī has reproduced some verses from it in his *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*. Strangely enough he does not make adverse comments. He simply says, "At this time that wonder of the age Shāh Fathu'llāh of Shīrāz developed a burning fever in Kashmir, and since he was himself a skilled physician, he treated himself by eating pottage, and however, much Hakīm 'Alī forbade it, he would not be prevented. So the exactor, Death, seized his collar and dragged him off to the eternal world."²⁷⁵ In a biographical note on Hakīm 'Alī in the third volume of the *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, the same Mullā Badā'ūnī says that Hakīm 'Alī ordered Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī a diet of thick pottage thereby handing him over to death, the executioner.²⁷⁶ Abu'l-Fazl also endorses the last statement of Mullā Badā'ūnī. He says that Hakīm 'Alī did not treat Shāh Fathu'llāh properly and Akbar sent Hakīm Hasan to cure him. Before Hakīm Hasan

272 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 367-68.

273 *Ibid.*, II, p. 343.

274 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 558; *Bev.*, III, pp. 848-49.

275 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 360-70; *Lowe*, II, pp. 379-82.

276 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 167.

could attend upon the Shāh, the latter died.²⁷⁷ Badā'ūnī quotes this chronogram on Shāh Fathu'llāh's death: "He was an angel".²⁷⁸

Mullā Ahmad Thattawī

An important Shi'i dignitary of Akbar's court whose Shi'i beliefs led to his martyrdom at the hands of a fanatic Sunni was Mullā Sayyid Ahmad bin Nasru'llāh of Thatta. His father was a Hanafiyya Sunni and the *qāzi* of Thatta. In his youth Sayyid Ahmad embraced Shi'ism. The circumstances that led to his conversion were related by Mullā Ahmad himself to Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī. The story goes that in the Mullā's youth a pious Arab of 'Irāqī origin visited Thatta and stayed near his house. Mullā called on him, and looked after his comforts. The conversations on Iran, Arabia and on the religion and manners of the people of those countries were also held. The Arab informed the Mullā that a section of the inhabitants of those countries followed the faith known as the Shi'i. They adhered to the faith of Ahl-i Bayt and believed that the rightful successors of the Prophet were 'Ali and his eleven descendants. According to them the first three caliphs of the Prophet, the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids, were usurpers and tyrants. 'Ulamā' and *mujtahids* were also found in that religion. Books on the fundamental and subsidiary principles of the Shi'i faith had also been written. The Shi'i works, the 'Irāqī added, discussed the problems of the immediate succession of Amīru'l-Mu'minīn 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib on the basis of the traditions and rational arguments derived from the Qur'ān and *ahādīs*. The informations given by the Arab bewildered the Mullā. He plunged himself into the researches in the Shi'i faith. One night he saw Imām 'Ali ibn Abi Tālib in the dream who had in his hands the *Tafsīr Kashshāf*.²⁷⁹ Pointing to the following verse Imām 'Ali urged him to study commentary of that verse thoroughly:

"Your friend can be only Allāh; and His messenger and those who believe, who establish worship and pay the poor due and bow down (in prayer)."²⁸⁰

Mullā Ahmad began to search assiduously for a copy of *Tafsīr Kashshāf*. It so happened that one of the 'Irāqī sages, Mirzā Hasan by name had set off for India through Hurmuz and Thatta. When Mirzā Hasan reached

277 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 558.

278 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, III, p. 155.

279 *Al-Kashshāf 'an haqā'iq ghawāmis al-tanzīl wa 'uyūn al-aqāwīl fī wujūh al-ta'wīl* by Mahmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamaksharī (467/1075-538/1144) is a very important exegesis on the Qur'ān.

280 Qur'ān, V, 55.

Hurmuz, he saw Imām 'Alī in his vision who bade him to give his copy of the *Tafsīr Kashshāf* to the son of the *Qāzi* of Thatta who was his (Imām 'Alī's) devotee and wished to study the above work. When Mirzā Hasan awoke, he wrote down the vision he had seen on the fly-leaf of the book. Arriving at the shores of Thatta, Mirzā Hasan wrote a letter to the Mullā. In it he introduced himself and requested him (the Mullā) to call on him. Although Mirzā Hasan had sent a horse for Mullā Ahmad with his servant the Mullā rushed on foot to see the Mirzā with his father's pupils. Mirzā Hasan gave him the *Tafsīr Kashshāf* and showed him the note on his dream to Mullā Ahmad. The companions of Mullā Ahmad had heard him talk about the love for the Prophet's family. They did not believe in the story of the dream and whispered among themselves that the news of the *rifz* (Shi'ism) of the *Qāzi*'s son had reached Iraq and the story of dream had been fabricated. Mullā Ahmad paid no heed to their vituperations. He learnt some of the principles of the Imāmiyya faith from Mirzā Hasan and then concentrated on the study of the *Tafsīr Kashshāf* whose comments were compatible with a considerable number of the Shi'i beliefs.

By the time Mullā Ahmad attained the age of twenty-two, he completed his education in Thatta. He then left Thatta like a *qalandar* (wandering dervish) to seek knowledge. For some time he stayed in Mashhad and acquired spiritual blessings from Imām Rizā's tomb. There he studied under Mawlānā Afzal Qā'inī and under other Imāmiyya 'ulamā'. His knowledge of *kalām*, *hadīs*, Imāmiyya *fiqh* and mathematics was deeply sharpened. From Mashhad he travelled to Tabriz and thence to Shirāz. In Shirāz he sat at the feet of the eminent medical practitioner, Mullā Kamālu'd-Dīn Tabīb. He also studied under Mullā Mirzā Jān Shirāzī and other eminent 'ulamā'. He studied the *Qanūn* by ibn Sinā, *Sharh Tajrīd* and its glosses. He then went to Qazwīn and paid his homage to Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī. From thence Mullā Ahmad travelled to the holy pilgrimage centres of Iraq and Jerusalem. That arduous and long journey gave him an opportunity to come into the contact of a large number of Shi'i and Sunnī 'ulamā' and scholars. The intellectual attainments of the Mullā were profoundly deepened.

After his study and pilgrimage tour Mullā Ahmad moved to Golkonda and served under Qutb Shāhī rulers.²⁸¹ According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, who also intimately knew Mullā Ahmad, the company of the bigoted *tabarrā'is* (Shi'is cursing the Prophet's companions) in Iran made Mullā outstep them. When Shāh Ismā'il II (984-985/1576-78), the successor of Shāh Tahmāsp who in contrast to his predecessor was a bigoted Sunnī, came to the throne and embarked upon persecuting and killing the Shi'is, Mullā Ahmad in the company of Mirzā Makhdūm Sharifī, a bigoted

281 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 254-55.

Sunni and the author of the *Kitāb Nawāqiz fi zamm al-rawāfiz*²⁸² moved to Mecca. From thence he moved to the Deccan and ultimately to Agra. Finding no opposition to the promotion of his designs, he began to deliver senseless speeches and to invite converts to Shi'ism.²⁸³

The account of Mullā Badā'ūnī does not essentially differ from that of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's. Mullā Badā'ūnī, however, is more clamorous in describing the missionary zeal of Mullā Ahmad. He says that Mullā Ahmad used to ridicule his forefathers who were the Hanāfis and 'Umar Fārūq's descendants. When he was a new-comer and had not yet seen Shaykh Fayzī and was not till then imbued with that air of confidence which later on he assumed, he [Mullā Ahmad] met him [Mullā Badā'ūnī] in the bazaar. Some 'Irāqīs introduced Mullā Badā'ūnī to him. In his very first interview he [Mullā Ahmad] said to him [Badā'ūnī], "I see the light of *taraffuz* (Shi'ism) shining in your [Badā'ūnī's] face". Mullā Badā'ūnī replied, "Just as much as I see the light of Sunni-ism shining on 'your [Mullā Ahmad's] face'."²⁸⁴

It would seem that Mullā Ahmad's arrival at Akbar's court synchronized with the arrival of Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī and he was associated with the project of the compilation of the history of 1000 years of the *hijra* era. The proposed title of the work was the *Alfi* or the *Tārikh-i Alfi*. In 989/1581-82 Akbar had already issued coins with the date one thousand stamped on them inscribing the Arabic word (*alf*, a thousand). Both decisions were designed to demonstrate that the completion of the Islamic millennium (1000/1591-92) was only a historical phenomenon with no religious or mystical significance, contrary to the popular Muslim belief. The death of the Prophet Muhammad was made the starting point of the *Tārikh-i Alfi* and the word *rihlat* (death of the Prophet) was substituted for *hijra*. This comprehensive history of all the Islamic rulers from the death of the Prophet down to 1000 *hijra* was intended to supersede other histories.²⁸⁵

Mullā Badā'ūnī implies that the order was intended to supersede the Islamic *shari'a*, but Āsaf Khān Ja'far Beg, the author of the second half of the *Tārikh-i Alfi* says in the preface:

"He [Akbar] has accordingly ordered, that the rational contents of different religions and faiths should be translated in the languages of each, and that the rose garden of the traditional aspects of each religion

282 Ashraf Mu'īnu'd-Dīn (known as Mirzā Makhdūm) bin Sayyid Sharif of Shīrāz, the author of *al-Nawāqiz fi'l radd 'alā' al-rawāfiz*, was a descendant of al-Sharif al-Jūzjānī. After the murder of Shāh Ismā'il II he escaped into Turkish territory. In 988/1580 or 995/1587 he died at Mecca.

283 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, II, p. 317.

284 *Ibid.*, II, p. 318.

285 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 301, 318.

should, as far as possible, be cleared of the thorns of bigotry; for in each faith they have introduced hundreds of (unauthorised) innovations and to each religion they have added thousands of (new) regulations. While giving his sermons his (Akbar's) Divinely inspired tongue never fails to urge everyone describe his (religious) principles in accordance with what it suits him and assert such logical arguments in support as he may choose himself. Traditions have become so unreliable that even though *azān* was called out daily during the Prophet's life, and reached the ears of people near and far, Sunnīs and Shī'is now differ sharply on the mode of calling it and each considers the other wrong.²⁸⁶ Interested and perverse parties find the road open to make interpolations among the facts of history; so it is essential that efforts should be made to enable reason to make its impact upon the transmission of traditions."²⁸⁷

Mirzā Ja'far Beg's preface contradicts the motives which Badā'ūnī imputed to the project. Originally a board of seven scholars was constituted to compile the work and the account of each year was assigned to one particular author:

1st Year:	Naqīb Khān
2nd Year:	Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī
3rd Year:	Hakīm Humām
4th Year:	Hakīm 'Alī
5th Year:	Hājji Ibrāhīm Sirhindī
6th Year:	Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī
7th Year:	Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī

The history of the thirty-five years was assigned in the above order. The panel included the best talents of Akbar's reign and embodied scholars of all shades of opinion. Naqīb Khān did not profess Shī'ism openly. Mir Fathu'llāh, Hakīms Humām and 'Alī were Shī'is, Hājji Ibrāhīm Sirhindī and Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī were bigoted Sunnīs and Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad was a liberal Sunni. Akbar had ordered the members of the panel to aim at a very high degree of objectivity and perfection, and, as far as his leisure permitted, he personally supervised the compilation. Badā'ūnī himself says that his own account of the seventh year (the caliphate of the Second Caliph 'Umar) provoked a crisis. He had written

286 Mullā Badā'ūnī rightly says, "*Hayya 'alā' khayri'l 'amal*" was removed by the second Caliph 'Umar from *azān*; *Supra*, p. 214.

287 *Tārīkh-i Alfī* quoted in *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 254-55.

about the foundation of Kūfa, the construction of the palace of the *Khalīfa* and its destruction; the marriage of Umm-i Kulsūm the daughter of Imām 'Alī with 'Umar, the institution of the time for prayers, the victory of Nasībīn and the scorpions as big as cocks. Akbar raised serious doubts. Badā'ūnī does not point out what portions the Emperor found most objectionable but certainly the scorpion story would have appeared to him irrational and objectionable. The material incorporated by Mullā Badā'ūnī was corroborated by the *Rawzatul-ahbāb*, nevertheless the irrational and legendary approach in a sober history did not convince Akbar.²⁸⁸

The board of compilers brought the work down to the 36th year, but they seem to have worked too slowly for the Emperor's taste. He, therefore, at Hākīm Abu'l-Fath's suggestions ordered Mullā Ahmad to write independently. The Mullā's work was daily read out to Akbar by Naqīb Khān.²⁸⁹ He brought down the account to 693 H (683 *Rihlat*)/1294. After his assassination in 1588, Āsaf Khān Ja'far Beg was ordered to complete the work, starting from the reign of Mahmūd Ghāzān (694-703/1295-1304). He wrote the history down to 999/1590-91.

In 1000/1591-92 Mullā Badā'ūnī was ordered to proceed to Lahore and to revise the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, to collate it with sources and arrange the dates in their proper sequence. He revised the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Āsaf Khān. One of the events of 1002/1593-94 described in the *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* by Mullā Badā'ūnī is the completion of the revision of the first volume of the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*. He writes that of the first three volumes two were written by Mullā Ahmad. Āsaf Khān also confirms the above statement. It would seem that the account of the first thirty-five years after the death of the Prophet was also rewritten by Mullā Ahmad. Badā'ūnī does not make any comments on the first volume which he thoroughly revised and presented to Akbar in 1002/1593-94 but remarks about the second volume, in the words: "And since the second volume contained much bigotry, the Emperor commanded me to revise it also. In the course of one year I sufficiently collated it, but on account of my own taint of 'bigotry' I did not interfere with the book, except as regards the order of the years, and did not alter the original, but laid the blame on my state of health; and may it not, God grant! be a cause of any further injury."²⁹⁰

Mullā Badā'ūnī's revision of the first volume which covered the history of Islam after the death of the Prophet to the end of the 'Abbāsids has changed the character of Mullā Ahmad's work and the Sunnī prejudices have been replaced with the Shī'i ones particularly in the history of the

288 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, p. 319.

289 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 255.

290 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 392-93.

first four successors of the Prophet. The account of the Umayyads and the 'Abbāsids does not seem to have been substantially changed. It contains such significant comments as Mullā Badā'ūnī might not have approved of but he could not drastically change the book for fear of Akbar. For example, the biographical note on Avicenna denounces Mahmūd's enmity towards him. The *Ihya' ulūm al-dīn* of Ghazālī has been reviewed at some length and the views regarding the imperfections of Ghazālī's knowledge of *hadīs* have been quoted. It is claimed that Ghazālī himself admitted that his knowledge of *hadīs* was poor. According to the *Tārīkh-i Alfī*, the treachery of ibn 'Alqāmī (d. June 1258), the Shi'i prime minister of the last 'Abbāsīd Caliph Mu'tasim bi'llāh (640-656/1242-58) was responsible for the fall of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. The Sunnī 'ulamā', the work adds, had made 'Alqāmī their enemy by insulting him and persecuting the Shi'is of Baghdād. Above comments are an amalgam of Mullā Badā'ūnī's and Mullā Ahmad's views.

The first volume also underlines the adverse consequences of narrow-mindedness. The revival of Sunnī orthodoxy under the Seljūqs of Iran and Iraq, and their persecution of Shi'is, provided the authors with an opportunity to denounce both the Shi'is and the Sunnīs. They lament that the narrow-mindedness of the followers of both sects had failed efforts for peace and reconciliation. The victories of Chingiz have been ascribed to Divine assistance, his barbarous cruelties glossed over, and the humanitarian aspects of his Institutes emphasised. The account concludes with the remark:

“This description is intended to make the world ponder and realise that the spirit of mutual co-operation and assistance among the Mongols facilitated their conquests and led to the annihilation of their powerful enemies thereby enabling them to rule for a long time.”

The second volume written by Mullā Ahmad, however, laments that his account of the religious beliefs of the Ismā'ilīs and the career of Hasan-i Sabbāh was based on the works of Sunnīs alone, for no work written by Ismā'ilīs or the followers of Hasan-i Sabbāh was available to him. He believed that the enemies of different creeds tended to falsify the truth and misrepresented their opponents' beliefs. For example, he added that standard Sunnī works contained distorted versions of the Isnā 'Asharī history and beliefs which were not traceable in the Shi'i works and no correct estimate of the Isnā 'Asharī beliefs was consequently possible on the basis of Sunnī works alone.²⁹¹

In 993/1585 Mullā Ahmad also accompanied Akbar to his Panjab

291 *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, pp. 257-62.

expedition. He did not give up his enthusiasm for the propagation of Shi'ism. Mullā Badā'ūnī says that he always admonished Mullā Ahmad for his Shi'i views and urged him to become a true Muslim (Sunni) for at that time nothing of the true faith (*dīn*) but its name was left. By *dīn* and Islam, Mullā Badā'ūnī meant Sunni-ism.²⁹² Mullā Ahmad's Sunni background and the Sunni-ism of his ancestors were embarrassing to the Sunnis. Mullā Badā'ūnī was also upset. Ahmad's outspokenness aroused a storm of opposition against him. Abu'l-Fazl says that the principles of 'Universal Peace' introduced by Akbar had permitted all religious communities to worship God according to their own traditions. Consequently Mullā Ahmad "who had undergone much toil in the acquisition of the traditional knowledge and was a firm adherent of the Imāmiyya doctrines, and talked largely about them, continually brought forward discourses about Sunnis and Shi'is, and 'from a despicable spirit' (*furu-mā'igī*) used immoderate language. Mīrzā Fawlād, the son of Khudādād Barlās, a bigoted Sunni dignitary and Akbar's ambassador to 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek, hated Mullā Ahmad's missionary zeal from the core of his heart. On the night of 31 December 1587, he and one of his companions lay in wait in a dark lane of Lahore, and sent some men to call Mullā Ahmad. They pretended themselves to be the royal messengers. On the way they attacked him with swords and cut off his arm from the middle of the forearm. He fell out of the saddle to the ground. Mīrzā Fawlād and his companion were arrested. The Khān-i Khānān 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, Āsaf Khān, Khudāwand Khān and Abu'l-Fazl were deputed to make enquiries from Mullā Ahmad. The Mullā told the story of his own cold-blooded murder. Akbar had Mīrzā Fawlād and his companion tied to the feet of an elephant and paraded through the city. Sunni dignitaries and the ladies of harem interceded for Mīrzā Fawlād and his companion but they were not successful. Akbar had Mīrzā Fawlād executed. Abu'l-Fazl says, "It was a cause of guidance to many who had gone astray, and the contest between Sunnis and Shi'is subsided."²⁹³ Soon after Mullā Ahmad also died and according to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī was buried in the graveyard of one Mir Habibu'llāh.²⁹⁴

Although the Sunni dignitaries and ladies were unable to protect Mīrzā Fawlād, the latter became a Sunni hero and a martyr. Some of the chronograms written by Sunnis are as follows:

"Bravo! the dagger of Fawlād (steel)"
 "Hell-fire pig".

292 *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh*, III, pp. 168-69.

293 *Akbar-nāma*, III, pp. 527-28.

294 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 255.

Mullā Badā'ūnī who called on Mullā Ahmad at his death had found the occasion to reiterate the Sunnī belief that the transfiguration into an animal (*maskh*) happened to Shī'is because of reviling the first three companions of the Prophet. He says, "And verily when he was at his last breath I saw his face look actually like that of a pig." According to Mullā Badā'ūnī, other people also observed that phenomenon. Possibly they were his co-religionists. Mullā Badā'ūnī also adds a fantastic legend which the Sunnis believed. He says, "The Shī'as at the time of washing the corpse, are said to have, according to the rules of their sect, put a nail into his anus, and plunged him several times into the river." Mullā Ahmad had rightly pointed out in the *Tārikh-i Alfī* that the Sunnī works were abusive to the Shī'is.

When Mullā Ahmad was buried, Shaykh Fayzī and Abu'l-Fazl set guards over the Mullā's grave, but in spite of all precautions, Akbar's departure to Kashmir in April 1589 gave the Sunnis of Lahore an opportunity to dig up his grave and burn his dead body.²⁹⁵

According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, Mullā Ahmad was the author of some other works. Of these the *Tahqiq-i tiryāq-i Fārūq* discussed the property of herbs and medical and mathematical theories. His *Khulāsatul-hayāt* which he could not complete comprised the biographies of *hakīms*. Mullā Ahmad was also the author of a book on ethics and a work on the mysteries of alphabets and numbers.²⁹⁶

In Akbar's reign Rizwī Khān Mashhadī also made singular contributions to the development of Shī'ī piety and way of life. In the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* he is included among *mansabdārs* of 900. He was one of the associates of the Khān-i Zamān. After the latter's death Rizwī Khān was captured. For five days he was thrown before an elephant but the mahout saved his life because of his noble ancestry. Ultimately he was given a *mansab* and he served as a *diwān* and *bakhshī*. Finally he was posted to the Deccan under 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān who was deeply enamoured of Rizwī Khān's company. The Khān-i Khānān married his daughter to one of Rizwī Khān's sons, Mir Khalīl by name. Rizwī Khān led a very pious life and was given to asceticism, meditation and contemplation. Farīd Bhakkarī says that he was the *mujtahid* of his age. He adds that in obedience to the rules of Imāmiyya Shī'is if a Hindu happened to walk over his carpets, he would have them washed.²⁹⁷

The growing influence of Shī'is was outrageous and intolerable to Sunnis. Abu'l-Fazl says that the favour shown to Iranians, most of whom professed the Shī'ī faith "increased the evil thought of the turbulent".

295 *Muntakhabat-tawārīkh*, II, pp. 364-65.

296 *Majālisul-nu'mānīn*, p. 255.

297 Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Zakhīratul-khawānīn*, Lahore, 1961, I, p. 186.

He goes on to say, "And either the promotion of Tūrānian was hidden from the bigoted eyes of this sect (bigoted Sunni slanderers), or they wilfully remained ignorant of it and sought for pretexts."²⁹⁸ Although all Iranian migrants were not Shi'is, in Akbar's age the Īrānis were invariably known to have believed in Shi'ism. Once in 991/1583 Akbar ordered that the Sunnis should stand separately from the Shi'is, when the Hindustānis, without exception went to the Sunnī side, and the Iranians to the Shi'i side.²⁹⁹

The Shi'i influence in Akbar's reign has been grossly exaggerated by Mullā Badā'ūnī in order to arouse Sunnī hatred against them. Badā'ūnī compares his contemporary Shi'i grandees with ibn 'Alqāmī (d. 656/1258) the Shi'i vizier of al-Musta'sim. He says that the bigotry and the Sunnī enmity led ibn 'Alqāmī to work for the destruction of the Caliph al-Musta'sim. Drawing moral from the above story he says, "I have found most of my contemporaries following in the same foot-steps. At present their number is not large. Only God knows the end."³⁰⁰

Īrānī Mansabdārs

An examination of the list of Akbar's *mansabdārs* compiled by Abu'l-Fazl in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* reveals the fact that the Iranians were not more than one-fourth of the total number of *mansabdārs*. A considerable number of Iranian *mansabdārs* in the upper cadre had obtained their training under Bayram Khān. After Bayram's fall they were relegated to background but their talents particularly their expertise in accounts and revenue administration made them indispensable to the Emperor. The intrigues of the Tūrānī nobility against Akbar made him dependent upon Iranians and Rājputs.

Among thirty *mansabdārs* of five thousand only, (1) Mirzā Muzaffar Husayn son of Bahrām Mirzā, son of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī, (2) his younger brother Mirzā Rustam, (3) Khān-i Khānān Bayram Khān, (4) Khān-i Jahān Husayn Quli Khān, (5) Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān and (6) Tarson Khān were of Iranian origin. Of these Shihāb Khān was a Sayyid of Nishāpūr but was a relation and friend of Māham Anaga. He was instrumental in bringing about Bayram's fall. Tarson Khān who ruled over Gharjistān in Khurāsān was formerly in Bayram Khān's service but after Bayram's banishment to Mecca he entered into Akbar's service and was raised to a high *mansab* mainly because of his former position as the ruler of an Iranian territory. Mirzā Muzaffar Husayn and his brother Mirzā Rustam were Iranian princes. Muzaffar was appointed the governor

298 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 274.

299 *Muntakhabū't-tawārikh*, II, p. 327.

300 *Najātur-Rashīd*, p. 370.

of Qandahār by Shāh of Iran but Tūrānian incursions made the life of Qizilbāshes difficult. His brother Rustam also was alienated with Muzaffar. Rustam, however, failed to seize Qandahār and was deprived of his territories. Consequently Rustam submitted to Akbar in 1001/1592-93 and was made governor of Multan. In 1003/1594-95 Muzaffar surrendered Qandahār to Akbar, though 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek urged him not to do so. Akbar gave him the title of *farzand* (son) and made him a *mansabdār* of 5000.

Khān-i Jahān Husayn Qulī Khān son of Walī Beg Zu'lqadar was the son of Bayram Khān's sister. His father Walī Beg was looked upon as the chief instigator of Bayram's rebellion and was beheaded. Khān-i Jahān was also imprisoned but released after Bayram Khān was pardoned. He was a successful general, seized Nagarkot, obtained brilliant victories in Gujarat and despite Tūrāni intrigues he defeated Dāwūd of Bengal in 984/1576. He died in Shawwāl 986/December 1578.

Khān-i Khānān Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm the son of Bayram Khān was born at Lahore on 14 Safar 964/17 December 1556. His mother was the daughter of Jamāl Khān Mewāti. He was brought up by Akbar as a prince and grew up to become an indefatigable warrior and a farsighted general. He was made a commander of five thousand. Neither was he of Iranian birth nor did he obtain Shī'i education in his young age. He was indifferent to the religious bigotry but was a pioneer of Akbar's movement of universal peace.

Until 1580, it was the Tūrāni nobility that dominated the class of the *mansabdārs* of 5,000. Some of the Irāni *mansabdārs* of 5,000 seem to have been Shī'i. Among the Tūrāni *mansabdārs* 'Alī Qulī Khān-i Zamān, the son of Haydar Sultān Uzbek Shaybāni was a Shī'i. In 935/1528 Haydar joined Shāh Tahmāsp's forces and fought against 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek in the battle of Jām. He married an Iranian wife who gave birth to Khān-i Zamān and Bahādur Khān. Haydar Sultān with his two sons joined the Emperor Humāyūn during the latter's visit to Iran. Haydar Sultān made remarkable efforts in re-capturing Qandahār but died of plague on Humāyūn's march from Qandahār to Kābul. In the first two years of Akbar's reign 'Alī Qulī ceaselessly fought against the Afghans and liquidated their resistance. Akbar gave 'Alī Qulī the title of Khān-i Zamān. Next to Bayram the restoration of Mughal dynasty may be justly ascribed to him. In the third year of Akbar's reign, Khān-i Zamān became the talk of the whole country in consequence of a love scandal with Shāham Beg, a page of Humāyūn, and as he refused to send the boy back to court, Akbar took away some of Khān-i Zamān's *jāgirs*, which led him to rebel. Bayram Khān took no action but his successor Pir Muhammad deprived Khān-i Zamān of his *jāgirs* and appointed him commander against the rebel Afghans of Jaunpur. Khān-i Zamān surrendered Shāham and

crushed the Afghan rebellion. He, however, retained for himself the major portion of spoils. Akbar defeated Khān-i Zamān but pardoned him. When Akbar marched to suppress the rebellion of his half-brother Mirzā Hakim in 974/1566 Khān-i Zamān again rebelled. After his return from the Kābul expedition, Akbar again marched against Khān-i Zamān. Both Khān-i Zamān and his brother Bahādur, who also held a rank of 5,000, were defeated and killed. Although religious beliefs of Bahādur Khān are not known Khān-i Zamān was a Shī'i and did not perform *taqiyya*.³⁰¹

There were only two *mansabdārs* of 4,500. Of these Mirzā Yūsuf Khān son of Mir Ahmad-i Rizawī was a Sayyid. Mirzā Yūsuf Khān was an expert in revenue administration but until 992/1584 he was a commander of 2,500. He was one of the successful governors of Kashmir. In 1010/1601 he died at Jalnapur where he had been deputed to fight against the Deccanis. His dead body was taken to Mashhad. Possibly he was a Shī'i. One of his sons Mirzā Lashkarī Safshikan Khān rose to the *mansab* of 2,500/2,000 under Shāhjahān. In Jahāngir's reign he is said to have feasted the *mansabdārs* of Kābul on pork and to the utter disgust of Jahāngir courageously submitted in his explanation that not only the pork but wine was also forbidden by the *shari'a*.³⁰²

Of nine *mansabdārs* of four thousand (1) Khwāja Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī, the former *diwān* of Bayram Khān belonged to Turbat, a town near Mashhad. He was an influential Irānī and possibly a Shī'i, (2) Muhammad Qāsim Khān, a rich land owner of Nishāpūr fled from his homeland because of Uzbek invasions. He also held a high position under Bayram Khān. In the ninth year (1564) of Akbar's reign he died at Sarangpur. (3) Sādiq Muhammad Khān son of Bāqir of Hirāt might also be included among the *mansabdārs* of Iranian origin. Sādiq started his career under Bayram Khān as *rikābdār* (a stirrup-holder or a butler). Wazīr Khān of Hirāt also obtained a *mansab* of 4,000. Raja Todar Mal, a *khattri*, Rāy Rāysingh, son of Kalyān Mal Rāthor were also non-Tūrānī *mansabdārs* of four thousand.³⁰³

Among two *mansabdārs* of 3,500 both Shāh Qulī Mahram-i Bahārlū and Ismā'il Qulī Khān, brother of Khān-i Jahān were Irānis.³⁰⁴ Among seventeen *mansabdārs* of 3,000 (1) Afzal Khān, Khwāja Sultān 'Alī of

301 H. Blochmann, *The Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Delhi, 1977, reprint, pp. 323-67. Abu'l-Fazl gives only the list of *mansabdārs*. Biographical notes on *mansabdārs* were compiled by Blochmann mainly from the *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'* by Shāh Nawāz Khān. For Khān-i Zamān's Shī'ism see *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, I, p. 630.

302 Blochmann, pp. 369-71; *Zakhīratu'l-khawānīn*, pp. 170-72.

303 Blochmann, pp. 372-86.

304 Blochmann, pp. 381-89.

Turbat started his career as a *mushrif* (accountant) of Humāyūn's treasury. Bayram Khān convicted him because of his flight from Delhi before its re-occupation by Akbar, (2) Mīr Mu'izzu'l-Mulk, a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad and his younger brother, (3) Mīr 'Alī Akbar were efficient generals, (4) Āsaf Khān 'Abdu'l-Majīd of Hirāt, a descendant of Shaykh Abū Bakr-i Tāybādī could also be included among Īrānis but he was probably a Sunni, (5) Hājji Muhammad Khān of Sistān was deeply attached to Bayram Khān. He and his colleague Tarson Khān (a *mansabdār* of 5,000), accompanied Bayram to Nagor to his final journey to Mecca.³⁰⁵

Among eight *mansabdārs* of 2,500, (1) Khwāja Jalālu'd-Dīn Mahmūd Bujūq belonged to Khurāsān and had also faithfully served Humāyūn. In the early years of his reign Akbar appointed Jalālu'd-Dīn to Ghazni but Mun'im Khān, the governor of Kābul made his life difficult. Jalālu'd-Dīn secretly left Ghazni but was apprehended. He was deprived of his eye-sight but recovered. On his way to India he was imprisoned at the frontier. Mun'im Khān had him and his younger brother Jalālu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd executed. Jagannāth son of Raja Bhāra Mal and I'timād Khān Gujarāti also enjoyed a *mansab* of 2,500.³⁰⁶

Among twenty-eight *mansabdārs* of 2,000, (1) Ashraf Khān Mīr Munshī belonged to Sabzwār, (2) Shāh Fakhru'd-Dīn son of Mīr Qāsīm was a Mūsawī Sayyid of Mashhad, (3) Lashkar Khān was a Khurāsāni, (4) Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qalāt, a friend of Bayram Khān could also be included among Iranians, (5) Āsaf Khān (III) [Mīrzā Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Ja'far Beg] was the son of Badi'u'z-Zamān of Qazwīn. The latter was an historian, an excellent prose writer and a poet. Ja'far Beg was an expert in finances and a good accountant. The Bārha Sayyids rose to the rank of 2,000. Sayyid Mahmūd Bārha, his younger brother Sayyid Ahmad Bārha rose to a *mansab* of 2,000. Their claims to be a Sayyid were doubted and their reckless bravery was the only distinctive feature of their career. Akbar's court admired Sayyid Mahmūd's intrepidity and enjoyed his simplicity and unrefined manners. As proud Hindustānis the Bārha Sayyids must have joined the Sunni block but some of them might have been Shi'is following very strict *taqiyya*. Until the end of Awrangzib's reign it was believed that Bārha Sayyids were Sunnis.

The Bukhāri Sayyids and Indian Shaykhzādas also obtained *mansabs* of 2,000. Shaykh Muhammad Bukhāri, Sayyid Hāmid Bukhāri, Shaykh Ibrāhīm son of Shaykh Mūsa, elder brother of Shaykh Salīm Chishtī of Fathpur Sikri obtained a *mansab* of 2,000.³⁰⁷

Among the six *mansabdars* of 1,500 none was an Īrāni, Shaykh Farīd

305 Blochmann, pp. 389-416.

306 Blochmann, pp. 416-22.

307 Blochmann, pp. 422-54.

Bukhārī belonged to this class of *mansabdārs*. Sayyid Qāsim son of Sayyid Mahmūd Khān was a Bārha Sayyid.³⁰⁸

Among twenty-nine *mansabdārs* of 1,000, (1) Hakim Abu'l-Fath, (2) Ja'far Khān son of Qazāq Khān Taklū, (3) Asadu'llāh Khān of Tabriz, (4) Khwāja Shāh Mansūr of Shīrāz, (5) Khwāja Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān [Āsaf Khān II] of Qazwīn were Irānis, (6) 'Adil Khān, son of Shāh Muhammad-i Qalāti and (7) Habib 'Alī Khān who was earlier in Bayram Khān's service might also be included among the Irāni *mansabdārs* of 1,000.³⁰⁹

Of thirty-nine *mansabdārs* of 900, (1) Rizawī Khān Mirzā Mirak, a Rizawī Sayyid of Mashhad, (2) Shāh Ghāzī Khān, a Sayyid from Tabriz, (3) Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Khawāfi, (4) Naqīb Khān son of Mir 'Abdu'l-Latif Qazwīni, (5) Mir Mur tazā Khān, a Sabzwāri Sayyid, (6) Mir Jamālu'd-Dīn Husayn, an Injū Sayyid, (7) Mir Sharīf 'Āmili were Iranians. Some Indian Sayyids such as Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl, a Sayyid of Amroha, Sayyid Hāshim son of Sayyid Mahmūd of Bārha and Sayyid Rājū of Bārha also rose to the rank of 900.³¹⁰

Of the two commanders of 8,00 none was an Irāni. One of them Sher Khwāja by name was a Sayyid of Itawa.³¹¹

Among twenty-five *mansabdārs* of 700, (1) Hakīm 'Alī of Gilān, and (2) Tāhīr son of Sayfu'l-Mulūk were Irānis, (3) Mir Abu'l Qāsim Namkīn a Hīrāti Sayyid and (4) Sayyid 'Abdu'llāh, son of Mir Khwānanda might also be included among Iranians. Sher Khwāja a Sayyid of Itawa, and Mirān Sadr-i Jahān Muftī of Pihani also rose to the rank of 700. Shaykh 'Abdu'r Rahīm of Lucknow whose Brahmin wife kept his memory green after his death was also a *mansabdār* of 700.³¹² They were Sunnis.

Of four *mansabdārs* of 600, (1) Bakhtiyār Beg Gurd-i Shāh Mansūr, (2) Hakīm Humām and (3) Muhammad Qulī Khān Turkomān Afshār were Iranians.³¹³ Of 46 *mansabdārs* of 500, (1) Shāh Qulī Khān Nāranjī, a Kurd, (2) Hakīm 'Aynu'l-Mulūk of Shīrāz, (3) Mir Tāhīr Mūsawī, (4) Khwājagī Muhammad Husayn, the *Mir Barr*, (5) Qamar Khān son of Mir 'Abdu'l-Latif of Qazwīn were Iranians, (6) Sānī Khān of Hīrāt, (7) Munsif Khān, (8) Sultān Muhammad of Hīrāt might also be included among the Iranians. Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn son of Sayyid Ahmad Bārha, Sayyid Chajjū of Bārha, the Indian Sayyids, were *mansabdārs* of 500.³¹⁴

Of 163 *mansabdārs* from 400 to 250, the following were of Iranian

308 Blochmann, pp. 454-63.

309 Blochmann, pp. 463-84.

310 Blochmann, pp. 484-510.

311 Blochmann, pp. 510-11.

312 Blochmann, pp. 511-28.

313 Blochmann, pp. 528-30.

314 Blochmann, pp. 530-48.

origin. (1) Hakim Misri, (2) Khwāja 'Abdu's Samad Shirin Qalam Shirāzi, (3) Rizā' Quli, son of Khān-i Jahān, Ziyā'u'l-Mulk of Kāshān, (4) Peshraw Khān [Mihtar Sa'adat], (5) Qāzi Hasan Qazwini, (6) Mir Murād-i Juwayni, (7) Khwājagi Fathu'llāh Khān of Kāshān, (8) Zāhid Dūst Muhammad, (9) Yār Muhammad, (10) Abu'l-Ma'ālī son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl, (11) Mirzā Khān of Nishāpūr, (12) Nād-i 'Alī Maydāni, (13) Ghiyās Beg Tihirāni (later on I'timādu'd-Dawla), (14) Khwāja Sulaymān of Shirāz, (15) Rahīm Quli son of Khān-i Jahān, (16) Husayn Khān Qazwini, (17) Kāmran Beg of Gilān, (18) Sharif Sarmadi, (19) Hakim Jalālu'd-Dīn Muzaffar of Ardistan, (20) Sharif [later on *Amīru'l-Umarā'*] son of Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad Shirāzi, (21) Khwāja 'Abdu's-Samad of Kāshān, (22) Hakim Lutfu'llāh of Gilān, (23) Salīm Quli, (24) Khalil Quli, (25) Sayyid Abu'l-Hasan son of Sayyid Muhammad Mir 'Adl, (26) Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wāhid son of Mir 'Adl's brother, (27) Mirzā Khwāja son of Mirzā Asadu'llāh, (28) Lashkari son of Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Rizawi, (29) Āghā Mullā Qazwini, (30) Sayyid Abū Ishāq son of Mirzā Rafi'u'd-Dīn Safawi, (31) 'Alī Quli [Beg Istajlū, Sher Afgan Khān], (32) Mir Abu'l Qāsim of Nishāpūr, (33) Hājji Muhammad Ardistanī, (34) Muhammad Khān, son of Tarson Khān's sister.³¹⁵

Abu'l-Fazl's list is not complete. It does not tell about Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi's *mansab*. It can be supplemented by his own *Akbar-nāma*, the *Tārikh-i Alfī*, the *Tabaqāt-i Akbari* by Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, the *Muntakhabu't-tawārikh* by Mullā Badā'ūni and other sources. The additional names, however, would not substantially change the percentage of Iranians in all ranks of *mansabdārs*. It was not their number but their intellectual influence and military competence that they obtained prominence.

Abu'l-Fazl has also given the list of Akbar's *wakils* (prime ministers), viziers (finance ministers), *bakhshīs* and *sadrs*. Among seven *wakils* mentioned by Abu'l-Fazl only Bayram Khān was an Iranian. After Bayram Khān, the importance of the position of *wakil* itself declined. The position of *wakil* was frequently kept vacant and the Emperor himself assumed sole responsibility of the administration. Of ten viziers or ministers of finance only Todar Mal, Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Farankhudī and Qulij Khān were non-Iranians. The rest, Mir 'Azīzu'llāh Turbatī, Khwāja Jalāl'ud-Dīn Mahmūd of Khurāsān, Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Majid Āsaf Khān, Wazīr Khān, Khwāja Muzaffar Turbatī, Khwāja Shāh Mansūr Shirāzi and Shamsu'd-Dīn Khwāfi were Iranians.

Among fifteen *bakhshīs* six were Iranians. Of seven *sadrs* 'Abdu'l Hayy and Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi were Iranians.³¹⁶

315 Blochmann, pp. 548-95.

316 Blochmann, pp. 595-96.

The Shi'i Iranians did not make any palpable efforts to propagate Shi'ism. They did not, however, abandon their interest in the political upheavals of their homeland. Akbar also deemed the political expansion of the Uzbek and Ottoman powers at the cost of Iran as a potent threat to his own empire. He did not join the Sunni block of Ottoman Turks and the Central Asian Uzbeks. Ignoring the deviation of the Shāh of Iran "from the highway of Sunni-ism" he made the Safawid origin from the family of the Prophet the basis of his friendship with Iran. He advised 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek (991-1006/1583-98) to march from Tūrān to reinforce the Iranian army, so that the Indian and Tūrānian armies might collaborate in helping the Shāh to crush the Ottoman expansion to the south. The proposed scheme was visionary but it reminded 'Abdu'llāh Khān that were he to reinforce Turkey, Akbar might turn the scale by putting his weight behind Iran.³¹⁷

Before Shāh 'Abbās could consolidate his power 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek seized Mashhad, outrageously slaughtered its inhabitants and did not spare even the property of Imām Rizā's tomb. The 'ulamā' of Mashhad wrote a letter to 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek requesting him to justify from the Islamic point of view the massacre of the descendants of the Prophet living in Mashhad and the destruction of the property endowed for religious purposes. The Sunni 'ulamā' in their reply admitted that if Muslims did not openly violate the *shari'a* as interpreted by the Sunni 'ulamā', they should not be condemned as infidels. The Shi'is, however, by attacking the pious memory of the first three caliphs and some of the wives of the Prophet Muhammad, the Sunni 'ulamā' pleaded, were no longer Muslims and it was lawful to annihilate them and seize their property. If the Pādshāh and *khalīfa* failed to wage *jihād* against them, which according to the Sunni 'ulamā' was imperative, they would be answerable for the negligence of their duties on the Day of Judgement. According to the Sunni 'ulamā' those who had some sense could themselves judge from the Qur'ānic verses and the *ahādīs* that the Prophet's companions who faithfully served him and waged *jihād* under his leadership deserved place in paradise. Consequently those who cast aspersions over the glorious achievements of the Prophet's companions were perdition-damned. They violated the Prophet's words and actions which according to the following verses of the Qur'ān were equivalent to the Divine revelation:

Nor doth he (Prophet Muhammad) speak of (his own) desire,
It is naught save an inspiration that is inspired.³¹⁸

317 Abu'l-Fazl, *Mukātibāt-i 'Allāmī*, Delhi, 1846.

318 Qur'ān, LIII, 3, 4.

Consequently the Shī'is could not be called Muslims. The property of Imām Rizā' in Mashhad belonged to the *dārūl-harb*, its confiscation was, therefore, lawful.

The reply to the above letter on behalf of the Shī'i 'ulamā' was drafted by Mawlānā Muhammad Fakhru'd-Dīn Rustamdāri. He wrote that Muslims were divided into two sects. Those who believed that Abū Bakr was the caliph after the Prophet Muhammad were Sunnis, those who believed in the caliphate of 'Alī, after the Prophet's death, were Shī'is. Consequently what was unanimously accepted both by the Sunnī and Shī'i works was dependable. Referring to the verses quoted by the Sunnī 'ulamā', the Mawlānā wrote that the above verses nullified the caliphate of the first three caliphs and condemned them vehemently for according to the *Sharh Mawāqif* by an eminent Sunnī 'ālim, it was 'Umar who blatantly violated the Prophet's orders. The Sunnī and Shī'i works unanimously assert that 'Umar opposed the Prophet's request to give him writing material to write down his injunctions in order that the Muslims did not go astray. 'Umar said that the Prophet was sick and the Allāh's book was sufficient to them. When the quarrel escalated, the Prophet expelled his companions before him saying that quarrelling before him was most unseemly. The *Sahih* by Bukhāri was the first among the Sunnī works to recount the above story; other Sunnī works reiterated the fact in different words. Secondly the Prophet's companions ignored their master's repeated orders to march under Usāma against the Syrian frontiers. The Mawlānā argued that since the violation of the Qur'ānic revelation was infidelity and the Prophet's words amounted to the Qur'ānic revelations, 'Umar was infidel and did not deserve the caliphate. Those who violated the Prophet's orders to march under Usāma also disqualified themselves for the position of caliphate; all the three caliphs were among them. The Prophet had expelled Marwān from Medina; his decision was therefore equivalent to the Divine revelation, 'Usmān who recalled him was guilty of violating the Divine revelation.

Referring to the eulogies of the first three successors of the Prophet Muhammad mentioned in the letter of the 'ulamā' of Transoxiana, the Mawlānā wrote that those stories were not found in the Shī'i works. Only the Sunnī works mentioned them. Consequently they were disputed. Only the condemnation of the first three caliphs was common in the works of both the Sunnis and the Shī'is. It should therefore be accepted as true by both. Since the Sunnis permitted the fabrication of *ahādīs* for reasons of expediency, their *ahādīs* could not be trusted. Thus the alleged respect shown by the Prophet to the first three caliphs before they were culpable does not guarantee their glorious end.

Quoting the *Sahih* by Bukhāri, the Mawlānā wrote that according to the above work one who annoyed Fātima, annoyed the Prophet himself.

Those who annoyed the Prophet, Sunni works such as the *Mishkāt* say, were perdition-damned. The Mawlānā marshalled arguments to show that mere companionship was not a matter of credit for Joseph who addressed two prisoners in his prison cell as companions but they were idolaters.

The Mawlānā concluded that according to the Sunni works those who assailed the memory of the first three caliphs were not infidels. For example Muhammad Ghazālī says that those who condemned the first two caliphs were not infidels. Not only the Shi'is but all the Islamic sects who prayed facing the *Qibla*, could not be damned as infidels, Ash'ari says. The *Mawāqif* also reiterates the same view. Moreover the Mawlānā added that to curse the first three caliphs was not imperative for the Shi'is. The ignorant Shi'is who considered the cursing as imperative did not merit any consideration. They were in the category of the Sunnis who made the slaughter of the Shi'is imperative.

According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustari, 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek asked 'ulamā' to write a reply. The Sunni 'ulamā' submitted that polemics against the Shi'is weakened the faith of others (Sunnis). The best thing to do was to cut out the Qur'ānic verses from the Shi'i letter by a pair of scissors and to publicly burn it.³¹⁹

Before long the copies of the correspondence exchanged between the 'ulamā' of two sects were received in India. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (b. 971/1564) says that to all intents and purposes the letter of the Shi'i 'ulamā' condemned the first three caliphs as infidels and reproached and slandered 'Ā'isha. The contents of the letters were a matter of great pride and pomposity to the Shi'i scholars from Iran. They publicised the contents to the assembly of noblemen and princes. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī adds that he refuted them in the assemblies which he attended. Finding those refutations insufficient he straightaway took to writing a treatise for the benefit of all classes of people. It seems to have been written around 995/1587.³²⁰

He commenced the treatise with a description of twenty-two obscure Shi'i sects and their mutual differences. He heaved a sigh of relief on the fact that their internecine war was the principal source of their destruction. According to the Shaykh the belief in transmigration of soul which was a taboo with Muslims was commonly held by all the Shi'i sects.³²¹

Referring to the polemics surrounding the statement that the orders

319 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 45-48; 'Abdu'l Husayn Nawā'i, *Shāh 'Abbās; Majmū'a-i asnād*, Tehran, 1974, pp. 183-93; Tabityān, *Asnād-o nāmha-i tārikhī*, Tehran, 1965, pp. 228-50. The above letters are available in a large number of manuscripts comprising selection of letters.

320 *Radd-i Rawāfiẓ* published as an appendix to the *Maktūbāt-i Imām-i Rabbānī*, Nawal Kishore, Lucknow n. d., p. 1.

321 *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

and actions of the Prophet enjoyed the status of Divine revelation, the Shaykh pleaded that it was not true without qualifications. The *Tafsir Bayzāwi* has made the point clear. Had all the words of the Prophet enjoyed the status of Divine revelation, Allāh would have not from time to time warned him to correct himself. In rational matters and on problems relating to *ijtihād* the Prophet's companions were entitled to differ from him. The Prophet himself did not pay much attention to the rational matters. The 'Umar's suggestion regarding the action against the prisoners of Badr was endorsed by the Divine revelation. Consequently the Prophet's orders to bring paper or to march under the command of Usāma or to expel Marwān from Medina were not identical to Divine revelation but were based on his own opinion and *ijtihād*.³²²

Referring to the Shi'i allegations regarding the unreliability of the Sunni *ahādīs*, the Shaykh said that the Shi'is disputed the correct Sunni *ahādīs* without rhyme or reason and distorted them. They even mutilated the Qur'ān and accused 'Usmān of excluding the Qur'ānic verses that eulogised the Ahl-i Bayt, and permitted the concoction of evidence in support of their statements. Consequently their works were garbled like the book of Moses and the Christian gospels. Their allegations against Sunni works were designed to defend their own inventions and fabrications. Although the Sunni *ahādīs* eulogising the companions of the Prophet were literally *ahād*, the innumerable repetitions have bestowed on them the position of *mutwātir*. Referring to the end of the caliphs the Shaykh wrote that the *ahādīs* eulogising them guaranteed their glorious end. So far as annoying Fātima was concerned 'Alī also sometimes annoyed Fātima. The Prophet intended to discourage people from annoying Fātima for their selfish ends. She was annoyed with Abū Bakr because of the adverse judgement delivered by him against Fātima's claim of Fadak. Nevertheless it was based on the Prophet's *hadīs*. She was annoyed because of human passions. Referring to Joseph's companions in prison, the Shaykh wrote that two idolaters embraced Islam because of the blessings of Joseph's company. The company that transmuted the character of the people was of vital importance.³²³ The impact of the Prophet's company on the first three caliphs was far-reaching and the same was confirmed by the Qur'ānic verses.

The Shaykh wrote that the Shi'i plea that the paucity of followers and the fear of destruction of righteous people prevented 'Alī from fighting for his right was a clear proof of 'Alī's *bay'a* with Abū Bakr. As pointed out by the 'ulamā' of Transoxiana 'Alī's *bay'a* with Abū Bakr justified the latter's caliphate. Since the Shi'is were unable to defend 'Alī's *bay'a* with

322 *Ibid.*, pp. 6-8.

323 *Ibid.*, pp. 9-17.

Abū Bakr they invented the story that 'Alī reluctantly made *bay'a* or some opined that 'Alī performed *taqiyya*. Although Mu'āwiya was exceedingly powerful 'Alī fought against him for his right. Neither did he nor did 'Abbās, however, take the same steps against Abū Bakr.

Although some Sunni '*ulamā'* did not consider the Shi'is as infidels, the Shi'is were infidels because they cursed 'Ā'isha and accused her of violating the following verse of the Qur'ān:

And stay in your houses. Bedizen not yourselves with the bedizement of the Time of Ignorance.³²⁴

The command in the above verse, the Shaykh wrote, was not universal. The exceptions were made even in the Prophet's time when some of his wives accompanied him to his travels. 'Ā'isha's war against 'Alī was designed to meet certain useful ends. Since she was endowed with the power of *ijtihād*, her judgement to fight against 'Alī could not be questioned. The Shaykh quoted *ahādīs* from Sunni authorities to show that the Prophet had forewarned 'Alī of the emergence of a sect known as Rāfizis who would exaggerate his ('Alī's) achievements and revile his (the Prophet's) companions. Allāh and the angels would curse them and their prayers would be of no avail to them. The Shaykh quoted a Sunni *hadīs* saying that those who bore malice towards the first two caliphs or annoyed them equally bore malice against him (the Prophet). As the Shi'is annoyed him (the Prophet), they annoyed God. The opinion of the Sunni scholars, who did not consider Shi'is as infidels, Shaykh Ahmad opined, should be glossed over. Refuting the Shi'i objections to the authentic Sunni *ahādīs* relating how Prophet Muhammad carried 'Ā'isha on his shoulders to street dancing shows, Shaykh wrote, that incident perhaps took place before 'Ā'isha became an adult. It was possible that some of the sport shows where 'Ā'isha was taken by the Prophet were lawful, such as archery in the mosque. The account of such events did not, therefore, make the Sunni works unreliable. The Shaykh urged the Muslims to leave the disputes that took place between the Prophet's companions to God and remember them respectfully. It was none of the business of Muslims to interfere with the disputes of the Prophet's companions, the Shaykh moralized.³²⁵

The work concludes with a short note on the eminence of Fātima, 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn although Sunni *ahādīs* which criticised the Ahl-i Bayt were not ignored.

From the end of sixteenth century to modern times the polemical works on sectarian differences proliferated and each sect produced a plethora of

324 Qur'ān, XXXIII, 33.

325 *Radd-i Rawāfiz*, pp. 17-22.

apologetic works, in India the letter of Mawlānā Muhammad Rustamdāri and the *Radd-i Rawāfiz* by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī were widely read. They concisely reiterate their respective beliefs and refute the beliefs of their rivals. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Shi'is discussed the contents of the correspondence exchanged between the Sunni and Shi'i 'ulamā' without inhibition.

*Shī'is in the Deccan***The Bahmanī Kingdom**

The Muslim dynasty which ruled the table-land of Deccan from 748/1347 to 932/1526 is known as the Bahmanī. Its founder, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh (748-759/1347-1358), was a nephew of the Delhi Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khalji's famous general, Malik Hizabru'd-Dīn Zafar Khān, who was killed fighting the Mongols in 697/1298.¹ Hasan himself was one of Muhammad bin Tughluq's commanders in the Deccan. His ancestors belonged to the Kakuyids dynasty which ruled Isfahān and Hamadān. Some members of the dynasty, including Hasan's ancestors, had moved to Ghaznī to seek the protection of Sultan Mahmūd (388-421/998-1030). Hasan was known as Hasan Kaku—a term which was later misread as Kankū or Gangū.² After the establishment of the Bahmanid dynasty innumerable anecdotes were ascribed to the name Kankū or Gangū. The scholars who compiled genealogies for the Bahmanis traced them back to the Bahman of the Iranian epic the *Shāhnāma*.

Between 748/1347 and 825/1422 eight sultans of this dynasty had made their capital at Ahsanabad Gulbarga, but Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad I (825-839/1422-1436) transferred his capital to Muhammadabad Bidar. The last ten sultans of this dynasty ruled from Bidar until its extinction in

- 1 *Futūhu's-salāṭīn*, p. 464. Many legends have gone down in history regarding the mythical origin of the Bahmanids. According to Firishṭa, Hasan was a servant of Prince Muhammad bin Tughluq's brahmin astrologer Gangū or Kankū. Hasan was assigned some land for cultivation. One day Hasan was tilling the land. Suddenly he unearthed a treasury of gold and presented it to his master. Kankū was deeply impressed with Hasan's integrity and introduced him to the Prince. Sultan Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Tughluq appointed him an *amīr-i sada* (an officer of tax collectors). Kankū prophesied that Hasan would rise to great eminence and obtained a pledge from him to associate his name with the ruling dynasty he might found. (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I, p. 274). According to a *sūfī* legend Hasan was the disciple of Shaykh Sirāju'd-Dīn Junaydī who lies buried in Gulbarga. *Tazkira*, Āsafīya Library, Hyderabad; *Tārīkh Fārsī*, 1081, f. 6a.
- 2 H. K. Sherwānī, *The Bahmanīs in Medieval Deccan*, Hyderabad n. d., I, p. 149.

932/1526. The rule of the Bahmani sultans was constantly threatened by their neighbours, the Muslim Malwa and Gujarat sultans in the north and the Hindu Vijayanagara dynasty in the south. They were also open to attack from the Gond rajas, the rajas of Orissa and the rajas of Telingana. Naturally the Bahmani sultans encouraged foreigners such as Iranian, Arab and Turkish soldiers, intellectuals and merchants to settle in their kingdom. They hoped the immigrants would strengthen their country's defences and promote its intellectual and commercial life.

The new-comers were known as *gharibs* or *āfāqis*. Their most prominent patron was Muhammad II (780-799/1378-1397). Some of the new settlers from Iran were Shi'as. They practised *taqiyya* although they did not miss any opportunity to prepare the ground for the growth of Shi'ism in the Deccan. The increasing respect for the Sayyids, who were direct descendants of Prophet Muhammad, prevented the common man from questioning their beliefs. Pilgrimage to 'Ali's tomb in Najaf and Imām Husayn's tomb in Karbalā were popular from the very establishment of the dynasty. At the beginning of Muhammad Shāh's reign (759-776/1358-1375), his mother Malika-i Jahān went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and spent considerable time near the tomb of Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fātima. There she learned that Fātima's youngest son was not buried in Medina. His grave was in Karbalā where he had met a tragic death at the hands of Yazid's army. Malika-i Jahān burst into tears and observed that the youngest son was dearest to a mother. She thought that if she did not visit Karbalā, Fātima might not be pleased with her. She firmly decided to proceed to Karbalā when Fātima appeared in a vision and assuring her of their satisfaction bade her to return home, for her sons wanted to see her. Malika-i Jahān thereupon gave vast sums of money and goods for distribution to the poor in Mecca. She also sent money for the Sayyids, pilgrims and servants of the holy tombs of Imām 'Ali at Najaf and of Imām Husayn at Karbalā.³

Fazlu'llāh Inju

One of the early and most erudite immigrants to introduce Shi'ism in the Deccan culture was Fazlu'llāh Injū. He came from the vicinity of Shirāz and was a disciple of Sa'du'd-Dīn at-Taftāzānī (d. 791/1389), the famous scholar at Timūr's court. He migrated to the Deccan during the reign of Sultan Muhammad II (780-799/1378-1397) and was appointed *sadr* by him. Soon he became the Sultan's favourite. He invited innumerable scholars from Iran and other countries to the court of Muhammad and his successors. He persuaded the famous Persian poet, Khwāja Hāfiz of Shirāz (d. 792/1390), to move to the Bahmanid court, but the

³ *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I. pp. 284-85.

poet was not prepared to risk the dangerous sea-voyage.⁴ The scholars and poets who moved to Gulbarga at Injū's invitation, helped him to Persianise the educational institutions and cultural life of the Deccan. Among Injū's many distinguished disciples were Sultan Tāju'd-Dīn Firūz (800-825/1397-1422) and his brother Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad. Firūz delivered advanced weekly lectures on Saturdays, Mondays and Wednesdays and, if he had not time to lecture during the day, he gave them at night. Of the Qur'ānic commentaries, he lectured on *Tafsīr Zāhidī*,⁵ and, of the *kalām* works, *Sharh Maqāsid*⁶ was his favourite. He also lectured on a work of rhetoric, the *Mutawwal*⁷ of Taftāzānī. Mathematics and astronomy were not neglected. He taught *Sharh Tazkira* in astronomy and *Tahrīr Uqlidīs* in geometry. The Sultan's competence to teach so many advanced works in different subjects in Arabic, exhibit both his own and his teacher's erudition.

Sultan Firūz repaid his debt to the Mir by appointing him prime minister (*wakīlū's-saltanat*) and giving him the title *Malik Na'ib*. Injū's son, Mawlānā Mir Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn, was appointed *sadr*, while his son-in-law Mawlānā Taqīu'd-Dīn, was made the *mīr-sāmān*. The Sultan married one of Injū's daughters to his son Prince Hasan Khān and gave his daughter in marriage to Injū's son Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad, whom he made governor of Dawlatabad. Fazlu'llāh himself proved a valiant commander and obtained decisive victories over Devarāya I (1406-1422) of Vijayanagara and Narsingh Rāi of Kherla.

Firūz accelerated the influx of foreign scholars. He sent royal vessels from Goa and Chaul to procure talented migrants from overseas and valued them as the choicest gifts from overseas. The scholars attended weekly seminars which the Sultan organised where the discussions were marked by a complete absence of inhibition.

Once the Sultan asked the 'ulamā' to suggest a legal device to enable him to marry more than four free-born wives. Some of them suggested that he divorce one of his four wives and marry another. Other ideas were put forward but none was acceptable to the Sultan. He consulted Mir Fazlu'llāh Injū. The Mir replied that although *mut'a* was permitted in the times of the Prophet Muhammad and in that of the first caliph but it had been prohibited by the second caliph 'Umar. Nevertheless, the Imāmiyya faith, which was an Islāmic sect, allowed it. The Sultan could

4 *Ibid.*, p. 302

5 In 519/1125 Abū Nasr bin al-Hasan called Zāhidī composed the *Tafsīr-i Zāhidī* in Persian at Bukhārā.

6 The *Maqāsid-i-t-tālibīn* was composed by Sa'du'd-Dīn Mas'ūd bin 'Umar at-Taftāzānī (b. 722/1322, d. 791/1389 or 797/1394-95) in Zu'lqā'da 784/January 1383 at Samarqand. It deals with the Sunnī beliefs.

7 A work on rhetoric by the author of the *Maqāsid*.

have more than four wives by *mut'a* marriage. The Sunni 'ulamā' opposed the Mir and the discussion was prolonged. The standard works of *hadis*, such as the *Sahih* by Muslim, the *Sahih* by Bukhāri and the *Mishkāt* were consulted. These works confirmed the prevalence of *mut'a* in the Prophet's time. The Sultan according to the Imāmiyya traditions (*ba Sha'ar-i tā'ifa-i Imāmiyya*) contracted *mut'a* marriages with 800 women in one day.⁸

Injū's recommendation suggests that its basis was Shi'i and that the controversy really raged around 'Umar's departure from the rules of Prophet Muhammad in prohibiting *mut'a*. This situation was appalling to the Sunnis but the Shi'is must have been pleased when the Sultan gave precedence to Shi'i practices. Had Injū not been a Shi'i practising *taqiyya* he would have found it sacrilegious to publicly override Caliph 'Umar's innovation. Hārūn Khān Sherwāni, an expert on the history of the Bahmanids, categorically says that Fazlu'llāh Injū was a Persian Shi'a⁹. Among other immigrants Mullā Lutfu'd-Dīn Sabzwāri was also seemingly a Shi'i.

Tāju'd-Dīn Firūz, however, did not renounce Sunni-ism but his desire to foster the development of astronomy and philosophy undermined Sunni orthodoxy and puritanism. It was the Sultan's devotion to rationalism and philosophy that spoilt his relations with Sayyid Muhammad bin Yūsuf al-Husayni, popularly known as "Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gīsū Darāz", the successor to Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i Dihlī (d. 757/1356). Khwāja Banda Nawāz was born in 721/1321 in Delhi and had been taken by his father to Dawlatabad when Delhi's Muslim elite were forced to move there by Muhammad bin Tughluq. He had received a very extensive literary and religious education. His translation of the *Risāla* of Qushayri from Arabic into Persian and other *sūfi* tracts constituted a very important contribution to *sūfi* literature. He had earned a very high reputation as a *sūfi* and, like them, was hostile to the study of philosophy and the rational sciences. The news of Timūr's invasion prompted Khwāja Banda Nawāz to move to Gujarat and from there to the Deccan. He arrived in Gulbarga around 815/1412-13.¹⁰

Initially the Sultan gave him a warm welcome but was disappointed to find him totally disinterested in philosophy. The Sultan's brother, Khān-i Khānān Ahmad, however, developed a deep respect and devotion to the Khwāja. Three years later the Sultan appointed his eldest son, the licentious and imbecile, Hasan Khān, his heir apparent. The Khwāja rejected the Sultan's request to bless him. He informed the Sultan that according to Divine decree his brother Ahmad Khān Khān-i Khānān was destined

8 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I. pp. 307-8. Badā'ūni suggested *mut'a* under Mālikī law, *Supra*, pp. 213-14.

9 H. K. Sherwāni, *The Bahmanis in Medieval Deccan*, Hyderabad n. d., pp. 146-47.

10 *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 250-56.

to succeed him. The Sultan was deeply upset. He tried to exert pressure on the Khwāja by ordering him to move his *khānqāh* away from the palace. The Khwāja complied. Injū by that time had died or left the Deccan. The Sultan's advisers urged him either to kill or blind Ahmad in order to save his son's rule from Ahmad's attempts to overthrow him. The Sultan refused this suggestion and collected a large army to fight his brother. Ahmad marched with a small body of troops against the Sultan, taking a vow at Khanpur near Gulbarga to rename the town Rasulabad and endow its income for the benefit of the Sayyids of Mecca, Medina, Karbalā and Najaf. His small army was victorious. The Sultan, who was seriously ill, urged Ahmad to treat his son and progeny well and made him king. Firūz survived for ten more days and died on 15 Shawwāl 825/2 October 1422. According to some sources he was strangled to death by Ahmad.¹¹ On 16 Zu'lqā'da 825/1 November 1422, Khwāja Banda Nawāz also died. Two years later the new Sultan moved his capital from Gulbarga to the strategically-placed Bidar, on the edge of the Deccan plateau.

The Descendants of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī

Although Ahmad had sought Khwāja Banda Nawāz's support when ascending the throne, like Firūz he was also a disciple of Injū and an erudite and passionate promoter of the rational sciences. He made his friend and supporter Khalaf Hasan Basri his prime minister (*wakil-i saltanat*), and Prince of Merchants (*maliku't-tujjār*). The immigrants' success in foiling his enemies' attempts to assassinate him, prompted Ahmad to become solely dependant on them. He ordered Khalaf Hasan Basri to recruit a special corps of three thousand archers from Iraq, Khurāsān, Transoxiana, Turkey and Arabia. His noblemen were urged to develop their skills in archery and expert bowmen from overseas were commissioned to train the royal princes.

Ahmad Shāh was also not impressed with the local *Dakhinī sūfis*. The Irānis in his court seem to have stressed the spiritual eminence of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī of Kirmān.¹² Soon after the death of Khwāja Banda Nawāz, the Sultan ordered Shaykh Khūjan, one of Ni'matu'llāh's disciples at his court, to go with two other distinguished emissaries and convey valuable gifts to his spiritual guide. He was to urge him to make the Sultan his disciple *in absentia* and to pray for his prosperity. The mission left for Māhān and returned with a cap of discipleship and a robe authorising the Sultan to act as the Shāh's disciple. The gifts were respectfully

11 Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā'ī, *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, Delhi, 1936, pp. 47-52; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I, pp. 316-17.

12 *Supra*, pp. 160-61.

received by the Sultan outside Gulbarga. From Bidar the Sultan then sent other emissaries to request the Shāh to send one of his sons to the Deccan to act as his spiritual guide. The Shāh so deeply loved his only son Khalīlu'llāh that he refused to part with him and sent Khalīlu'llāh's son, Mīr Nūru'llāh instead to the Deccan. The Sultan made the Mīr head over the *sūfis*, Sayyids and scholars of his kingdom. After Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's death, Khalīlu'llāh also moved to the Deccan. Mīr Nūru'llāh, however, died soon after Khalīlu'llāh's arrival.

This account is based on the *Burhān-i Ma'āsir*.¹³ Firishta gives a similar description but the names of the Shāh's disciples at court and the emissaries are different. He also adds that the Shāh sent Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn, one of his disciples and a distinguished scholar, as his personal emissary to the Sultan with a box containing an emerald crown of twelve *tark*.¹⁴ The Shāh stated that he had held the crown in trust for Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī and was now sending it to him. When Sultan Ahmad saw Qutbu'd-Dīn approaching, he proclaimed loudly that he was the same dervish whom he had seen in a dream under such and such tree. This dream had occurred while he was fighting Sultan Firūz's army and he had not revealed it to anyone. He continued that the dervish had given him an emerald crown of twelve *tark*. If the dervish had had such a crown with him then his dream had come true. Qutbu'd-Dīn came up to the Sultan, greeted him and conveyed Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Wali's blessings to him. Then he stated that the Shāh had asked him to inform the Sultan that he had held a crown in trust for him from such and such date i. e. from the date of the Sultan's accession to the throne. The arrival of the Sultan's emissaries had given him the opportunity to send this crown to the Sultan. The Sultan was confounded and fell into a trance-like state. Qutbu'd-Dīn said, "O king! All is well: The emerald crown of twelve *tark* is with me. I am that person who by the Shāh's command appeared in your dream." The Sultan hugged Qutbu'd-Dīn, seated him beside him, and opened the box which was found to contain the crown he had described from his dream. Firishta quotes the verse:

"The king in India and the Shaykh in Māhān,
Verily thus the true spiritual kings bestow crowns."

He goes on to say that as Shāh Ni'matu'llāh had addressed the Sultan as *Wali* (saint) in his letter, Sultan Ahmad ordered that "*Wali*" should be added to his titles, proclaimed from pulpits and entered into *farmāns*. His noblemen had already awarded him that title when he made it rain

13 *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 54, 65.

14 *Supra*, p. 161.

during a severe drought. The Sultan's modesty had prevented him using it but, when the Shāh addressed him as "saint", his inhibitions were removed.

Describing the reception of Mir Khalilu'llāh's son, Mir Nūru'llāh, Firishta says that the Mir was given a royal welcome and escorted with pomp and ceremony to the capital. The place where the Sultan met them was sanctified by the erection of a mosque. A village, Ni'matabad, was also founded there. Mir Nūru'llāh was given the title "King of Shaykhs" (*Malikū l-Mashā'ikh*). He was made superior to all the local *sūfis* and saints, including Sayyid Muhammad Gīsū Darāz's descendants. After Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's death, Mir Khalilu'llāh with his other sons, Mir Habibu'llāh Ghāzī and Mir Muhibbu'llāh arrived in the Deccan. The Sultan made Mir Habibu'llāh his son-in-law and the daughter of Prince 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, who ruled from 839/1436 to 862/1458, was given in marriage to Mir Muhibbu'llāh.¹⁵ At Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn's coronation, Khalilu'llāh held the Sultan's right hand and one Sayyid Hanif his left when they seated him on the throne.¹⁶ In 864/1459-60 Mir Khalilu'llāh died. Some sources mention that he had retired to Māhān, while others assert that he died in the Deccan. His sons, however, remained in the Deccan where, under Sultan Ahmad and Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, they enjoyed unlimited power and prestige. Mir Habibu'llāh became a nobleman and obtained Bir as his *iqṭā'*. He was an indefatigable warrior and took part in many wars against the Hindu chiefs. Sultan Ahmad gave him the title Ghāzī. A monastery (*khānqāh*) outside Bir was erected for Mir Muhibbu'llāh.¹⁷

Some of the Shāh's disciples who migrated to the Deccan were very gifted. One of them was Mullā Sharafu'd-Dīn Māzandarānī. He was an excellent calligraphist. The Tilangī stone cutters cut five inscriptions on stone slabs after his calligraphy.¹⁸ Nazīri of Tūs was also one of Ni'matu'llāh's disciples and he later became a protege of Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān. Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ahmad II had made him poet-laureate at his court but Humāyūn Shāh imprisoned him. He was released subsequently. After Humāyūn's death he wrote verses condemning Humāyūn's atrocities.¹⁹

The spiritual eminence of the Shāh's sons and disciples, in conjunction with their political power and influence, helped to popularise Ni'matu'llāhi *sūfism* in India. Outwardly it was the Qādiriyya *sūfism* of 'Abdu'llāh Yāfi'i but in reality it was predominantly Shi'i. The first three successors to Prophet Muhammad were kept in a low key and prominence was given to the spiritual teachings and practices of the first twelve Imāms. Shāh

15 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I, pp. 328-29.

16 *Burhān-i mā'āsir*, pp. 74-75.

17 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I, p. 329.

18 *Burhān-i mā'āsir*, p. 71.

19 Hārūn Khān Sherwānī, *Mahmūd Gāwān*, Allahabad, 1942, p. 91.

Ni'matu'llāh is not known to have publicly professed the Shi'i faith. Those of his disciples who remained in Iran, however, made matrimonial alliances with the descendants of Shāh Safi'u'd-Dīn (d. 735/1334). From the early sixteenth century the Ni'matu'llāhi order became Shi'i and helped convert Safawid Iran peacefully to Shi'ism. Such a mass Shi'i conversion did not take place in the Deccan and, like Ni'matu'llāh Walī, Ahmad Shāh and his descendants, remained Sunnī. The mounting bid of the *Dakhinis* and Ethiopians to exterminate *Afāqi* influence, a few of whom were Shi'is, retarded the growth of Shi'ism there.

Wolsley Haig suggests that after 1429 Sultan Ahmad adopted the Shi'i faith. He says that in 1429 or just after, the Sultan approached Nāsir Khān, the ruler of Khandesh, with a proposal for a marriage between his son and heir apparent, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ahmad, and Nāsir Khān's daughter. He admits that the marriage was one of policy and adds that "a newly converted, and therefore zealous Shi'ah would not have sought a bride for his son in a family which vaunted its descent from 'Umar the Discriminator (Fārūq), who is specially anathematized by Shi'ah". Wolsley Haig believes that "at some subsequent period in his reign, Ahmad heard the fame of the Shi'ah saint, Shāh Ni'matu'llāh of Māhān...and sent a mission ...to act as his proxies in demanding admission to the circle of saint's disciples".²⁰ This, however, is not sufficient evidence of Sultan Ahmad's conversion to Shi'ism for Shāh Ni'matu'llāh himself did not openly practise the Shi'i faith.

The following story quoted by Wolsley Haig also does not confirm that Ahmad was a Shi'a. He says,

"The author of the *Burhān-i Ma'āsir* tells a story which indicates Ahmad's religious belief. Sayyid Nāsir-al-dīn of Karbalā visited his court and received from him, besides other valuable gifts, a large sum of money for the construction of an aqueduct to carry water into Karbalā. As he was returning homewards, he passed through the camp of Shīr Malik, one of the leading nobles of the kingdom and sister's son to Ahmad. As the Sayyid did not salute Shīr Malik with due ceremony, the latter caused him to be pulled from his horse. The Sayyid returned to court and complained of the indignity he had suffered. Ahmad Shāh at once summoned Shīr Malik and, to the horror of the courtiers, caused him to be trampled to death by an elephant, without even giving him an opportunity of defending himself. He remarked as the execution proceeded, 'Thus only can insult to the descendants of the Prophet be suitably requited; and the protection of Islam is incumbent on all.' It may be inferred from Ahmad's gift to Karbalā that he was already

20 W. Haig, 'The Religion of Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī', *JRAS*, 1924, p. 74.

Shi'ah, and though Sunnis respect Sayyids, it is improbable that a Sunni monarch would have carried his respect to such lengths as these."²¹

Ahmad's gifts to Karbalā were not an innovation. Gifts to Karbalā and Najaf had been made from the outset of the second Bahmani Sultan Muhammad's reign. Wolsley Haig goes on to say:

"Ahmad's tomb at Bidar proves conclusively that he was a Shi'ah. The interior of the dome is decorated with inscriptions arranged in concentric circles, of which the innermost calls down blessings on Muhammad, his daughter Fāthimah, and the Twelve Imāms of the Shi'ah—'Ali al-Murtadā, Hasan, Husain, 'Ali Zain-al-'Ābidīn, Bāqir, Muhammad Ja'far, Mūsa Kāzīm, 'Ali b. Mūsa al-Ridā', Muhammad Taqī, 'Ali al-Naqī, Hasan al-'Askarī, and Muhammad al-Mahdī. The first three caliphs are nowhere mentioned in any inscription in the tomb. The second and third inscriptions, counting outwards, are lists of the names of holy men, the second of twenty-one and the third of twenty-four. Each begins with the name of Muhammad and ends with that of Shāh Ni'mat-Allāh, and they probably represent one the natural and the other the spiritual line of descent of Ni'mat-Allāh from Muhammad."²²

Hārūn Khān Sherwāni, however, does not attach the same importance to this decoration. According to him it exhibits only the "Sūfic or perhaps Shi'a influence par excellence. The interior was decorated under the supervision of the calligraphist Mughis of Shīrāz, perhaps himself of Shi'a persuasion, who has inscribed the names of the apostle of Islam and the fourth Caliph 'Ali in a hundred ways and inserted the Shi'ite darūd (blessings to the Prophet and his Āl)."²³

The predominantly Shi'i decoration in the interior of Sultan Ahmad's tomb and the absence of the names of the first three caliphs are very significant and unusual for a Sunni tomb. Nevertheless we should not forget that the names of the Imāms are set in the scheme of the names of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī and his spiritual ancestors who had not declared themselves Shi'is. A treatise comprising the list of his spiritual ancestors was compiled by Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī for the use of Sultan Ahmad and sent to him. The evidence, therefore, is inconclusive.²⁴ More important, however, is the fact that the reign of Sultan Ahmad was sympathetic to

21 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

23 *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, pp. 190-91.

24 *Supra*, p. 161.

those who openly or secretly professed Shī'ism which allowed the sect to consolidate its position. The Sultan's patronage of scholars, *sūfis*, poets, statesmen and soldiers with Shī'i leanings, however, did not undermine his subjects' affection for him.²⁵ The Egyptian grammarian, Muhammad bin Abi Bakr bin 'Umar al-Makhzūmī ad-Damamīnī, who visited the Deccan during Sultan Ahmad's reign, was deeply impressed with his popularity.

Mahmūd Gāwān

The *Āfāqīs*, or immigrants, however, suffered a set-back during the reign of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ahmad II (839-862/1436-1458) as a result of the Sultan's ambivalence. In 850/1446-7 Maliku't Tujjār Khalaf Hasan Basrī perished in the trap prepared for him by Shankar Rāo Shirke, the Mahratta chief of Chakan. The *Dakhinīs* thereupon convinced the Sultan that the *Āfāqīs* were disloyal and obtained his consent to massacre them. A large number of innocent Sayyids were killed. When Ni'matu'llāh's relations convinced the Sultan of *Āfāqī* innocence he killed the *Dakhinī* leaders and restored the *Āfāqīs* to their previous senior posts.²⁶

His reign saw the arrival of Khwāja 'Imādu'd-Dīn Mahmūd Gāwān, a remarkable statesman and the military genius of his days. Mahmūd Gāwān's ancestors had held ministerial positions under the Kār-Kiyā dynasty of Gilān.²⁷ Mahmūd was born at Qāwān in Gilān province. He obtained a very high education and gained practical administrative and military training under an uncle who was one of the Kings of Gilān's ministers. Court intrigue and family rivalry, however, forced Mahmūd to become a merchant. He travelled to many countries and became enamoured of the company of *sūfis* and 'ulamā'. He journeyed to the Deccan through Dabol²⁸ port partly to discover a new avenue for trade and partly to sharpen his own talents. He also intended to visit the Delhi *sūfis* but Sultan 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ahmad was so deeply impressed with his versatility that he forced him to settle in Bidar. Mahmūd was already forty-three and his intellectual and military talents were in full bloom. The Sultan commissioned him to suppress the rebellion by his son-in-law Jalāl Khān in Telingana. The military pressure brought to bear upon Jalāl, and Mahmūd

25 *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan*, pp. 211-12.

26 *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 81-84; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I, pp. 233-35.

27 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 408-12. According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī the dynasty was Zaydiyya Shī'i. It was in 953/1546 that they were converted to Isnā 'Ashariyya Shī'ism. *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 411.

28 A flourishing port from the fifteenth to the end of seventeenth century, at the mouth of Vashisthi river in the northern Konkan (modern Thana district) Longworth Dames (ed.) *The book of Duarte Barbosa*, 1918, p. 165.

Gāwān's diplomatic handling, left Jalāl with no alternative but surrender. The Sultan was even more deeply impressed.²⁹

In 862/1458, Ahmad died and his eldest son, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Humāyūn (862-865/1458-1461) ascended the throne. The contemporary historians condemn him as having a brutal nature,³⁰ but Mahmūd Gāwān who was made prime minister by him, was full of admiration and gratitude to his monarch. It was Mahmūd Gāwān's help which enabled Humāyūn to overcome his younger brother Hasan, who was supported by Shāh Ni'matu'llāh's grandson, Mīr Habību'llāh. In the war between the two brothers Mīr Habību'llāh was killed on the battlefield and Hasan was imprisoned. He was killed subsequently with his supporters. Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was also killed and a council of Regency ruled for his son Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad III (865-867/1461-1463). His sudden death made his brother, Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad III (867-887/1463-1482) a boy of nine or ten, the next king. Mīr Muhibbu'llāh and Mīr Sayyid Sharif, son of Sayyid Hanif escorted him to the throne.³¹ Within three years the council of regency was dissolved and Mahmūd Gāwān became the sole controller of the government. His administrative wisdom, military leadership, intellectual talents and astute statesmanship enhanced the prestige of the Deccan, not only in India, but throughout the Muslim eastern world. He farsightedly offered important positions to competent *Dakhinis* thus stabilising the balance of power between the *Āfāqi* and *Dakhini* mutually antagonistic groups. His wars on the Malwa frontier settled the boundary question permanently for the Bahmanī sultanate. Berar was retained by the Deccan and Kherla given to Malwa. Rajamundri was conquered. Mahmūd Gāwān himself fought a series of wars on the western coastal plains, the Konkan and the Doab and subdued the region. His army consisted of Turks, Arabs and Kurds. In 876/1472, Goa, a protectorate of Vijayanagara was seized.³² The Bahmanī kingdom under Mahmūd extended from Khandesh in the north, along the line of the Tungabhadra in the south, Goa in the south-west and Orissa in the north-east. The existing four provinces³³ were divided into eight military commands and many checks and balances were introduced to maintain the Sultan's control.

Mahmūd Gāwān achieved immortality through the college he built at Bidar. The surviving portion of its imposing structure suggests that he

29 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, I. pp. 358-59.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 339-47.

31 *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 92-94.

32 Khwāja 'Imādu'd-Dīn Mahmūd Gāwān, *Riyāzu'l-inshā'*, Hyderabad, 1948, pp. 122, 163, 170, 181, 233, 238, 244, 249; *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 114-19.

33 Ahsanabad Gulbarga, Dawlatabad, Berar and Bahmanī Tilangana with Indur and Kaulas.

was fully conversant with academic needs. He equipped it with a library, an observatory and astronomical instruments. He wrote letters to Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r Rahmān Jāmī (817-898/1414-1492),³⁴ Muhammad bin As'ad Jalālu'd-Dīn Dawwānī³⁵ (830-908/1427-1502-3) and other eminent scholars asking them to come to the Deccan and teach in his seminary. To Gāwān eminent academics were the *sine qua non* of a college. Nevertheless he also wrote to Khwāja 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār (806-895/1404-1490), the greatest contemporary Naqshbandiyya *sūfi*, lamenting that the ink of the works of scholars and the "candle of their terminology" did not show the same light as was indispensable to the devotees. In the Deccan there was none who could dispel the darkness of heart from his inner light.³⁶

Acknowledging the receipt of the *Sharh* (commentary) *Fusūsu'l-hikam* by Jāmī, Mahmūd Gāwān replied to Jāmī asking him to pray for the conquest of Sangameshwar (40 miles from Goa) which he was then besieging. He wrote that no Muslim ruler had ever conquered that fort situated in a mountainous region and protected by a chain of small forts. He urged Jāmī to make his intended pilgrimage to Mecca through the Deccan in order that he could obtain guidance from his spiritual light.³⁷ He assured him that a large number of seekers of knowledge were also awaiting his arrival in the Deccan. Thanking Jāmī for sending the *Sharh Fusūsu'l-hikam*, Mahmūd concluded that its study had dispelled doubts on the *Wahdat al-Wujūd* (Unity of Being) in his mind.³⁸ In his letter to the famous scholar Dawwānī, inviting him to visit the Deccan, Gāwān assured him that arrangements were available in Bidar to teach science, and advanced courses and that there was no dearth of competent scholars to benefit from his teaching. Dawwānī dedicated his *Shawākal al-Nūr*, a commentary on the *Hiyākal al-Nūr* by Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī Maqtūl (549-587/1154-1191), to Mahmūd Gāwān.³⁹

Gāwān's religion is difficult to determine. According to H. K. Sherwānī he was "in all probability of a Shi'a persuasion". He enumerates the following facts in support of his theory:

1. Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Kirmānī was of Shi'a persuasion.
2. The tomb of Ahmad Shāh Walī, in the reign of whose son the Khwāja arrived at Bidar, contains numerous medallions where Hazrat 'Alī's name is intertwined with that of the Apostle of Islam, besides other indications of note, such as the names of the First

34 *Riyāzu'l-īshā'*, pp. 19-22, 152, 165, 207, 227, 252, 300, 365.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

36 *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

37 *Ibid.*, pp. 152-54.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.

39 *Ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

Five, i. e. God, Muhammad, 'Ali, Fātima, Hasan, Husain, sacred above all others to the Shi'a.

3. I am told that the Khwāja's descendants who are living at Bidar are Shi'as."⁴⁰

According to Sherwānī, the Khwāja's Shi'i persuasion "can be gathered from the way he ended some of his letters. In *Riyād*, letters XXIII, 127 to 'Amidu'l-Mulk and LXXXVII, 143 (to Alaf Khān) for instance, end with the Shi'a prayer '*bi Muhammad wa Haider*' although several copies in the collection, such as in *Āsafiya* end with the rhyming '*wa Abū Bakr was* (sic) '*Umar*' added no doubt by the considerate Sunni scribe".

None of these arguments marshalled by Sherwānī in favour of the Khwāja's Shi'ism are conclusive. The prayer "*bi Muhammad wa Haider*" is not essentially a Shi'i prayer; the Sunnis also invoke the name of Haydar ('Ali) and his descendants. Some letters in his *Riyāzu'l-Inshā'* end with the invocation to Prophet Muhammad and his exalted progeny; others invoke Prophet Muhammad and the progeny of Butūl (Fātima), and a few, *Aqtāb* and *Awṭād*. The latter could have been interpolated by the Sunni scribes but the Shi'i scribes could also have inserted the names of the Imāms in the copies they made. No copy in the Khwāja's own hand survives. In his letter to the Sultan of Gilān, the Khwāja invoked the famous *sūfis* Junayd (d. 298/910) and Ma'rūf Karkhī (d. 200/815-16), in the body of the letter. Jāmi and Khwāja 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār, to whom he was deeply devoted, were Naqshbandiyya *sūfis*, which, like other *sūfi* orders, did not originate from 'Ali but from Abū Bakr. Dawwānī, whom Gāwān invited to the Deccan, served both the Shi'i Qarā Qoyūnlū and its rival Sunni Āq Qoyūnlū dynasties. Most probably Mahmūd Gāwān was a farsighted Shi'i.

On the political level, Mahmūd Gāwān tried to develop friendly relations with the Ottoman Sultan Murād and Sultan Husayn Mirzā Bayqarā (873-911/1469-1506).⁴¹ He also wrote letters to the rulers of Egypt and Iran.⁴² In India he established friendly relations with Jaunpur in order to limit the territorial expansion of Malwa and gained Gujarat's favour for the Bahmanī sultanate. He was not interested in the Shi'i Qarā Qoyūnlū (782-873/1380-1468) dynasty of Iran nor in the dispute between Shaykh Safīu'd-Dīn Ishāq of Ardabil's descendants as to who should control the region. The Khwāja was indifferent to Shi'i-Sunni conflicts. According to Firishṭa, he was a man of "pure faith" and "belief" (*pāk din wa pāk i'tiqād*) and mentioned the names of Abū Bakr and 'Umar with reverence and veneration.⁴³

40 *Mahmūd Gāwān*, pp. 195.

41 *Riyāzu'l-inshā'*, pp. 198-204.

42 *Ibid.*, pp. 93-98, 205-7, 214-20.

43 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, p. 359.

These remarks indicate that although Mahmūd Gāwān was a pious Shi'i, he also respected the first three successors to Prophet Muhammad. In a Sunni state a Shi'i could not survive by vilifying the first three caliphs, and Shi'is at the Bahmani court refrained from antagonising their Sunni neighbours. The patronage offered by Mahmūd to foreigners enabled many gifted Shi'is to settle in the Deccan and pave the way for the development of Shi'ism there.

The *Dakhini* faction however could not tolerate Mahmūd Gāwān. They believed that the Khwāja had emptied the treasury to give employment to his own men. The Khwāja replied that the treasury was full and only those who had made outstanding contributions in wartime were given rewards. After the conquest of Goa his enemies prevented the despatch of reinforcements in order to humiliate him even though it meant that the Muslim army there would be destroyed. The Khwāja continued to ignore their intrigues but their master-stroke brought about his ultimate downfall.⁴⁴

Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who had been appointed commander of the new administrative centre Rajamundri by the Khwāja, was strongly dissatisfied with his new assignment. He considered it a truncated Telingana. Consequently he, and other *Dakhini* and Ethiopian leaders, bribed the Khwāja's secretary when he was dead drunk to affix his master's seal to a blank sheet of paper. On this they wrote a letter, purportedly from the Khwāja to the Raja of Orissa, inviting him to invade the Bahmani kingdom. They showed this letter to the Sultan while Nizāmu'l-Mulk was present. The Sultan got enraged, ignored reason and Nizāmu'l-Mulk poured oil on the fire of his fury. The Khwāja was summoned and shown the letter. He admitted that the seal was his but insisted he had not written the letter. The Sultan made no further enquiries but ordered the Khwāja's execution. Mahmūd Gāwān died in 886/1481 at the age of seventy-three having served the Bahmani kingdom faithfully for thirty years. His death marked the end of the glory of the Bahmani empire.

The Sultan's subsequent careful investigations convinced him of the Khwāja's innocence. No state revenue had been credited to the Khwāja's personal account which he called the "treasury of the poor". It contained only the profits from his commercial undertakings which used the capital he had brought with him from Iran. He spent a very insignificant amount of these gains on his personal needs and distributed the remainder to the deserving and the poor. He also sent gifts and stipends to his overseas friends from these private transactions. After his death, his personal treasury was found to be practically empty. In his house there was no valuable furniture and the carpets were of a very poor quality. The

44 *Riyāzu'l-inshā'*, pp. 183, 193-98, 256-61.

Khwāja himself slept on mats and his food was cooked in earthenware pots. There were, however, three thousand valuable manuscripts in his library but they had already been declared a public trust for the use of scholars.⁴⁵

Malik Hasan Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahrī, the arch-intriguer succeeded the Khwāja as prime minister. One year later the Sultan died. During the reign of his son and successor, Shihābu'd-Dīn Mahmūd (887-924/1482-1518), the Bahmani kingdom disintegrated although four more nominal sultans succeeded him. The last Kalīmu'llāh finally moved to Ahmadnagar in 932/1526.

Of the five dynasties that emerged from the break-up of the Bahmani kingdom, the 'Imād Shāhī of Berar and the Barīd Shāhī of Bidar were only short-lived. They were Sunnī. Fathu'llāh Khān, the founder of the 'Imād Shāhī dynasty, was descended from a family of Canarese Brahmins from Vijayanagara. He was captured by the Bahmanīs during a war in 827/1423. The commander, Khān-i Jahān, made him his bodyguard and promoted him rapidly. On Khwāja Mahmūd Gāwān's recommendation, Muhammad Shāh gave Fathu'llāh Khān the title "*Imādu'l-Mulk*". In 877/1472-73, he assisted Mahmūd Gāwān against the chief of Belgam and was rewarded with the governorship of Berar. After Mahmūd Gāwān's execution he became apprehensive about his own future and decided to act independently. He was not specifically associated with either the *Dakhinīs* or the *Āfāqīs*. Although he did not sever relations with the Bahmani Sultan, he became independent in 890/1485. He was succeeded by his son. In 982/1574 Murtazā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar annexed Berar to his kingdom.⁴⁶

Another short-lived dynasty was that of the Barīd Shāhīs. It was founded by Qāsim Barīd who was a Sunnī Turko-Georgian slave. He had supported Malik Hasan Bahrī, the opposition leader, in the conspiracy to overthrow Mahmūd Gāwān. Hasan made him the *kotwāl* of Bidar after Mahmūd Gāwān's death. After Malik Hasan Bahrī was assassinated, he became *Malik Nā'ib* (regent) and made the Bahmani sultans his puppets.

After Qāsim's death in 910/1504, his son Amīr Barīd came to the throne and assumed supreme power in the Bahmanid capital. When Kalīmu'llāh fled Bidar, Amīr Barīd became an independent ruler, although the royal titles were not formally assumed until his son 'Alī Barīd (950-987/1543-79) reigned. After 'Alī's death the dynasty declined rapidly. In 1028/1629 Bijapur annexed Bidar to the 'Ādil Shāhī kingdom.⁴⁷

The three independent kingdoms which survived for a longer time were

45 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, pp. 359-60.

46 *History of Medieval Deccan*, I, p. 287.

47 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 346-48.

Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda. It was in these territories that Shī'ism flourished. Since the founder of the Bijapur sultanate was the first to openly declare Shī'ism as the state religion, we discuss the developments there initially.

Bijapur

The founder of the Bijapur dynasty, Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, was a Turk. According to Firishta he was the son of the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey, Murād II. Murād's eldest son Muhammad II (855-886/1451-1481) was determined to eliminate his younger brother Yūsuf but Yūsuf's mother managed to send him out of Turkey with a merchant from Sāwa. They travelled through Ardbīl and then to Sāwa where Yūsuf stayed until he was sixteen. He then moved to Qum for a short visit and, journeying through Kāshān, Isfāhān and Shīrāz, reached Dabol in 864/1459-60.⁴⁸ Firishta's story is shrouded in myth and legend. Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzī's account seems to be more correct. According to him, Yūsuf was a grandson of the governor of Sāwa and moved to the Deccan via Baghdād. In both versions, Yūsuf was educated and brought up in Sāwa. Naturally he became devoted to the Shī'ī holy shrine at Qum and to the shrine of Shaykh Safī'u'd-Dīn at Ardbīl.

In Bidar Mahmūd Gāwān, considering Yūsuf a promising young man, took him under his wing. By sheer dint of merit Yūsuf became superintendent of the royal horse (*mīr ākhūr*). He soon resigned the position, however, to join Nizāmu'l-Mulk, the governor of Berar, who obtained the title 'Ādil Khān, for him. When Nizāmu'l-Mulk was killed in the battle of Kherla, Yūsuf took command and won the day. He returned to Bidar laden with booty and captured elephants.⁴⁹

In 877/1472 Mahmūd Gāwān made Yūsuf the governor of Dawlatabad. After Mahmūd Gāwān's execution Yūsuf seized Bijapur and Belgam which had come directly under the Khwāja. Foreigners flocked to him in large numbers. The ground was cut from under Qāsim Barīd who wished to seize Bijapur. Qāsim therefore suggested to the Raja of Vijayanagara and Bahādur Gīlānī, the governor of Goa and Konkan that they should eliminate Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh. Yūsuf did not lose his equanimity. He declared that the holy spirits of the Impeccable Imāms and the spirit of Shaykh Safī of Ardbīl were his principal supporters and that he was sure of victory. He took a vow that after his success he would start reading the *khutba* in the name of the twelve Imāms.

Yūsuf set out initially to lead his army against the ruler of Vijayanagara

48 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 3.

49 *Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, B. M., ff. 24a-26b; *Fuzūnī Astarābādī, Futūhāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*, British Museum Ms., ff. 7a-b.

but fell ill on the way to Raichur on the banks of the river Krishna. He remained in bed for two months. As soon as he recovered he distributed 20,000 *huns*⁵⁰ to the 'ulamā' and Sayyids from Medina, Karbalā and Najaf, who were with him in the camp. He gave another 20,000 *huns* to Khwāja 'Abdu'llāh of Hirāt, who had accompanied him in the same boat to the Deccan, to build a mosque at Sāwa and to dig a canal in the town.

Yūsuf succeeded in isolating Qāsim Barīd from his allies. In November 1494 Bahādur was defeated and killed. Four years later Goa came under Yūsuf's control and he appointed 'Aynu'l-Mulk Kan'āni, an orthodox Sunnī, as his representative there. By 1500 Gulbarga, Kalyani and other districts were firmly incorporated into his kingdom. In 908/1502-3 his state, consisting of Dabol and Goa on the eastern coast and Naldrug, Gulbarga and Kalyani in the east, had emerged.⁵¹

He now called a council of his leading Shi'i noblemen, such as Mīrzā Jahāngīr Qummi and Haydar Beg. Shi'i 'ulamā', including Sayyid Ahmad Harawī and others were also invited. He stated that earlier the prophet Khizr had appeared to him in a vision and had urged that when he became king he should honour the Sayyids and the friends of the last of the prophets. He was also asked to strengthen Isnā 'Ashari Shi'ism. As well as this, when the invasion by the Raja of Vijayanagara and Bahādur Gīlāni had threatened his rule, he had taken a vow to promulgate the Shi'i faith. He, therefore, wished them to advise him as to whether the time was ripe to implement his vow. Some of those present approved of his intention but others were more cautious. They submitted that the kingdom's foundations were only newly laid, that Mahmūd Shāh Bahmani, the lawful heir to the kingdom was still alive, that Malik Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri and Fathu'llāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk, the Barīd Shāhī rulers were pious Sunnis, and that most of the 'Ādil Shāhī military commanders were Hanafis. They feared that the adoption of Shi'ism as the state religion would provoke an insurrection too formidable to suppress. After considering the pros and cons of the problem, Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh stated that he had made his vow to God and that only He could help him in the matter of its fulfilment.

Yūsuf's decision was strengthened by the news that in 907/1501 Shāh Ismā'il bin Haydar, the sixth Safawid Shaykh in line of descent from Shaykh Safi'u'd-Dīn Ishāq of Ardbīl, had declared Shi'ism as the state religion in Iran.

On a Friday of Zu'l-hijja 908/May-June 1503, Yūsuf went to the Jāmi' mosque in the citadel of Bijapur. He ordered Naqīb Khān, a venerable Sayyid from Mashhad, to add "I bear testimony that 'Alī is the friend of

50 Deccanī gold coins.

51 *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 27b-33b; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 4-8; *Basātinu's-salātīn*, pp. 8-18.

God" to the *azān* and to recite the *khutba* in the name of the twelve Imāms while deleting from it the names of the first three successors to Prophet Muhammad. Firishta goes on to say that although Yūsuf was the first ruler to promulgate Shī'ism in India as the state religion, he was very prudent and cautious. It was forbidden to abuse Prophet Muhammad's companions either directly or indirectly. This policy blunted the fanaticism of both the Sunnis and Shī'is in Bijapur. The 'ulamā' of the Ja'fariyya sect (Isnā 'Ashariyya) and the Hanafī and Shāfi'i scholars lived in "amity with each other like milk and sugar" and had no acrimonious debates. In mosques and places of worship each adored God according to personal belief and did not assert the superiority of either faith. The leading religious leaders, mystics and holy men were all astonished at the moderation and considered it almost a miraculous achievement by the king.

Firishta adds that an exceedingly wise Shī'i, Mawlānā Ghiyās Kamāl, an historian, a philosopher and a poet exercised a deep influence on the Sultan. In Shirāz Mawlānā Ghiyās used to deliver eloquent lectures and recited elegant poetry. He sold drugs and also made prophecies on the basis of astronomical works. The people of Fars Province in Iran were deeply devoted to him and faithfully followed his advice. Once Sultan Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh asked him which was the best of all the various Islamic sects. He replied, "O Sultan, suppose a great king is seated in a palace with many gates leading to it, whichever one enters one sees the king. One is called upon to attain the ability to serve the Sultan and not to discuss the merits and demerits of the gates." The Sultan again asked him to tell him the best religion or sect. The Mawlānā replied that the best people of every religion and every faith followed the best religion and the best faith. The Sultan was so delighted with his reply that he rewarded the Mawlānā liberally.

After Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh's promulgation of the Shī'i faith, a large number of noblemen adhering to the maxim, "people follow their ruler's faith" became Shī'is. This annoyed some pious Sunnis such as Miyān Muhammad, 'Aynu'l-Mulk, Dilāwar Khān Habashī and Muhammad Khān Sistānī. Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh tried to pacify them on the basis of the Qur'ānic injunction, "Unto you, your religion, and unto me, my religion" but failed.

'Aynu'l-Mulk was not appeased, however. Consequently in 909/1503-4 Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh deprived him of the supreme command of his army which he had assigned him in 1498, and gave him some minor *iqṭā'* instead. Yūsuf wisely allowed his Sunni noblemen to call *azān* according to their own faith in their *iqṭā'* and permitted Sunni practices to continue there.⁵²

52 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 10-11; *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 27b-32b; *Basātinu's-salāṭin*, pp. 20-21. According to the *Basātin* the Shī'i *azān* was called in Jumāda I, 908/ November 1502. According to Firishta, Naqīb Khān belonged to Medina but Mashhad which the *Basātin* mentions seems to be correct.

The Sunnī protest, however, did not subside. It provided a golden opportunity for the *Dakhinīs* and Ethiopian Sunnīs to overthrow Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's rule. It was also a heaven-sent chance for Qāsim Barīd to destroy the Bijapur kingdom. He became the champion of Sunnī confederacy under Sultan Mahmūd Bahmanī. In turn Ahmād Nizām Shāh enthusiastically supported Qāsim Barīd and, for reasons of expediency, Sultan Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk, a Shi'i who had remained loyal to the Bahmanī sultan, joined the confederacy against the newly established Shi'i kingdom.

Yūsuf avoided a pitched battle against the confederates and marched towards Bir in Ahmadnagar territory, burning and destroying the countryside as he passed. Malik Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahrī, enraged at this damage, joined Mahmūd Shāh and the allies marched in pursuit of Yūsuf. Plundering the environs of Dawlatabad, Yūsuf penetrated as far as Berar. Fathu'llāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk of Berar, who had not joined the confederacy, told Yūsuf that the confederates wished to destroy Bijapur and Berar using religious grounds as a pretext. It was, therefore, advisable for him to repent his adoption of Shi'ism and, pretending to be alienated from him ('Imādu'l-Mulk), retire to Burhanpur. This would give him an opportunity to devise some plan in collaboration with Qutbu'l-Mulk of Golkonda. Yūsuf agreed. He sent orders to Bijapur to drop the names of the Imāms from the *khutba* and resume the former *khutba* in the name of the first four successors to the Prophet. Then, pretending that he had quarrelled with 'Imādu'l-Mulk, Yūsuf left for Burhanpur.

'Imādu'l-Mulk now sent some relatives to Ahmad Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Qutbu'l-Mulk and convinced them that the Barīd Shāhī ruler wished to capture Bijapur on religious pretexts. He emphasised that although at present the Barīd Shāhī king held only a petty kingdom, his control over the Sultan and the Bahmanī treasury if combined with ruling Bijapur as well, would make it impossible for the other *Dakhinī* rulers to survive. They would have no future. They ('Imādu'l-Mulk, Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Qutbu'l-Mulk) were soldiers and were not concerned with religious matters in other kingdoms. On the Day of Judgement every one would be accountable for his own actions. Moreover, Yūsuf had renounced the false Shi'i faith in his ('Imādu'l-Mulk's) presence and Shi'i practices had been abolished in Bijapur. The confederates should, therefore, return to their own kingdoms and avoid weakening themselves in warfare. The two rulers were convinced by 'Imādu'l-Mulk's wise counsels and left for their respective kingdoms at midnight. Qāsim Barīd was alarmed and urged 'Imādu'l-Mulk of Berar to assist him. The latter sent no reply for some days while he pressed Yūsuf to return to Bijapur. On his way there, Yūsuf joined 'Imādu'l-Mulk. Qāsim Barīd, realising the danger, fled to Bidar with the Bahmanī Sultan, leaving their baggage behind. Then, bidding farewell

to 'Imādu'l-Mulk, Yūsuf returned to Bijapur after an absence of three months.

Once at Bijapur, Yūsuf again resumed the recital of the *khutba* in the name of the twelve Imāms and became a champion of the Shī'i faith. His Sunnī nobles, however, were free to follow their own religion. Yūsuf now sent Sayyid Ahmad Harawī to convey presents to Shāh Ismā'il Safawī congratulating him on his accession to the throne of Iran and informing him of the way he (Yūsuf) had promulgated the *khutba* of the twelve Imāms in the Deccan. He also assured the Shāh of his own friendship to him.⁵³

Despite his brilliant victories, however, Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh was destined to see the Portuguese establish themselves on his western coast. It was on 20 May 1498 that Vasco da Gama anchored off Calicut, having left Portugal in July 1497. In seven years the Portuguese obtained a firm hold over the Malabar coast. On 17 February 1510 Goa was seized by Albuquerque but Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh was able to recover it three months later. Soon after this victory Yūsuf died and in November 1510 Goa was recaptured by the Portuguese. A mission from Shāh Ismā'il Safawī inviting Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh to join him in a war against the Portuguese failed and Goa remained in their hands.⁵⁴

Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh's reign made Bijapur a haven for the 'ulamā', soldiers and artists from Iran, Turkey and Iraq. Shaykh Jalālu'd-Dīn, nicknamed Shaykh Chanda, who was descended from the fourth Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, was Yūsuf's mentor. The Shaykh's descendants multiplied in large numbers in Bijapur but, according to Firishta, some of them adopted the Sunnī faith.⁵⁵

Sayyid Ahmad Harawī faithfully served both Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh and his successors as *sadr*. His eloquence while he was at the Iranian court seems to have encouraged many Irānī Shī'is to move to the Deccan. He stayed in Iran for some ten years. In 1514, according to Ferriā, the ambassador of Albuquerque from Goa, Harawī was living in the Deccan again. In 1523 he was sent to Ahmadnagar. Shāh Tāhir, who will be discussed at some length in the following pages⁵⁶, was one of Harawī's friends.

Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh (916-941/1510-1534) succeeded his father Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, while he was still a child. Kamāl Khān Dakhinī, who was Yūsuf's prime minister and a brilliant general, became regent. As he was a Sunnī, he re-introduced the names of the caliphs in the *khutba* and abolished Shī'i ceremonies. He made peace with the Portuguese and

53 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 12; *Basātinu's-salātīn*, pp. 21-22.

54 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 12-13; *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 27b-32b; *Burhān-i mā'āsir*, pp. 147-52; *Futūhāt-i 'Ādil Shāhī*, ff. 26b-30a; *Basātinu's-salātīn*, pp. 20-22; Sladanha, *Historia de Goa*, 2nd ed., Nova Goa, 1925, I, pp. 38-39.

55 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 13-14.

56 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 20; *Infra*, pp. 282-90.

cultivated friendly relations with the neighbouring kingdoms. He embarked upon strengthening his own *Dakhini* faction and left no stone unturned to strangle the foreigners, including declaring their *iqta'* forfeit. His intrigues to overthrow the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty and crown himself upset the *Āfāqis*. The ladies of the 'Ādil Shāhī family, who were virtual prisoners in the citadel, were also alarmed. At the instigation of the queen mother and Ismā'il's foster-aunt Dilshād Āghā, who had come from Iran in the latter part of Yūsuf's reign, Ismā'il's foster-father, Yūsuf Turk, assassinated Kamāl Khān. He was subsequently cut to pieces by the palace attendants. Kamāl Khān's son, Safdar Khān, was too frightened to avenge his father's death but his mother quickly re-organised the *Dakhini* soldiers and prepared Safdar Khān for war. On the royalist side, Dilshād Āghā encouraged her supporters by animated promises of reward. A fierce battle was fought and Safdar was killed. The *Dakhinis* fled for safety. The *Āfāqi* noblemen, who had left the court during Kamāl's regency, now returned. *Dakhini* and Ethiopian domination ended. Dilshād Āghā, awarding Khusraw Lārī, the valiant *Āfāqi* leader the title Asad Khān, commissioned him to streamline the administrative system devised by Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh. A newscheme for the recruitment of Afghans and Rājputs, provided they were not *Dakhinis*, was also introduced. The Shi'i *khutba* and Shi'i ceremonies were restored.

Gulbarga, which Amīr Barīd had seized when allied with Kamāl Khān, was also recovered. Following in the footsteps of his father, Qāsim Barīd, Amīr Barīd persuaded Muhammad Khān, Burhān Nizām Shāh's regent, and Qutbu'l-Mulk to march against Bijapur under the banner of the puppet Bahmanī king, Mahmūd Shāh. Their armies marched to the very gates of Bijapur but then Asad Khān drove them back. Mahmūd Shāh and his son Ahmad Shāh were taken captive but Ismā'il treated them with respect. At Mahmūd Shāh's request, Ismā'il celebrated with great pomp and show the wedding of his sister Bibī Satī who had been betrothed by his father to Ahmad Bahmanī. The ceremony was held at the tomb of Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gisū Darāz in Gulbarga. The bride and bridegroom were sent with their party to Bidar.

Ismā'il's resounding victory prompted Shāh Ismā'il Safawī's envoy, who had been detained by Qāsim Barīd at Bidar because of religious differences, to write asking Ismā'il to intercede for him. Ismā'il 'Ādil agreed and the envoy left Bidar. He was given a royal welcome by Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh and escorted to Dabol on his way to Iran. Shāh Ismā'il was deeply moved by these gestures and sent one of his favourites, Ibrāhīm Beg Turkomān, as his ambassador with valuable presents to Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh's court. Shāh Ismā'il addressed Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh with very grand royal titles in his letter. The recipient was so pleased with this flattering acknowledgement of his sovereignty by the Shāh that he remarked

it heralded the advent of royalty to his family. The capital was plunged into festivity and carnival to welcome Ibrāhīm Beg. Imitating the ambassador's dress, orders were given that the Shi'i soldiers in the 'Adil Shāhī army should put on a red crown of twelve *tark* (prongs). Any Shi'i who failed to wear this crown was to be ostracised and fined twelve lambs. Prayers for Shāh Ismā'il Safawī's prosperity were added to the *khutba*.

The intrepid and loyal general Āzād Khān made Ismā'il victorious against Amīr Barīd. Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar was also unable to undermine Ismā'il's strength. Both eventually made alliances with Ismā'il, who promised Burhān to remain neutral during his war against Berar. This was an act of gross ingratitude, for Berar had always been friendly to Bijapur. Freed from war against Bidar and Ahmadnagar, Ismā'il marched against the Shi'i state of Golkonda but died in 941/1534, without achieving his objective.⁵⁷

He was, according to his will, succeeded by his eldest son Mallū Khān. Asad Khān could not tolerate Mallū's profligacy and retired to his *iqṭā'* at Belgam. Mallū's grandmother was also disgusted by him and subsequently, with Asad Khān's approval, he was blinded, and died in prison.

His brother Ibrāhīm (941-965/1534-1558) then fifteen years old, succeeded him. After Burhān Nizām Shāh's conversion to Shi'ism under Shāh Tāhīr's influence, Ibrāhīm embraced Sunni-ism. He ordered the abolition of Shi'i practices and restored the Hanafī faith. The names of the twelve Imāms in the *khutba* were replaced by those of the four successors to the Prophet. No soldier was allowed to wear the crown of twelve *tark*. All the *Afāqī* noblemen, with the exception of Rūmī Khān, Kildī Āghā and Shujā'at Khān were dismissed and *Dakhinīs* and Ethiopians were appointed in their place. Of the 3,000 foreigners in the 'Adil Shāhī household, only 400 were retained. The rest were dismissed. Hindawī (a mixture of Deccanī and Mahrattī) was made the official language in place of Persian.

In 1543 Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, Jamshīd Qutbu'l-Mulk of Golkonda and Rāmarāja [the Vijayanagara dictator who ruled on behalf of his king Sadāshiva (1542-1572)], entered into a conspiracy to attack Bijapur. At the suggestion of Asad Khān, Ibrāhīm placated Ahmadnagar by surrendering Sholapur and formed an alliance with Rāmarāja. Jamshīd of Golkonda was now isolated and easily defeated. No territorial gains were made. Ibrāhīm, however, soon fell out with Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar, and was defeated by him in three successive battles. He became suspicious of his commanders and so wantonly murdered many of them. Asad Khān retired to Belgam to avoid his master's brutality. Although his Sunnī ruler no longer trusted him, Asad

57 *Tazkiratū'l-mulūk*, ff. 32b-36a; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 14-26; *Futūhāt-i 'Adil Shāhī*, ff. 35b-58b; *Basātinū's-salātīn*, pp. 26-46.

Khān repulsed Burhān's overtures and remained loyal to Ibrāhīm until he died. Burhān subsequently made an alliance with Rāmarāja and, on 23 October 1549, they inflicted a crushing defeat on Ibrāhīm, seizing Kalyani. Then Burhān made a final formidable bid to capture Bijapur but his death on 30 December 1553 saved the citadel from destruction. Ibrāhīm was not destined to enjoy the respite he gained and died in 965/1558, after being confined to bed for several months.⁵⁸ Although Ibrāhīm reigned for twelve years he was unable to uproot Shi'ism from his own family let alone eradicate it from the kingdom.

Ibrāhīm's son 'Alī 'Ādil, who from his early childhood possessed a unique and ready wit, was tutored by a learned Shi'i, Khwāja 'Ināyatu'llāh Shīrāzi. One day in 'Alī's presence, his father thanked God for giving him the strength to renounce the heretical faith of his father and grandfather and abolish Shi'i customs, and to embrace the true faith of Imām-i A'zam Abū Hanīfā. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh, unable to restrain himself, remarked sarcastically that as His Majesty had thought it proper to renounce his ancestral faith, it was incumbent upon all sons to follow his example. Ibrāhīm, flying in a rage, asked 'Alī which sect he followed. 'Alī replied that at present he followed his father's faith but thereafter only God knew. Ibrāhīm was convinced that 'Alī was a Shi'i. Blaming his teacher, Khwāja 'Ināyatu'llāh Shīrāzi, he had him executed in accordance with the *fatwa* of the Sunni 'ulamā'. The Prince's new teacher was Fathu'llāh Shīrāzi, nicknamed "Tujjār" (not Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzi). Although Fathu'llāh proclaimed himself a Sunni for reasons of expediency he was also secretly a Shi'i. Fathu'llāh loved 'Alī 'Ādil dearly and tutored him assiduously.

Soon after this, some of Ibrāhīm's proteges conspired with Burhān Nizām Shāh to poison the Sultan through an officer in the royal kitchen. They intended to raise Ibrāhīm's brother 'Abdu'llāh to the throne and to restore the names of the Imāms to the *khutba*. The head of the kitchen establishment, however, happened to be a staunch Sunni. He divulged the plot to Ibrāhīm who had all the conspirators executed. 'Abdu'llāh fled to Goa. 'Alī and his tutor were sent to the Mirch fortress and placed under the strict control of its commander, Sikandar Khān. A ban was placed on his contact with Shi'is. Fortunately for 'Alī, Sikandar Khān and his son-in-law, Kāmil Khān Dakhinī, were also Shi'is although they were Ibrāhīm's proteges. They served 'Alī most obediently. When Ibrāhīm fell seriously ill, he was told that 'Alī had called the Shi'i *azān* as had Kāmil Khān Dakhinī. This appalling news prompted him to pass-over 'Alī and nominate his younger son, Prince Tahmāsp, as his successor. To his horror he learned that Tahmāsp was a far more zealous Shi'i than his brother.

58 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, pp. 26-34; *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 36b-40b; *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 47-68.

He was caught in an impasse. Ibrāhīm could not reconcile himself to nominate a Shi'i successor. Consequently Tahmāsp was imprisoned in Belgam fort and the succession question was left to God's will. When Ibrāhīm was dying, Muhammad Kishwar Khān, governor of Hookery, Belgam and Raybagh marched towards Mirch and warned Sikandar Khān that a section of the nobility might support Tahmāsp's accession. In consultation with Kishwar, therefore, Sikandar Khān had 'Alī escorted with royal insignia, by his son-in-law, to the outside of the fort. When the news of Ibrāhīm's death was received, Kishwar was appointed commander-in-chief. People from all over the kingdom, including Ibrāhīm's troops, flocked round 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh (965-988/1558-1580), and he was crowned king in a garden near Bijapur. The *khutba* was read in the names of the twelve Imāms and "Alī is Allāh's friend" was added to the *azān*. A number of Īrānis were recruited to loudly devote "themselves to their duties" of calling Shi'i invocations in mosques, streets, bazaars and "at the time of public audience". The Sultan, out of respect for the Sayyids, 'ulamā' and other learned men, granted them stipends. He had himself studied *Kāfiyya*,⁵⁹ *Mutawassit*⁶⁰ and books on *kalām*, logic and *hikmat*. The Sultan was expert in calligraphy. By temperament he was a dervish and a mystic. He signed his name on the specimens of his handwriting as "Alī Sūfi Qalandar".

'Alī 'Ādil Shāh made an alliance with Rāmarāja of Vijayanagara to regain Kalyani and Sholapur from Husayn Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golkonda was also drawn into the confederacy. Before long, however, the predominantly Shi'a foreign leaders in the three Muslim kingdoms had convinced their rulers that their rivalries had undermined their progress to Vijayanagara's advantage. Muhammad Kishwar Khān, Mustafā Khān Ardistāni from Golkonda, Qāsim Beg Hakīm Tabrizi and Mullā 'Ināyatu'llāh Qā'ini of Ahmadnagar (all being Shi'is) played a prominent role in ironing out differences. It was agreed that Husayn Nizām Shāh should marry his daughter, Chānd Bibi Sultān, to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh and Sholapur, whose possession had caused endless bloodshed, should be handed over to Bijapur as Chānd Bibi's dowry. 'Alī's sister should be given in marriage to Husayn's son, Mur tazā. On a fixed date, nuptial rejoicings and festivities were held at Bijapur and Ahmadnagar respectively. 'Alī Barid Shāh of Bidar also agreed to join the confederacy of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda against Vijayanagara. On 23 January 1565 a decisive battle was fought between the confederate sultans and Vijayanagara at Banihatti, near Talikota on the

59 Ibn Hājib (d. 646/1248-49) was the author of *Kāfiyya* on Arabic grammar.

60 A commentary on the *Kāfiyya* by Ruknu'd-Dīn Hasan bin Muhammad Astarābādi (d. 715/1315 or 717/1317).

southern side of the river Krishna. The Vijayanagara army was badly defeated and its military strength shattered. Rāmarāja was killed. In 983/1575-76, Akbar sent 'Aynu'1-Mulk Shirāzi to the Bijapur court to impress upon 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh the prudence of submission to Akbar. The Sultan responded by sending Rashīdu'1-Mulk with a petition to Akbar. Rashīd returned to Bijapur with Akbar's envoy, Hakim 'Alī Gilāni, but, before 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh could bid him farewell, he himself was murdered in 988/1580. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh erected considerable number of monuments. Besides forts and Jāmi' mosques in 976/1568-69 he built *Bāgh-i Duwāzdah Imām* (The garden of twelve Imāms) and in 981/1573-74 he laid the *Bagh-i Fadak* (Fadak garden).⁶¹

The rise of Shi'ism during 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's reign resulted mainly from the immigration of scholars trained by Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Shirāzi and his pupil Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi. The most outstanding among Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi's disciples was Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Shirāzi known as Afzal Khān Shirāzi. His father had held important positions under the governors of Fārs province in Iran but he died when Afzal Khān was only eight years old. Afzal Khān studied assiduously under Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi and two years of his teaching made Afzal Khān a very learned man. The administrative crisis in Shirāz prompted him to move with some students to Bijapur where he arrived during 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's reign. There he founded his own school. The students who had migrated with him and the local scholars who thronged his school made him very famous. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh also became interested in Afzal Khān and he offered him a position at court. He received rapid promotions and in a short time became *Mīr Jumla* and *Wakilū's-Saltanat*. He invited a number of eminent scholars and 'ulamā' from Iran to help him re-organise the administration, although experienced senior ministers, such as Mustafā Khān Ardistāni and Kāmil Khān, retained their positions. The ministry of *sar-khail*, which controlled the military and revenue, was given to Shaykh Sālim. He came from Najaf and had received his higher education at Shirāz. An eloquent poet Latif Khān Nasā'i, whose nom-de-plume was "*Waslī*", became the accountant general. The general administration was placed under the control of a Sayyid from Lār, Haydar Khān by name. Shaykh Nūru'd-Dīn Muhammad Lāri was made the master of ceremonies at court. Afzal Khān appointed his own cousin Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shirāzi as the *Khān Sālār* or the *Chāshni-gīr*, who controlled the palace treasury. At Afzal Khān's request, 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh sent huge sums of money to his teacher Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi inviting him also to move to the Deccan. The Shāh

61 *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 41b-46b; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 44-47; *Basātimū's-salātīn*, pp. 72-110.

accepted and arrived with a number of leading scholars. Among them was Khwāja Sa'du'd-Dīn who, in the reign of 'Alī 'Ādil's nephew and successor Ibrāhīm (988-1037/1580-1627), rose to become prime minister.⁶²

When he ascended the throne, Ibrāhīm, son of Tahmāsp, was only nine years old. His aunt Chānd Bibī became his guardian but Kāmil Khān, who was originally in the Nizām Shāhī service, became regent. Kāmil Khān was an arrogant man. He was also a poor administrator who squandered the royal treasury. Chānd Bibī persuaded Kishwar Khān, the son of Kamāl Kishwar Khān of Ismā'il's reign, to seize power and become regent. He defeated Kāmil Khān who was killed in June 1580. Kishwar Khān's administration, however, commenced with several candidates quarrelling over the post of *wakil*.

Meantime Afzal Khān had retired from politics but Kishwar Khān forced him to return and help him maintain peace as he had been his teacher. The *Dakhinis* and *Habashis* (Ethiopians) became Kishwar Khān's principal opponents although some *Āfaqis* also joined them. Their main aim was to send Ibrāhīm and his mother to Mecca, to have Afzal Khān blinded or killed, to have Shāh Fathu'llāh imprisoned and to order Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shirāzī to submit full treasury accounts. The long list of their demands consisted of similar unreasonable items. Kishwar Khān ordered Afzal Khān to fight this rebel faction and he defeated them at the Qutb Shāhī borders.

The civil war in Bijapur prompted Murtazā Nizām Shāh, Qutb Shāh and the Raja of Vijayanagara to declare war on Bijapur. Kishwar Khān sent Afzal Khān to defend the country. Afzal Khān first defeated the Qutb Shāhī army and then obtained victory over the Nizām Shāhī forces. These two victories encouraged Kishwar Khān to take sole control of the government. Kishwar's intrigues alarmed the nobles, however, and their representations to Chānd Bibī persuaded her to replace Kishwar Khān with Mustafā Khān Ardistāni, governor of Bankapur. Mustafā Khān was a Sayyid from Ardistān, near Isfāhān. He had moved to Golkonda during Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's reign (957-988/1550-1580) and had been made prime minister. Soon, however, Qutb Shāh grew envious of his competence and sent him as a special plenipotentiary to the Nizām Shāhī ruler. After discharging his duties satisfactorily, he went to Bijapur. 'Alī 'Ādil Shah was extremely pleased with Ardistāni's abilities and made him a very senior minister. He played an important role in the victory of Banihatti and was a farsighted administrator. Naturally his move to the capital from Bankapur was a threat to Kishwar's supremacy. Kishwar Khān, therefore, had Mustafā assassinated. This was an irreparable loss

62 *Basātinī's-salātīn*, pp. 130-32; *Tazkiratū'l-mulūk*, ff. 71a-73b.

to both the Bijapur kingdom and the Shi'is in the Deccan. Kishwar then imprisoned Chānd Bibī in Satara fort.⁶³

Kishwar's atrocities shocked the people of Bijapur and in October 1580, he also met his doom. The *Habashi* leader, Ikhlas Khān forced him to flee from Bijapur and to seek shelter first at Ahmadnagar and then in Golkonda where he was killed.

Ikhlas Khān now became regent. He released Chānd Bibī but rejected her orders to make Afzal Khān prime minister in order to balance the two irreconcilable factions. Instead his supporters imprisoned Afzal Khān and Rafi'u'd-Din Shirāzi. Afzal Khān was hacked to pieces and his dead body left on the road. On the third day it was buried by Shāh Fathu'llāh's disciples. Afzal Khān met his tragic end on 988/1580-81. Rafi'u'd-Din was left alone.⁶⁴

The *Habashi* leaders accepted Chānd Bibī's suggestion that Shāh Abu'l Hasan, one of Shāh Tāhir's sons, should be made prime minister. Ikhlas' supporter Dilāwar Khān Habashi marched against the Qutb Shāhi army which had penetrated into Bijapur and pushed it back to its own boundaries. Nevertheless, Dilāwar did not approve of Ikhlas' collaboration with Shāh Abu'l-Hasan and he imprisoned and blinded Ikhlas. Abu'l-Hasan was also killed. Dilāwar Khān also imprisoned his collaborator, Hamid Khān. This wanton destruction of both the Shi'i and Sunni leaders made Dilāwar Khān dictator of Bijapur. He ruled independently for eight years until he was overthrown by 'Ali 'Adil Shāh's successor Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II (988-1037/1580-1627) in May 1590.⁶⁵

Dilāwar Khān made Sunni-ism the state religion. The names of the twelve Imāms were replaced by those of the first four caliphs. He expelled the *Āfāqīs*. Akbar came to Fathu'llāh Shirāzi's rescue and he was escorted with honour to the imperial court at Fathpur Sikri, reaching there in July 1582. His disciples seem to have wended their own separate ways. In 994/1586 Kamālu'd-Din bin Fakhru'd-Din Jahrami translated ibn Hajar Haysami's (d. 974/1567) polemical work *a's-Sawā'iqu'l-muhriqa* from Arabic into Persian at Dilāwar's instance. The Persian translation, which was given the title *Burhān-i Qāti'a*, was designed to popularise the superiority of the first three caliphs, particularly that of Abū Bakr. It spiritedly refuted the Shi'i condemnation of them.

Dilāwar Khān paid due attention to making Ibrāhīm an orthodox Sunni. He saw to it that his own four sons were on intimate terms with the young Sultan. Ibrāhīm was married to Malika-i Jahān Chānd Sultān, the daughter of the Shi'i, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golkonda, only for

63 *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 133-37; *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 114b-120b.

64 *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 117b-124b, 125a; *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 174-78.

65 *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 131a-137b; *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 179-90.

reasons of political alliance. When Ibrāhīm ascended the throne his own religious convictions were unknown. Some believed that he was a Sunnī, others thought that, like his father Shāh Tahmāsp and uncle 'Alī 'Adil Shāh, he must be a Shī'i. A majority of Sunnis therefore, for reasons of expediency, declared themselves Shī'as and the *azān* of mid-day prayer was called according to Shī'i rules. Ibrāhīm was annoyed and ordered that those responsible be imprisoned. When he learnt the truth, however, he pardoned them and contemptuously referred to them as "Shī'is subject to expediency" (*Shī'iyān-i maslīhatī*).⁶⁶

Ibrāhīm was a shrewd statesman. The growing Mughal threat to the Deccan made him conscious of the necessity to change sides. He could not be a silent spectator to the Mughal annexation of Ahmadnagar, but he was not strong enough to fight Akbar. In 1604, therefore, he married his daughter to Akbar's son, Prince Dāniyāl and declared to Akbar's envoy that he too was a disciple (*murīd*) of Akbar. He took the *shast* from the turban of Akbar's envoy Asad Beg and hung it on his own head-dress.⁶⁷ After Akbar's death, Ibrāhīm sent the historian Firishta to Jahāngīr's court to offer his condolences and congratulate Jahāngīr on his accession to the throne. Jahāngīr's aggressive postures and his obvious intention to mount fresh invasions over the Deccan kingdoms, alarmed their rulers. They wrote letters asking Shāh 'Abbās Safawī of Iran to intervene and save them from annihilation. Ibrāhīm sent a letter through Mir Khalīlu'llāh, a former calligraphist at Shāh 'Abbās' court, requesting the Shāh to invade Qandahār with a view to diverting Jahāngīr's attention to his own defence. In 1022-23/1612 Ibrāhīm wrote:

"This petition is from the ancient slave steadfast on the path of servitude, Ibrāhīm, to His Exalted Majesty, World Conqueror, through Mir Khalīlu'llāh the calligraphist.

As the Divine scribe has written the obedience to that exalted house (the Safawid) on the pages of the destiny of the ancestors of these slaves (the Deccan rulers), they have always held fast to the friendship of that house (the Safawids).

Like Iraq, Fārs, Khurāsān and Āzarbayjān, Deccan is also a part of the (Safawid) empire. The names of the (Safawid Emperors) have adorned, are at present adorning and will in future adorn, the pulpits of this territory. Our ancestors, like other commanders and princes, have been appointed (by the Iranian rulers) to defend the (Deccan) territories by the Safawid Emperors. They have discharged their duties of servitude according to their competence. Following the traditions of

66 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 66.

67 Asad Beg, *Wāqī'āt-i Asad Beg*, Aligarh University Ms., ff. 65b-66a.

our ancestors which are the source of our honour and exaltation, we have also made obedience and service to the Safawid house imperative for us like the payment of *khums*. We are steadfast in wholeheartedly defending this kingdom which we consider a loan from the (Safawid Emperors) and we shall allow no slackness on our part in defending it. Recently the ruler of Agra and Lahore has died and his son has succeeded him. He has repeatedly summoned our representatives to his court and has urged them to inform us that we should send our envoys to condole with him and to congratulate him on his accession. We have replied that His Exalted Majesty (Shāh 'Abbās) is the lord of the territories of the Deccan and we are merely managers and governors. Since an envoy has already been sent by His Exalted Majesty for the same purpose, it was improper and wrong on our part to send our envoys (to the Mughal court). We have requested him (Akbar's successor) to wait until orders for our guidance were received from His Majesty (Shāh 'Abbās)."⁶⁸

Repeatedly asserting that the Deccan was an Iranian province, Ibrāhīm strove to arouse Shāh 'Abbās' religious and political jealousy. He also added that Jahāngīr had honourably received a "miserable Ottoman Turk" who claimed to be an envoy from the "inauspicious Turk" (*Rūmiyya-i shūmiyya*). Ibrāhīm's letter suggested that it was an opportune moment to despatch an army of valiant Iranians against Qandahār. The zamīndārs of that region and two to three hundred thousand Afghan warriors would join the Iranian army, for the Afghans anxiously awaited an opportunity to declare war against the Mughals and had recently defeated (Jahāngīr) who had gone to Kābul and forced him to retreat to Lahore. In a moment the Iranian army would seize vast treasures and jewels some of which would be suitable for preservation in His Exalted Majesty's treasury.

Shāh 'Abbās, however, did not mount an invasion of Iran nor exhibit any temper. Rather he very humbly interceded on the Deccan rulers' behalf requesting Jahāngīr to forgive their faults as a mark of favour to him and to open the doors of mercy on them. The Shāh offered to become guarantor for Ibrāhīm's good behaviour and assured Jahāngīr he would reprimand Ibrāhīm for his faults. Jahāngīr postponed the Deccan invasion partly because of his inability to mount one and partly to please Shāh 'Abbās.⁶⁸

Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's assurances to the Shāh that he followed his ancestors' policy and recited the *khutba* in the Shāh's name were palpably wrong. He also incorrectly informed Shāh 'Abbās that he had not sent an embassy

68 *Makātīb-i zamāna-i Safawiyya*, Āsafīa Library, Hyderabad, ff. 404a-405a; M. A. Nayeem, *External relations of the Bijapur kingdom*, Hyderabad, 1974, pp. 58, 62, 275-76.

to congratulate Jahāngir. His assurances of devotion to the Shāh's faith were totally untrue as well. Nevertheless Ibrāhīm was not a Sunni puritanist. Music was the very breath of his life. Around 1004/1595-96, drawing upon Hindu mythology, he wrote a masterpiece on the *Rāgas* and *Rāginis* in mixed Hindi and *Dakhini* and gave it the title "Nine Sentiments" (*Nava Rasa*). It is not surprising that his musical performances were preceded by the worship of Saraswatī, the Hindu goddess of learning. Indeed, the Sultan's contemporaries believed that he had become a Hindu. In 1000/1591-92, Shāh Sibghātu'llāh Husaynī, a disciple of Shaykh Wajīhu'd-Dīn of Gujarat,⁶⁹ who had settled in Medina, arrived in Bijapur. He was shocked to find liquor shops in the capital and refused to offer congregational prayers on the ground that they were not imperative in an heretical town. He urged Ibrāhīm to repent his heretical beliefs. The Sultan replied that his principal motive was to preserve his sweet musical voice; or else he was in his heart a true Muslim. Sibghātu'llāh was not satisfied. He demanded that the sale of liquor be prohibited, that prostitutes be forced to marry and that Shī'is should not be appointed to high positions and as governors.

The Sultan consulted his prime minister who happened to be a Shī'i. He replied that the Shaykh's demands were reasonable but their implementation would destroy the kingdom's splendour. At his suggestion, the Sultan persuaded the Shaykh to leave for Medina and provided him with a huge amount of money for his expenses.⁷⁰

Ibrāhīm reversed Dilāwar's policy of making Bijapur a puritanically Sunni kingdom. Many Shī'is and foreigners obtained high positions there. One of the more noteworthy was Khwāja Sa'du'd-Dīn 'Ināyatu'llāh entitled Shāh Nawāz Khān, who was the patron of the historian Muhammad Qāsim Hindū Shāh Firishta. The Khwāja had studied *hikmat* and mathematics under Shāh Fathu'llāh Shirāzi. He was considered the most outstanding student in Shirāz. When 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh invited Shāh Fathu'llāh to move from Shirāz to Bijapur, Khwāja Sa'du'd-Dīn accompanied him along with the Shāh's other students. After travelling through Bijapur and other important cities of India such as Burhanpur, Mandu, Ujjain, Agra, Delhi and Lahore, Sa'du'd-Dīn returned to Shirāz with rare gifts from India. Some time later he left on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. In Iraq he visited the holy shrines of the Imāms in Baghdād, Samarra, Karbalā and Najaf. He then went to Mecca and visited Medina. After returning to Shirāz, he left for India again in 997/1588-89 with the poet Mullā Shikebi and Khwāja 'Ināyatu'llāh Ardistāni entitled Sa'd. He arrived in Bijapur the following year and was taken into his service by the

69 *A history of Sūfism in India*, II, pp. 166-67.

70 *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 275-80.

Sultan. After Dilāwar Khān was deposed as regent, the Khwāja became Sultan Ibrāhīm's favourite. In 1000/1591 he was sent as an ambassador to the court of Burhān Shāh of Ahmadnagar. His success there prompted Ibrāhīm to send him to the Qutb Shāhī court at Hyderabad. Shāh Nawāz's service in suppressing Prince Ismā'il bin Tahmāsp's rebellion made him indispensable to Ibrāhīm. He recruited gifted men into Ibrāhīm's service and terminated the employment of disloyal and undesirable officers. In 1003/1594-95 the Sultan made Shāh Nawāz his finance minister (*jumlatu'l-mulk*) which made him head of the administration. Although Ibrāhīm's written Persian was poor, Shāh Nawāz's tuition made him adept in conversation. The Sultan, who had already bestowed the title "Shāh Nawāz Khān" on him, recognised his services by bestowing on him the title 'Ināyat Khān'.⁷¹

Shāh Nawāz was a competent engineer. In 1008/1599-1600, he was ordered to construct a town to be called Nawraspur, three kilometers west of Bijapur, to cater to the Sultan's romantic and musical taste. He collected the best engineers, architects, decorators, stone-cutters, carpenters and designers with a sound knowledge of mathematics, from different places. They helped him plan the unique town which comprised superbly designed palaces, bazaars, arcades, shops, inns, suburbs and roads. Eight thousand men were employed to build the royal apartments alone. Shāh Nawāz, the nobles, merchants and other rich men also personally employed a large number of architects, engineers and labourers. They vied with one another in erecting lofty mansions of elegance and beauty. Shāh Nawāz Khān's efforts were crowned with success and in a short time a well-planned town was constructed. The site was dominated by the King's lofty mansion with luxurious decoration and gilding. The palace was surrounded by a vast open field bordered by guardrooms and kitchens. The ladies' mansions were built at the back of the palace. A broad road running from the royal palace connected it to Bijapur. On both sides of the road double-storeyed shops and arcades were built. The building spiral continued until 1034/1624 when Malik Ambar's invasion of Bijapur destroyed a large part of Nawraspur. The engineers and architects collected by Shāh Nawāz contributed to the refinement in the design of the mosques and tombs built both during Ibrāhīm's reign and that of his successors.⁷²

The Mihtar Mahal (c. 1620) group of monuments known as "Ibrāhīm Rawza" (1626-27) and the majestic Gol-Gumbad (the tomb of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh) are some of the many inspiring memorials to Bijāpūrī architects. The presence of such master-builders is a tribute to Shāh Nawāz Khān's judgement.

71 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, pp. 75-79.

72 *Ibid.*, pp. 79-82; *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 245-50; *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 149a-151a.

Towards the end of Ibrāhīm's reign, Shāh Nawāz died and the Sultan gave his son-in-law, Dayānatu'l-Mulk Shīrāzī, the title "Shāh Nawāz Khān". The latter was also a competent administrator and played a vital role in the selection of Ibrāhīm's successor.⁷³

Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, who outlived the *Habashi* outrages, became Shāh Nawāz's favourite. In Ibrāhīm's reign he held many important positions. He also wrote a history of Bijapur entitled the *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*.

The famous poet Nūru'd-Dīn Zuhūri was also a Shī'i. He was born at Qā'in near Nishāpūr in c. 944/1537-38. After completing his education in the educational centres near Qā'in and Tarshīz he arrived in Shīrāz in c. 980/1572-73. Zuhūri's taste in history, painting and fine arts was sharpened by contact with the historian and artist, Dervish Husayn. Both Dervish Husayn and Zuhūri were short of funds but Zuhūri supplemented his meagre income by copying books. Zuhūri's poetic sensitivity and erudition were considerably enhanced by the competition from the leading Persian poets and the company of the Shīrāzī 'ulamā'.⁷⁴ In 988/1580 he moved to Ahmadnagar. There Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh and Burhān Nizām Shāh II became his patrons and he wrote very elegant *qasidas* and *ghazals*. In c. 1000/1591-92 he was liberally rewarded by Burhān Nizām Shāh for writing a *Sāqīnāma* praising the Sultan. Not only did Zuhūri write odes honouring Burhān's ministers and noblemen, he also composed odes in praise of the Mughal nobles, such as the Khān-i Khānān, Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī, Mirzā 'Azīz Koka and others. Sometime before 1591 Zuhūri made a pilgrimage to Mecca and recounted many interesting anecdotes about the sectarian bigotry prevailing there. Zuhūri was a deeply religious man, a devout Shī'i and an admirer of the Imāms but he was not a fanatic.

In 1591 Akbar sent his poet Fayzī to the courts of Khandesh and Ahmadnagar. He and Zuhūri became fast friends but Fayzī was unable to persuade Zuhūri to join Akbar's court. In 1593, Fayzī left Ahmadnagar, having completed his mission. Both, however, remained life-long admirers of each other and subsequently Zuhūri sent a collection of his works to Fayzī. This possibly contained his early poems and those written at Ahmadnagar but the copy does not seem to have survived.

In 1004/1595-96 Zuhūri left for Bijapur. The poems in his voluminous *Dīwān* (collection of poems) belong mainly to this period of his life. At Ibrāhīm's court he was called upon to produce prose compositions which are the real basis of his fame as a creative writer. He also composed many poems in a wide variety of forms. The first prose piece to bring him fame as an ornate and colourful prose writer is the preface to the *Kitāb-i Nawras*

73 *Basā'imī's-salātīn*, pp. 281-83.

74 Nazir Ahmad, *Zuhūri—life and works*, Allahabad, 1953, I, pp. 5-47.

of Sultan Ibrāhīm written in about 1006/1597-98. Two other essays written around 1008/1599-1600 and 1013-14/1604-5 appear respectively as the preface to the books *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīmī* and *Khwān-i Khalīl*. Collectively these are called *Sih Nasr* (*Three prose essays*). Other essays entitled the *Minā Bāzār* and the *Panj Ruqā'h* are usually ascribed to Zuhūri, but were written by someone else. Zuhūri died around 1025/1616.

Zuhūri's collaborator and, in his old age, his father-in-law as well, Malik Qummi, was also a good poet. He was in attendance at both the Nizām Shāhi and 'Ādil Shāhi courts. Malik was born in Qum in 934/1527-28 and seems to have moved to the Ahmadnagar court at about the same as Zuhūri but then left almost immediately for Bijapur. Qummi's *Diwān*, like Zuhūri's works was introduced to the north Indian poets and scholars by Fayzi. After arriving at Bijapur, Qummi seems to have given his daughter in wedlock to Zuhūri, who was by then fifty-six years old. Zuhūri already had a grown-up son, Mullā Zuhūr, who was both an historian and poet, by his first wife. After the new relationship was established, Zuhūri and Qummi increasingly wrote in collaboration and this proved very fruitful. At Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh's instigation, both wrote *masnawī's* imitating Nizāmī Ganjāwī's *Makhzan-i Asrār*. Their *Gulzār-i Ibrāhīmī* and the *Khwān-i Khalīl* comprise poems on similar themes in praise of Ibrāhīm. Both wrote prose prefaces to the above work but Zuhūri's preface became more famous. Ibrāhīm, however, rewarded both of them generously and they led a very comfortable life basking not only in the sunshine of the Sultan's patronage, but that of his brilliant minister, Shāh Nawāz, as well. Qummi died in Bijapur in 1024/1615 or 1025/1616.⁷⁵

Not only were Shāh Nawāz and Sultan Ibrāhīm patrons of scholars and poets from overseas, they also made valuable suggestions to their proteges concerning the composition of literary works. Many distinguished poets such as Muhammad Hāshimī "Sanjar" (b. 980/1572-73 in Kāshān, d. 1021/1612-13 in Bijapur), Muhammad Bāqir (b. 960/1552-53 in Kāshān, d. 1034/1624-25 in Bijapur) and their junior contemporaries created a new atmosphere for strengthening Shi'ism in Bijapur. They refrained from antagonising the Sunnis and ridiculed those who abused the first three caliphs. The following anecdote narrated by Zuhūri, which delighted Fayzi, illustrates this impartiality:

"Once in the garden of one of the Sherifs of Mecca, members of different religious sects were seated on the bank of a pool. During the discussion a Transoxianian said that on the day of Judgement each of the first four successors to the Prophet would take a seat at each of the four corners of the Kawsar pool in the heavens and would give water

75 *Ibid.*, pp. 210-26.

to the faithful. Among those present was Mahmūd Sabbāgh Nishāpūri who claimed the Transoxianian gentleman's statement was nonsense as the Kawsar pool was round and 'Alī was its cup-bearer. Then he left."⁷⁶

Although Bijapur was not immune to Sunnī-Shī'i tensions, Sultan Ibrāhīm succeeded in maintaining peace and harmony in his kingdom. He decided that after his death he could not allow Bijapur, whose population was mainly Sunnī, to become a Shī'i state like Golkonda. The problem was that of his four sons, the eldest Dervish Bādshāh was a Shī'i like his mother. She was Malika-i Jahān Chānd Sultāna, the daughter of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh and sister to Muhammad Qutb Shāh of Golkonda. Bādshāh, however, was favoured by Shāh Nawāz Khān (Diyānatu'l-Mulk), Nawāb Amīnu'l-Mulk Āqā Rizā' Shīrāzi and other eminent Muslim and Brahmin dignitaries. Ibrāhīm therefore urged the *Dakhinī* party, headed by Muhammad Amīn and Dawlat Khān, to support his younger son, Sultān Muhammad, who was a Sunnī, although he was only fifteen years old. After Ibrāhīm's death the queen, Khadīja Sultāna Shahryār Bānū Begum nicknamed "Barhī Sāhiba", the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh, although she was naturally herself a Shī'i, persuaded the nobles to abide by her husband's will and raise Muhammad to the throne.⁷⁷

During the reign of Sultan Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1037-1068/1627-1657), the Mughal Emperor Shāhjahān launched a strong offensive policy against Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. The final blow was delivered in Rama-zān 1046/January 1637 when Shāhjahān himself assumed the supreme Deccan command. Two Mughal divisions invaded Nizām Shāhī territory and that of the Mahratta leader Shāhji, another division attacked Bijapur while the fourth prevented the Qutb Shāhīs sending reinforcements. The Nizām Shāhī kingdom of Ahmadnagar was annihilated. Part of it was given to Bijapur and the rest was annexed to the Mughal empire.

Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh was the last great ruler of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty. At one time acrimonious correspondence was exchanged between him and Shāhjahān but initially the Mughal conquests extended to the Bijāpūri kingdom. Shāhjahān treated Muhammad with considerable respect and addressed him as "*Shāh*" (King) while the other Deccan rulers were referred to as "*Khān*" (nobleman or governor).⁷⁸ Although Muhammad was a Sunnī, he adhered to his father's policy of patronising gifted Shī'is. Zuhūri's son, Muhammad Zuhūr, wrote the *Muhammad-nāma* which gave

⁷⁶ Fayzī, *Inshā'-i Fayzī*, Lahore, 1973, p. 137.

⁷⁷ Nūru'llāh, *Tārīkh-i 'Ādil Shāhī*, Hyderabad, 1964, pp. 30-60; *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 280-83.

⁷⁸ *Basātinu's-salātin*, pp. 302-3, 314-16; *External relations of the Bijapur kingdom*, pp. 157-58.

an account of the reigns of Ibrāhīm and Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh. Other gifted Shi'is also made intellectual contributions to his reign. The political crisis, however, stopped the migration of Shi'i intellectuals from Iran to Bijapur. The Mughal court and noblemen were able to offer the Shi'is greater rewards than the Bijāpūrī court.

Muhammad's successor 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (1068-1083/1657-1672) was taught the Shi'i religion by Barhī Sāhiba and he had "*Ghulām-i Haydar-i Safdar*" (the slave of 'Alī the lion) stamped on his coins. Nūru'llāh, the author of the *Tārīkh-i 'Ādil Shāhi*, wrote a history of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II from his birth to 1076/1665-6. His style is rather ornate and he elaborates on 'Alī and his descendants but the Prophet's companions (*ashāb*) are mentioned only casually. 'Alī is referred to as the *wasi* of Prophet Muhammad (executor of Prophet Muhammad's will) and the *ahādīs* concerning the superiority of 'Alī's descendants are dealt with in considerable details.⁷⁹

At the time of his accession to the throne 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh was eighteen years old and was recognised by the Bijāpūrīs as Muhammad's son. In 1067/1656-57, Shāhjahān's viceroy in the Deccan, Awrangzīb, however, refused to recognise him as such and obtained Shāhjahān's permission to invade Bijapur. This contravened the treaty of 1637 which Shāhjahān had himself imposed on Bijapur in that it did not authorise him to interfere in matters of succession. Nevertheless Shāhjahān endorsed Awrangzīb's plan to annihilate the Bijapur and Golkonda kingdoms. The war of succession between Shāhjahān's four sons, in which Awrangzīb was victorious, provided a respite for the two kingdoms but, in 1097/1686, Awrangzīb annexed Bijapur. 'Alī's successor, Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh (1083-1097/1672-1686), was imprisoned and died in 1111/1699-1700. Before Sikandar's accession to the throne, the Mughal and Mahratta invasions of Bijapur had reduced the kingdom to a miserable condition. After its annexation to the Mughal empire, Bijapur's prosperity disappeared and its intellectual life declined precipitately. Attendance at Shi'i Muharram ceremonies also declined but did not cease.

Ahmadnagar

The foundation of the Nizām Shāhi dynasty of Ahmadnagar was laid by Malik Hasan Bahri.⁸⁰ He played an important role in the overthrow of Mahmūd Gāwān and subsequently succeeded him as prime minister of the Bahmanī kingdom. Malik Hasan's original name was Uttama and he was the son of a brahmin—from Vijayanagara. He was taken captive

79 *Tārīkh-i 'Ādil Shāhi*, pp. 12-13.

80 According to Firishā Hasan's full name was Hasan Bahrū. The Bahrū changed into Bahri. *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 63.

by the Bahmanīs during wartime, Islamised and given good literary education and military training. At the Bahmanī court he became an inveterate enemy of the *Āfāqīs*. His son Ahmad (895-916/1490-1510) who succeeded him, assumed the title "Nizāmu'l-Mulk Bahri" and in 895/1490, established the independent Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar. After his death in Rajab 916/October 1510, he was followed by Burhān Nizām Shāh (916-960/1510-1553) who was only seven years old at the time. During the early part of his reign, the missionary activity of Bandagī Miyān Ni'mat, brought the Mahdawī movement⁸¹ into the fore in Ahmadnagar. Burhān Nizām Shāh is said to have given one of his daughters in marriage to a Mahdawī Shaykh.

Shāh Tāhir

It was during these critical hours for Sunnī-ism that Shāh Tāhir arrived in Ahmadnagar. Shāh Tāhir bin Shāh Razū'd-Dīn was a descendant of the Fātimid caliphs of Egypt who claimed 'Alid descent and were Ismā'ilīs. His ancestors moved from Egypt to the Elburz mountains in northern Iran during the reign of Hasan-i Sabbāh (483-518/1090-1124). One of them settled at Khwand near Qazwīn and his descendants were known as Khwandiyya Sayyids. For about three hundred years their *khānqāh* was one of the important centres of mystic life in that region. The rulers and noblemen there were deeply devoted to them.

When Shāh Tāhir became the director of the Khwandiyya *khānqāh*, so great was his fame as a scholar and mystic, that Shī'is from Egypt, Bukhārā, Samarqand and Qazwīn flocked round him. Shāh Tāhir's rivals, therefore, aroused the suspicions of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī, who had destroyed a large number of *sūfī* families and *khānqāhs*, concerning the Khwandiyya mystics and their leader. Mirzā Shāh Husayn Isfahānī, an important dignitary at Shāh Ismā'il Safawī's court, however, warned Shāh Tāhir of the ruler's intention to destroy him. Consequently Shāh Tāhir gave up the mystic life and, in early 926/1520, joined Shāh Ismā'il's court. Shāh Ismā'il, however, was still suspicious of Shāh Tāhir so he left the court and moved to Kāshān. There he became a teacher and his disciples flocked round him once more. Shāh Tāhir's enemies convinced Shāh Ismā'il again that he posed a threat to him. They claimed that Shāh Tāhir, like Hasan-in Sabbāh, had secretly strengthened his political power and was corresponding with the neighbouring kingdoms. Shāh Ismā'il therefore ordered his military commanders to hasten to Kāshān and eliminate Shāh Tāhir. Shāh Tāhir was aware of these moves and left Kāshān immediately in Jumāda I 926/April 1520. Fortunately for him boats were available for travellers and he reached Goa. The Shāh's attempts to execute him were foiled.

81 S. A. A. Rizvi, *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, Agra, 1965, pp. 76-130.

From Goa Shāh Tāhir went to Bijapur but Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh ignored him. Disappointed at his reception, Shāh Tāhir left Bijapur for Gulbarga and then moved to Parenda. He had decided to leave on a pilgrimage for Mecca when Khwāja-i Jahān, the governor of Parenda, urged him to spend the rainy season there. Shāh Tāhir settled down temporarily as a teacher. Khwāja-i Jahān's son and other scholars eagerly flocked round Shāh Tāhir while Khwāja-i Jahān behaved in a most cordial manner to his guest. Meanwhile, Burhān Nizām Shāh's teacher, Mawlānā Pīr Muhammad Sherwāni, arrived at Parenda on a political mission. He was so impressed by Shāh Tāhir's scholarship that he stayed for about one year in Parenda studying the *Almagest*, a system of astronomy and trigonometry under the Shāh. On his return to Ahmadnagar he told Burhān Nizām Shāh how he had benefited from Shāh Tāhir's tuition. Burhān Nizām Shāh, who enjoyed the company of learned men, sent Pīr Muhammad back to Parenda to invite Shāh Tāhir to Ahmadnagar. In 928/1522 Shāh Tāhir arrived and was feted with a royal welcome.

Before long, Shāh Tāhir became Burhān's principal counsellor. In 930/1523-24, Shāh Tāhir was successful in arranging a meeting between Burhān Nizām Shāh and Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur in Sholapur fort. During these discussions, Bibi Maryam, the sister of Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh, was married to Burhān Nizām Shāh amidst revelry and festivity. Apparently Asad Khān of Belgam had promised to have Sholapur transferred to Burhān as Bibi Maryam's dowry. Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh, however, denied any knowledge of the transaction. Burhān consulted Shāh Tāhir and on his advice did not press Ismā'il to honour the agreement. The marriage, however, was not successful and war broke out between Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. In 935-36/1528-9 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Imādu'l-Mulk of Berar and Muhammad II Fārūqī of Khandesh declared war against Ahmadnagar. Although Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat was Fārūqī's uncle, his adventurous spirit prompted him to make use of the crisis. He also marched on Ahmadnagar and seized Māhur and Patri. Burhān thereupon sent letters to Bābur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty, Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh, Amīr Barīd Shāh and Sultan Qulī Qutb Shāh asking for help, but in vain. Bahādur Shāh seized Ahmadnagar without much difficulty. Burhān, resorted to guerrilla tactics and, hovering around the Gujarati army, cut off Bahādur's supplies. Bahādur commissioned 'Imād Shāh to finish Burhān off and himself returned to Dawlatabad. Burhān re-organised his administration and made a resourceful Brahmin, who conducted the war against the confederates satisfactorily, his prime minister. Ultimately, however, Burhān was forced to sue for peace and agreed to have the *khutba* read in the name of Sultan Bahādur.⁸²

82 *Majālisul-mu'aminin*, p. 352; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 104-7, 110-12.

During these years of stress and strain, Shāh Tāhir was Burhān's principal adviser. The *Inshā-i Shāh Tāhir al-Husaynī* comprises the diplomatic letters drafted by him. They are unmatched as a demonstration of tackling a crisis and are excellent specimens of prose writing.

In 936/1529-30, Burhān Nizām Shāh sent Shāh Tāhir with rich presents, elephants and Arab horses to Sultan Bahādur. The Sultan, however, delayed granting him an audience while he wrote to Muhammad Shāh Fārūqī complaining that he had heard that Burhān had mentioned his name only once in the *khutba*. Shāh Tāhir had already made friends with Muhammad and, in the interests of maintaining peace in the region, Muhammad replied that Burhān was a loyal vassal to Bahādur. He claimed that Burhān had not mentioned his (Bahādur's) name in the *khutba* in order to save appearances with the other Deccan kings. Muhammad urged Bahādur to grant Burhān's envoy an audience. The Sultan accordingly received Shāh Tāhir, but after that ignored him. Tāhir made friends with Bahādur's prime minister, Majdu'd-Dīn Muhammad al-Ījī entitled Khudāwand Khān, who was himself an eminent scholar. He informed Bahādur of Shāh Tāhir's intellectual prowess and of the respect he commanded as the head of a revered Iranian *khānqāh*. Consequently the Sultan arranged an assembly of the eminent 'ulamā' of Gujarat and Khandesh. Shāh Tāhir was given the most senior position among the 'ulamā' to the disgust of the local clergy. The Sultan apologised for his earlier indifference and ordered Khudāwand Khān to organise another assembly of scholars and 'ulamā' in his palace. This would give the Shāh an opportunity to demonstrate his literary and religious knowledge. The Shāh's brilliant lectures stunned his opponents and he left an indelible mark of his learning and spirituality on them. Sultan Bahādur was delighted at the 'ulamā's' reaction and became even more respectful to the Shāh. After a further period of three months, Bahādur allowed Shāh Tāhir to depart.

In Sha'bān 937/March 1531, Bahādur's victory over Malwa alarmed Burhān. Fearful for his kingdom's safety he again sent Shāh Tāhir, and also Narsū Pandit, to Sultan Bahādur with a letter drafted by Shāh Tāhir. In it Burhān assured Bahādur of his intention to render all the services incumbent upon a vassal, and expressed his hope that before long he would be able to offer congratulations to Bahādur on his victory over Delhi.⁸³ Bahādur Shāh was in Burhanpur when Muhammad Shāh Fārūqī presented Shāh Tāhir to Bahādur's court again. Conferring favours on the Shāh, Bahādur urged him to induce his master to come to Burhanpur and meet him. At first Burhān declined but finally Shāh Tāhir convinced him that it was to his own advantage to call on Bahādur. Burhān left for Burhanpur with a body of seven thousand horse, handing over the kingdom's adminis-

83 *Inshā-i Shāh Tāhir*, British Museum Ms., ff. 5b-9b.

tration to his son, Prince Husayn. They were received by Muhammad Shāh who informed them that only Bahādur Shāh would be seated on a throne; the rest, irrespective of rank, would pay obeisance to him and stand. Burhān was deeply upset and told Shāh Tāhir that he would never stoop to that indignity. He would rather return home and leave the future to God's will. Shāh Tāhir pacified him and persuaded him to bow to expediency. The Shāh, however, conceived a plan to resolve the crisis honourably. He told Burhān that Bahādur Shāh was very keen to see his (Tāhir's) copy of the Qur'ān transcribed by Imām 'Alī. He would, therefore, inform Khudāwand Khān of his intention to bring it with him to the reception. The Sultan would surely leave his throne and rush over to pay his respects to the Qur'ān. Burhān was delighted with the plan. When they arrived at the royal camp, Shāh Tāhir placed the Qur'ān on his head. The Sultan asked Khudāwand Khān what Shāh Tāhir was carrying. Khudāwand Khān said that it was the Qur'ān transcribed by Imām 'Alī. The Sultan instantly left his throne and rushed over to see it. He took it from Shāh Tāhir, kissed it and rubbed it against his eyes. Burhān then greeted Bahādur Shāh and the Sultan responded politely and enquired after his welfare in Gujarātī. Bahādur Shāh returned to his throne and Shāh Tāhir and Muhammad Fārūqī stood before him. Bahādur urged Shāh Tāhir to sit down beside him but he humbly expressed his inability to do so when his master Burhān was standing. So Bahādur Shāh was forced to invite Burhān to sit with him on the throne. Shāh Tāhir, holding Burhān Shāh's hands, made him sit down and himself sat down some distance away. Burhān's courteous Persian speech affected Bahādur so deeply that, taking a sword and dagger studded with jewels from his own waist he placed them in Burhān's sash awarding him the title "*Shāh*" (king) and royal insignia. Shāh Tāhir was given a huge elephant as a present. When the time came to say farewell, the Sultan loaded them with gifts. This peace between Bahādur Shāh and Burhān Nizām Shāh was a very important event. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda sent their envoys to congratulate Burhān on the conclusion of the peace treaty.⁸⁴ Without Shāh Tāhir's efforts it would not have been possible.

The Gujarat ruler's glory was, however, short-lived. In 941/1535 the Emperor Humāyūn declared war on Bahādur Shāh whose territories had by now expanded to include Malwa. Bahādur fled to Mandu. Muhammad Shāh Fārūqī went with him. Bahādur's defeat made the extinction of Khandesh inevitable. Burhān Nizām Shāh had, however, given Bābur and Humāyūn to understand that he was their vassal. Humāyūn's *farmān* was respectfully received by Burhān and Shāh Tāhir replied on his behalf requesting that the petty kingdom of Asir and Burhanpur might be spared

and its ruler treated favourably.⁸⁵ In this way Burhān and Shāh Tāhir repaid the debt they owed to Muhammad Fārūqī for his earlier help in making peace with Gujarat.

Shāh Tāhir's diplomatic and financial administrative duties did not prevent him from dedicating himself to teaching, lectures and religious polemics. After his arrival at Ahmadnagar, Burhān built a seminary for the Shāh in the fort. Later the Jāmi' mosque was built on the same site. Shāh Tāhir delivered lectures twice a week and all the 'ulamā' in the capital attended. Burhān Shāh also came. Apparently Shāh Tāhir's first target of attack were the Maḥdawīs to the great satisfaction of the non-Maḥdawi Sunni 'ulamā'.

Around 944/1537-38, Burhān's son Prince 'Abdu'l-Qādir fell seriously ill. Neither Hindu nor Muslim physicians were able to cure him. Burhān ordered all his subjects to pray for the boy and gifts were distributed, but the Prince's condition continued to deteriorate. When Burhān had despaired of his son's life, Shāh Tāhir asked him to take a vow that, if his son recovered, he would have the *khutba* in the name of the twelve Imāms recited. Burhān gave his word. Shāh Tāhir sat down near 'Abdu'l-Qādir's bed and tried to keep the covers over the Prince's body. The boy's temperature was very high due to fever and he continually threw the covers off again. Shāh Tāhir, therefore, left the Prince's bed and went home to pray.

Burhān remained awake throughout the night near his son's bed. Before day-break he fell asleep and in his dream he saw Prophet Muhammad surrounded by the twelve Imāms. The Prophet said, "O Burhān! Should your son recover by 'Ali and his sons' blessings, don't reject the advice of my son Tāhir." Burhān awoke full of joy. He was surprised to find the quilt over 'Abdu'l-Qādir's body. The boy's mother and nurse, who were also awake, said that, although 'Abdu'l-Qādir had kept tossing and turning, the quilt itself moved with his body. Burhān felt the Prince's pulse and was delighted to find that the fever had gone. Thanking God he summoned Shāh Tāhir. The latter thought that the Prince had died during the night and that his own life was now in danger. He bade farewell to his family and went to the palace. Burhān welcomed him warmly and urged the Shāh to make him a Shī'i. Shāh Tāhir replied that the principal requirement of the Shī'i sect is devotion to the Prophet's family (descendants from his daughter Fātima) and dissociation from their enemies. He then explained the achievements of all the twelve Imāms. Subsequently, the King, Prince Husayn, Prince 'Abdu'l-Qādir, and other members of Burhān family embraced Shī'ism.

Shāh Tāhir prevented Burhān from immediately replacing the names

85 *Inshā-i Shāh Tāhir*, ff. 9b-13b.

of the first three caliphs with those of the Imāms. He asked him instead to assemble the 'ulamā' from all the four schools of Sunnī jurisprudence in order to discover the best aspects of each. The 'ulamā' met in Shāh Tāhir's seminary for about six months while they discussed the superiority of their respective beliefs. None of the schools could convince the others of its truths, however. When Burhān was tired of this incessant wrangling, the Shāh remarked that the Isnā 'Ashari sect was different from all the four Sunnī schools. Should the King be interested, he continued, the books on that faith could be brought to him. Burhān agreed. A Shi'i, Shaykh Ahmad Najafi was chosen to discuss the superiority of his school of law; Shāh Tāhir supported him. The Sunnī 'ulamā' soon realised that the Shāh was a Shi'i and they became his enemies. Shāh Tāhir defeated the Sunnī 'ulamā' on the basis of their own works in the debate on the controversies surrounding Abū Bakr's caliphate, 'Umar's opposition to Prophet Muhammad's request for pen and ink on his death-bed and Fātima's demand to be given Fadak. Burhān then related the story of 'Abdu'l-Qādir's illness and Prophet Muhammad's commands to him in his vision. A large number of Burhān's courtiers, senior noblemen and servants were converted to the Isnā 'Ashari faith. The names of the first three caliphs were replaced with those of the twelve Imāms. The white royal umbrella given by Sultan Bahādur was dyed green.

The declaration of Shi'ism as the state religion deeply annoyed Burhān's teacher Mullā Pir Muhammad and the other Sunnī 'ulamā'. Agitation mounted against Shāh Tāhir. Under Mullā Pir Muhammad's leadership, Burhān was deposed and Prince 'Abdu'l-Qādir was raised to the throne. An army of about twelve thousand horsemen and foot soldiers rallied around Pir Muhammad's standard. They were unable, however, to defeat the small army led by Burhān and Shāh Tāhir. A considerable number of Pir Muhammad's followers deserted him and joined Burhān. Pir Muhammad was captured but, in view of his earlier favours, Shāh Tāhir saved his life and he was imprisoned. After about four years, at Shāh Tāhir's request, he was released and his former office restored to him.⁸⁶

Firishta's contemporary Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari also relates this story but, according to him, Burhān saw only 'Alī in his vision.⁸⁷ Sayyid 'Alī Tabātabā'i gives another version in which 'Abdu'l-Qādir's illness is not mentioned. He claims that Shāh Tāhir had been practising *taqiyya*. Although he did not disclose his faith, he invariably presented Imāmiyya arguments in discussions with the Sunnī 'ulamā'. Finally Burhān Nizām Shāh discovered that Shāh Tāhir was not a Sunnī and, guaranteeing him the safety of his life, urged him to reveal his religion. Shāh Tāhir discussed the

86 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 109, 112-16.

87 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 352.

superiority of the twelve Imāms on the basis of the *Tathīr*⁸⁸ verse and the need to recognizing the Lord of the Age. Among the Sunnī works the Shāh quoted Taftāzānī to strengthen his arguments. Burhān Shāh was highly impressed with these arguments based on standard Sunnī works and became convinced that Shī'ism was the best faith. When he went to bed that night, Burhān had a vision of the Prophet Muhammad with Imāms 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn and Muhammad Bāqir. He saw the Prophet give orders to Imām Muhammad Bāqir which were then implemented by Shāh Tāhīr. Imām Muhammad Bāqir told Burhān that Prophet Muhammad wanted him to comply with Shāh Tāhīr's instructions and to be steadfast in his love for the holy Ahl-i Bayt. When Burhān got up the next morning he prostrated himself before God to thank him for allowing him to sight Prophet Muhammad in his vision. After performing his prayers he summoned Shāh Tāhīr. It so happened that the Shāh had also seen a similar vision. Burhān related his story to Shāh Tāhīr and confirmed that no doubts remained in his mind regarding the truth of the faith of the Ahl-i Bayt. At Burhan's request Shāh Tāhīr engaged the Sunnī 'ulamā' in polemical discussions and defeated them.⁸⁹

Shī'is interpreted Shāh Tāhīr's vision as conclusive proof of the superiority of their faith. The pious Sunnīs did not dispute the authenticity of the vision itself but interpreted it differently. According to Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz (1159-1239/1746-1824) the Prophet Muhammad meant "that since his son was cured he should not pay attention to Tāhīr's words. However, as Burhān Shāh's mind was overwhelmed by Shāh Tāhīr's message, he instantly misunderstood the Prophet's communication and jumped to the conclusion that he had been ordered to drink wine (i. e. to become a Shī'i), although he was prohibited by the Prophet from doing so."

Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's brother, Shāh Rafī'u'd-Dīn (1163-1233/1749-50-1818), based his arguments on the Prophet's tradition which stated that anyone who had a vision of the Prophet actually saw him, for Satan could not assume the Prophet's form. However, Shāh Rafī'u'd-Dīn added, the above *hadīs* did not mean that Satan could not impersonate him. The *hadīs*, according to Shāh Rafī'u'd-Dīn, could be interpreted in three different ways. Some authorities were of the opinion that Satan could not assume the Prophet's form as it was on his deathbed. Others considered that Satan could not assume the Prophet's form as it was during his tenure of prophethood. The third view was even more general stating that Satan could not imitate the Prophet's appearance as it was during his entire life. However, according to the Shāh, the scholars believed that no form seen in a vision could be truly identified as the Prophet's form and on that basis

88 *Supra*, pp. 8-9.

89 *Burhān-i ma'āsīr*, pp. 259-63.

the vision could not be treated as valid. Shāh Raḡī'u'd-Dīn also added that "the correct traditions of the Prophet were those which had been heard directly from him by reliable persons and had been retold from generation to generation during their lifetime. In the case of Burhān Nizām Shāh, Satan, knowing that the Sultan's son was about to recover, impersonated the Prophet and misled the king."

Shāh 'Abdu'l-Qādir (1167-1228/1753-4-1813), Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz's third brother, claimed "that the Prophet had asked Burhān Nizām Shāh to act according to Shāh Tāhir's instructions but he was not asked by the Prophet to act according to Shāh Tāhir's will. Tāhir had asked Burhān to accept the faith of the twelve Imāms which the Sunnis accepted as a true religion. The Sunnis follow the rules of the twelve Imāms in their prayers and *sūfi* exercises and many *sūfi* orders trace their origin from them. By adopting the rules of the twelve Imāms, the Prophet meant to urge Burhān to follow the *sūfi* path which combines worship with inner light, rather than become Shi'i."⁹⁰

Be that as it may, Burhān was converted to Shi'ism by the careful and cautious handling of the situation by Shāh Tāhir and by the Shāh's remarkable debating skill. After Burhān's conversion, Shāh Tāhir assembled a galaxy of Shi'i intellectuals from many different countries including, Gujarat and Agra, to strengthen Shi'ism in Ahmadnagar. Among the scholars who migrated to Ahmadnagar were Shāh Hasan Injū, Mullā Shāh Muhammad Nishāpūri, Mullā 'Alī Gul Astarābādi, Mullā Rustam Jūzjāni, Mullā 'Alī Māzandarāni, Ayyūb Abu'l Barka, Mullā 'Azīzu'llāh Gīlāni, and Mullā Muhammad Imāmi Astarābādi. Shāh Tāhir's brother, Shāh Ja'far also moved to Ahmadnagar. Sayyid Hasan of Medina who was well-known for his piety arrived as well. Burhān Shāh made him his son-in-law and offered him some lucrative *iqṭā'*. Shāh Tāhir often remitted money to Karbalā and Najaf for the pilgrims and deserving people there. The stipends earlier granted to Sunnis were transferred to Shi'is. Langar Duwāzdah Imām, a centre for free distribution of food to poors in the name of twelve Imāms was established. Several villages were assigned for its maintenance.⁹¹

In 942/1535 Burhān Nizām Shāh sent Khwurshāh bin Qubād al-Husayni, a relative of Shāh Tāhir, as an ambassador to Shāh Tahmāsp who received him at Qāzwīn. Shāh Tahmāsp wrote a separate letter to Shāh Tāhir in appreciation of his efforts to propagate Shi'ism and assured him of his co-operation. At Shāh Tāhir's request, Burhān Nizām Shāh sent the Shāh's son, Shāh Haydar, to the Iranian court. The ex-

90 Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Dihlawī, *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, Delhi, 1311/1893-94, I, pp. 78-88; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz*, pp. 166-68.

91 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 115-16; *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 283-87.

change of embassies strengthened their friendship and cordial relations developed between the Safawid and the Nizām Shāhīs, boosting the image of the dynasty among the other Deccan Sultans.⁹²

In 949/1542-43, Shāh Tāhir's diplomatic manoeuvrings alienated Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh from his Shi'i vizier, Asad Khān of Belgam. Burhān Nizām Shāh then seized Sholapur but was, however, unable to retain it. In 950/1543-44, Shāh Tāhir visited the Qutb Shāhī court at Golkonda to congratulate Jamshīd Qutb Shāh on his accession to the throne.

In 956/1549, Shāh Tāhir died. His body was transferred to Karbalā and buried near the tomb of Imām Husayn. He left four sons and three daughters. Of his four sons, Shāh Haydar was born before his immigration to the Deccan and the rest were born there. After his return from Shāh Tahmāsp's court, Shāh Haydar succeeded his father as a minister.⁹³

Shāh Tāhir was expert in Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, principles of *fiqh*, mathematics, science, philosophy, *ramal* and *jafar*. He wrote excellent prose and poetry. He compiled *Sharh Bāb Hādī 'Ashr (kalām)*, *Sharh Ja'fariyya (Fiqh Imāmiyya)*, *Hāshiyā* (Commentary) on the *Tafsīr Bayzāwī*, *Hāshiyā* (Commentary) on *Sharh Ishārāt, Mahakimāt*, Commentary on the *Almagest*, Commentaries on the *Ilāhiyāt* section of the *Shifā'*, *Mutawwal*, *Gulshan-i Rāz* and *Tuhfa-i Shāhī* and *Sharh* (a commentary) on the *Tahzīb al-Usūl*. A treatise entitled the *Risāla-i Pāliki* was written by him during a journey on a palanquin (*pāliki*) in India. He was also the author of a Persian treatise on the Day of Judgement.⁹⁴ Although none of these works survives, they were famous in his own time. Some of the diplomatic letters he wrote were collected in a book called the *Inshā-i Tāhir* of which manuscript copies are available in several libraries. He also wrote a *Fath-nāma* comprising an account of the conquest of Sholapur by Burhān Nizām Shāh. The only known manuscript exists in the Khudā Bakhsh Library, Bankipur, Patna.⁹⁵

Burhān appointed a Shi'i, Qāsīm Beg Hakīm and a Hindu, Būpa Rao, to Shāh Tāhir's posts in the government. Shāh Tāhir's brother, Shāh Ja'far, was also involved in the administration. Burhān Shāh died in 961/1553. His body was buried near the tomb of Nizām Ahmad Shāh in the Rawza Gardens. After a short time the bones of both were transferred to Karbalā and buried near Imām Husayn's tomb.⁹⁶

Burhān was succeeded by his eldest son, Husayn Nizām Shāh (961-972/1553-1565). His brother, 'Abdu'l-Qādir, with *Dakhini* support, fought a war of succession against him. The foreigners and *Habashīs* helped

92 *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 287-90.

93 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 117-8.

94 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 353.

95 Bankipur, Supp., II, 2119.

96 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 120.

Husayn Nizām Shāh and he was victorious. The *khutba* was recited in the name of the twelve Imāms⁹⁷. During his reign the Deccan Muslim sultans realised the futility of internecine wars and, as mentioned earlier, their remarkable alliance was crowned with the victory of Banihatti near Talikota in 972/1565.⁹⁸ This success was a feather in the cap of the diplomacy of Shi'i intellectuals.

Husayn Nizām died shortly after this victory in Zu'lqa'da 972/June 1565. His son Murtazā Nizām Shāh (972-995/1565-1586) then came to the throne. During his reign, Shi'ism reached its peak. The Sayyids and the devotees of the Prophet's Ahl-i Bayt were accorded great respect and patronage and more villages were added to the grants to them and the 'ulamā.⁹⁹ In 982/1574 Murtazā Nizām Shāh conquered Berar and annexed it to his kingdom. From the middle of his reign, however, Akbar's policy of forcing the Deccan rulers to accept him as the paramount power, caused Ahmadnagar immeasurable difficulties. As well as this, the conflict between the *Dakhinis* and the foreign immigrants had by now assumed serious proportions. Murtazā was unable to handle the situation. In Rajab 996/May-June 1588, his son Husayn imprisoned Murtazā and put him to death. His last rites were performed according to Shi'i rules. He was buried in the Rawza Gardens but a few years later his bones also were transferred to Karbalā. The Sultan's peshwā (prime minister), Shāh Jamālu'd-Din was very generous and large-heartedly strove to satisfy the needy.¹⁰⁰

Husayn Nizām Shāh II could not crush the scramble between the Deccanis and foreigners to gain supremacy. Jamāl Khān Mahdawī, the leader of the *Dakhinis* and *Habashis* killed Husayn in Jumāda I 997/March 1589 and placed Ismā'il son of Burhān Nizām Shāh II on the throne. Jamāl Khān and Yāqūt Khān Habashī raised the cry of revenge on the foreigners. Their supporters forcibly entered the Ahmadnagar fort and slaughtered about 300 foreign immigrants. Possibly all of them were Shi'is; many of them were eminent scholars and poets. Next morning Jamāl Khān marched into the fort with his men and disposed of the survivors. About 1,000 foreigners in Ahmadnagar and the surrounding towns were also killed. Only a few immigrants, those who were friends of the *Dakhinis* and *Habashis*, were spared.

Jamāl Khān appointed Mahdawī tutors to Ismā'il. The names of the twelve Imāms were dropped from the *khutba* and the Mahdawī faith became the state religion. Mahdawīs from other parts of India migrated

97 *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 263-65.

98 *Supra*, pp. 270-72.

99 *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 431-34.

100 *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 558-67; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 147.

to Ahmadnagar. Jamāl Khān awarded the senior government positions to those who followed the state religion. The 300 remaining migrants were expelled from Ahmadnagar. Among them was the historian Firishta who arrived in Bijapur on 19 Safar 998/18 December 1589.

The revolution in Ahmadnagar prompted Akbar to send Burhān Nizām Shāh, who had taken refuge in his (Akbar's) court during the reign of his brother Murtazā Nizām Shāh, to Ahmadnagar to seize the throne. Burhān, however, told the Mughal Emperor that he preferred to enter the Deccan without a supporting Mughal army. Akbar approved of his decision and ordered Rāja 'Alī Khān of Khandesh to help Burhān. In 999/1591, the allies killed Jamāl and defeated the Mahdawi army. Ismā'il was deposed by Burhān Nizām Shāh II (999-1002/1591-93) who ascended the throne himself. The Mahdawi faith was abolished and a considerable number of its followers were killed. The Shi'i religion was again restored and a number of immigrants, who had been expelled previously, returned to Ahmadnagar. The Shi'is, however, were unable to regain their former powerful position.¹⁰¹ When Fayzi visited Burhanpur in 1591 he was told that the Shi'i immigrants there were from Jabal-i 'Āmil, Najaf and Karbalā but they were not the dominant group. The *Dakhinis*, who comprised both Sunnis and Shi'is, ruled over the country.¹⁰² The *Habashi* rise to power had started.

The reigns of Burhān Nizām Shāh's successors were marked by the struggle for supremacy between the *Dakhinis* and the *Habashis*. Chānd Bibi's desperate efforts to unite the two warring factions were not crowned with much success. Although she heroically defended Ahmadnagar when the Mughal army besieged it, she was killed by the *Dakhinis* in Muharram 1009/July 1600.

From 1600 to his death in 1626, the Habashī leader Malik Ambar dominated the political, military and administrative life of Ahmadnagar. Ten years later the state was annexed by the Mughals to their empire. The four sultans who ruled after Burhān Nizām Shāh II were probably Shi'is, although apparently the *khutba* was not recited in the names of the twelve Imāms.

The Qutb-Shāhis

The founder of the Qutb-Shāhi dynasty, Sultān Qulī, was born at Sādābād (Hamadān). He belonged to the Shi'i Turkomān tribes called Qarā Qoyūnlū whose emblem was black sheep. They originated around Lakes Van and Urmia in northern Iran and then spread to Āzarbayjān and Anatolia. The Qutb-Shāhi genealogy was written by the fourth ruler

101 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, pp. 150-52; *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, pp. 578-92.

102 *Inshā-i Fayzi*, p. 143.

Muhammad Qutb-Shāh himself, on the fly-leaf of the *Kanzu'l-lughat*. This book, in the Sir Sālār Jang Museum, Hyderabad, gives the following details:

“Muhammad Qutb-Shāh bin Mirzā Muhammad Amīn bin (Ibrāhīm) Qutb-Shāh bin Sultan Qulī Qutbu'l-Mulk bin Uways-Qulī, bin Pir-Qulī, bin Alwand Beg, bin Mirzā Sikandar, bin Yūsuf bin Qarā Muhammad Turkomān.”

Qarā Muhammad succeeded in establishing his rule over Armenia and Āzarbayjān, but, although his son Qarā Yūsuf fought ceaselessly against Timūr's inroads into northern Iran, he ultimately lost and had to flee to Egypt. After Timūr's death in 807/1405, however, Qarā Yūsuf returned to his homeland and re-established his control over Āzarbayjān, Hamadān, Qāzwīn and Isfahān. In 823/1420 he died and was succeeded by Mirzā Iskandar (823-841/1420-1438), entitled Iskandar Sāni (Alexander II). Although Iskandar was assassinated by his son Kayqubād, the throne was actually seized by his uncle Jahān Shāh (841-872/1438-1467). After the death of the Timūrid prince Mirzā Shāh Rukh (807-850/1405-1447), Jahān Shāh established his rule over Iraq, Fārs, Kirmān and even Omān. He subsequently invaded Diyārbakr, belonging to the Āq Qoyūnlū ruler, Ūzūn Hasan, but he was defeated and killed. His son Hasan 'Alī was unable to rally the support of the Qarā Qoyūnlū tribes and was killed in 873/1468. The Āq Qoyūnlū now became the rulers of eastern Anatolia and Āzarbayjān as well as Diyārbakr. The remnants of Jahān Shāh's empire were seized by the Timūrids and other tribal leaders.

During his lifetime, Jahān Shāh was very kind to his nephews. He gave Hamadān to Iskandar's son, Alwand, and married his grand-daughter to Alwand's son Pir Qulī Beg. The latter married his son Uways Qulī to Maryam Khātūn, the daughter of the leading 'ālim in the region, Malik Sālih. Malik Sālih named Maryam's son, Sultān Qulī. The Āq Qoyūnlū ruler, Ūzūn Hasan (857-882/1453-1478) and his son Khalīl (882/1478) allowed Pir Qulī and Uways Qulī to continue ruling Hamadān but Khalīl's successor Ya'qūb (883-896/1478-1490) became their inveterate enemy. He was alarmed by the talents of Sultān Qulī, although he was only a boy of twelve. In the interests of Sultān Qulī's safety, therefore, Uways Qulī sent him with his uncle Allāh Qulī to India. On their way the party met the great Ni'matu'llāhī *sūfi*, Shāh Nūru'd-Dīn Ni'matu'llāh Sāni who was married to Jahān Shāh's daughter. The *sūfi* blessed Sultān Qulī and encouraged him to proceed to India. The party reached Bidar, which was already a rendezvous for the followers of the Ni'matu'llāhī *sūfi* order and other talented men from overseas. Sultān Qulī settled down there while his uncle Allāh Qulī returned to Iran. Sultān Qulī's rise to power was helped by the ascendancy of Mahmūd Gāwān in the region. After

Mahmūd's execution in April 1481 and Sultan Muhammad's death a year later, Sultān Qulī became a strong supporter of the new ruler Sultan Shihābu'd-Dīn Mahmūd. Sultān Qulī defeated the unruly Telingana chiefs and was awarded a senior position by the new Sultan and the title "Khawās Khān." His prestige and power even further enhanced when he foiled the *Dakhinī* and *Habashī* (Ethiopian) conspiracy to assassinate the Sultan. Then Sultān Qulī marched against Bahādur Gilānī, the commander (*thānedār*) of Goa, who had not only seized the entire Konkan coastline up to Dabol, but had penetrated into the Gujarāṭī territory of Chawl and Mahaim on the western coast. During this war, Qutbu'l-Mulk, the governor of Telingana was killed and the Sultan conferred his title on Sultān Qulī. Under the new Qutbu'l-Mulk's command the royal army gained resounding successes. In Safar 900/November 1494, Bahādur was killed by Qutbu'l-Mulk's forces comprising troops from Gilān, Māzandarān and Khurāsān. The grateful Sultan conferred the title "*Amīrū'l-Umarā*" on him and made him governor (*tarafdār*) of Telingana in 901/1496.¹⁰³

Despite his new appointment, Qutbu'l-Mulk did not formally declare himself independent. In 924/1518, he built a Jāmi' (congregational) mosque near the Bala Hisar. The inscription on black basalt over the gateway refers to Mahmūd Shāh as the "King" and prayers are offered for the perpetuity of his kingdom and sovereignty. His own name is mentioned only as its builder.¹⁰⁴ According to some authorities Qutbu'l-Mulk declared himself independent after Mahmūd's death in 924/1518. This, however, is also not true. The epitaph on his tomb indicates that he had not assumed any royal titles when he died in Jumāda II 950/September 1543. It says:

"The occupant of this praiseworthy shrine, is blessed Malik, the felicitous, the martyr, the warrior for God's cause and the fighter in God's path, Malik Sultān Qulī entitled Qutbu'l-Mulk, known as *Barhā* (great) Malik."¹⁰⁵

A declaration of independence was, in fact, only a formality. Neither Mahmūd nor his four successors, had the power to assert their sovereignty over Qutbu'l-Mulk or their other governors. Nevertheless Qutbu'l-Mulk had the *khutba* read in the names of the twelve Imāms. He is said to have taken a vow to God to promote the faith of the followers of the twelve Imāms in the regions where he gained control. Sadr-i Jahān, the author of *Marghūbu'l-Qulūb* quotes Qutbu'l-Mulk as saying:

103 Anonymous, *Tārīkh-i Qutb-Shāhī*, 'Ethe' I, no. 456, ff. 30b-38a.

104 Sayyid 'Alī Asghar Bilgarāmī Āsafjāhī, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, Hyderabad-Deccan 1927, p. 111.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.

“I also swore by the Prophet and his descendant Ally, that if I ever succeeded in establishing my independence, I would promote the faith of the followers of the twelve Imams, in parts where the banners of the faithful had never before waved; but let it not be supposed that I took up the idea from Shah Ismael of Persia, for be it known I before professed the religion of the twelve (on whom be the peace of God!) from the period of the reign of Sooltan Yakoob, as being the faith of my ancestors. Here am I nearly arrived at the age of a hundred years, most of which time has been spent in disseminating the principles of the true faith; and I now wish to retire from the world, and to spend the last few days which remain in prayer.”¹⁰⁶

He gave senior appointments to the members of his own tribe and relations but he did not forget the patronage he had received from Sultan Mahmūd and sent suitable gifts and money to him each month. When the news of Shāh Ismā'il's accession to the throne of Iran was received, Qutbu'l-Mulk placed the Shāh's name before his own in the *khutba*. The Shāh had not only carved out a great empire but was descended from the spiritual guide of Qutbu'l-Mulk's own ancestors.

Qutbu'l-Mulk exhibited far-sighted statesmanship in consolidating his power. He transformed the Bahmani province of Telingana, which extended merely from Golkonda to Warangal, into the impressive Qutb-Shāhī kingdom. His neighbours such as Purushottom of Orissa, Krishna-devarāya of Vijayanagara, Shitāb Khān of Warangal (the old Kākatiya capital), Burhān Nizāmu'l-Mulk of Ahmadnagar and Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur were also strong rulers and untiring warriors. Qutbu'l-Mulk did not, therefore, plunge himself immediately into war but spent the early years of his governorship in consolidating his resources and administration. He strengthened the ramparts and gates of the ancient fort and constructed the Jāmi' mosque, the royal palace and other buildings. Now only parts of the five-kilometre four walls, eight great gates and eighty-seven bastions survive, but they are the embodiment of Qutb Shāh's vision of a ruler.

Once his defences were secured, Qutbu'l-Mulk involved himself in incessant warfare to crush the expansionist designs of Orissa from the north-east, Vijayanagara from the south and both his other Shi'i and Sunni neighbours. First, the Godavari-Krishna Doāb right up to Masulipatam, which included some formidable forts, was absorbed into the nascent Qutb-Shāhī kingdom. He even marched against the Shi'i Bijāpūrī kingdom at the invitation of the Bahmani Sultans but his presence inevitably brought reconciliation and peace. Towards the end of his reign he received

a visit from Shāh Tāhir who came as an ambassador from Burhān Nizām Shāh. Shāh Tāhir was feted with a royal reception commensurate with his dignity as a Shī'i 'ālim. Shāh Tāhir persuaded Qutbu'l-Mulk to develop friendly relations with Burhān Nizām Shāh. Consequently Qutbu'l-Mulk placed 5,000 armed soldiers at Burhān's disposal to help him seize Sholapur from Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur. Shāh Tāhir had already succeeded in convincing 'Alī Barīd of Bidar of the advantages of surrendering Medak a veritable bone of contention between the two kingdoms to Qutbu'l-Mulk. When Shāh Tāhir left, Qutbu'l-Mulk gave him 20,000 *huns* as a farewell present. Shāh Tāhir must have offered Qutbu'l-Mulk some advice on strengthening Shī'ism in Golkonda but no literary evidence on the subject is available.

After attaining the age of ninety lunar years, Qutbu'l-Mulk returned to reorganizing his administration and beautifying his capital with mosques, palaces and gardens. In Jumāda I 950/August 1543, he ordered his architects to alter the principal mosque in Golkonda so that he could have private access. One day when he was personally giving instructions to the builders, his handkerchief, embroidered with the names of the twelve Imāms fell from his hands. He was most upset at this incident and, postponing the alterations till the next day, returned to the mosque. On 2 Jumāda II 950/2 September 1543, he was assassinated while kneeling at prayers in the mosque. It was believed that his third son Yār Qulī Jamshīd Khān had instigated this evil deed. Jamshīd had been imprisoned by his father in a dungeon in the Golkonda fort for conspiring against his elder brother Qutbu'd-Dīn whom Qutbu'l-Mulk had nominated as his successor.¹⁰⁷

During Qutbu'l-Mulk's reign many eminent Shī'i 'ulamā' seem to have moved from Iran to Golkonda. Besides the *khutba* in the name of the twelve Imāms, the inscriptions on the mosques and on other monuments erected by him were Shī'i. For example an inscription dated 927/1520-21 on the Jāmi' Masjid by the calligraphist 'Abdu'l-Karīm near the Bala Hisar entrance gate of the Golkonda fort contains the Shī'i *credo (kalima)*, "There is no God but Allāh, Muhammad is Allāh's messenger and 'Alī is Allāh's friend."¹⁰⁸ Qutbu'l-Mulk had constructed his own imposing mausoleum. The inscription on the highly polished black basalt fixed to his tomb is engraved with the following Shī'i *darūd* (benediction):

"O God, bless the chosen Muhammad, the Murtuzā (agreeable) 'Alī, the chaste Fātima, the two offsprings Hasan and Husayn and bless

107 *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Qutb Shāh*, ff. 92a-93a; *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 167-68; H. K. Sherwānī, *History of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, Delhi, 1974, pp. 1-41.

108 *Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 111.

Zainil 'Ibād (the ornament of holy persons) 'Alī, the Bāqir (learned) Muhammad, the Sādiq (truthful) Ja'far, the Kāzim (forbearing) Mūsa, the Rizā' (submissive) 'Alī, the Taqī (pious) Muhammad, the Naqī (pure) 'Alī, the virtuous Hasan 'Askari, and bless the standing proof, (of God) the worthy son, the noble leader, the expected, the victorious Muhammad Mahdī, the Lord of the time, the vicegerent of God, the manifestation of the faith, the lord of mankind and genii, May God's blessing and peace be upon him and upon them all. In the year 950 (A. H.)."¹⁰⁹

Following the Shi'i custom, Qutbu'l-Mulk also built a mortuary bath for washing the corpses of members of the royal family. It was a fine specimen of the Turco-Iranian bath, comprising a number of cisterns for hot and cold water, with pipes made of mortar for carrying the water. A similar mortuary bath was built inside the Bala Hisar gateway. According to H. K. Sherwāni:

"Perhaps the most remarkable thing about these *hammāms* is the circular platform in the centre of both with twelve beautifully inlaid patterned waves jutting out from the centre, reminding one of the twelve imāms of the Shi'ite creed."¹¹⁰

Qutbu'l-Mulk's son and successor, Jamshīd (950-957/1543-1550), was not as popular as his father. On his orders, his brother Qutbu'd-Dīn was blinded and he died some years later in prison. His youngest brother Ibrāhīm, fled to Vijayanagara, where, for political reasons, Rāmarāja offered him hospitality and protection.

Jamshīd first made an alliance with the rulers of Ahmadnagar and Berar but it did not last long. He then magnanimously helped 'Alī Barīd to regain his throne, thereby raising Golkonda's prestige among the neighbouring kings. His reign was cut short by cancer of the back and he spent his last two years, although prostrated by the disease, reorganising both the central and local administration. Jamshīd gave the Irāni immigrants senior posts but he did not ignore the local talented Hindus. He was fond of poetry and generously patronised the poets. He himself wrote conventional poetry in Persian. He died in 957/1550, leaving an infant son Subhān.¹¹¹ This paved the way for the accession of Ibrāhīm (957-988/1550-1580) to the throne. Initially Ibrāhīm was not particularly interested in extending the boundary of Telingana although this was not

109 *Ibid.*, p. 113.

110 *Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, p. 48.

111 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 168-69; *Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 81-101.

out of cowardice. He made an alliance with Ahmadnagar instead and, in 970/1563, married Husayn Nizām Shāh's daughter Jamāl Bibi. When the victorious alliance between Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkonda and Bidar against Vijayanagara broke up, Ibrāhīm, like the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, embarked on annexing new territories. His most remarkable victories were the conquest of Rajahmunderi and southern Orissa.

Ibrāhīm's reign saw the flowering of Shi'i talent in Golkonda. The most prominent Shi'i was his prime-minister, Mustafā Khān Ardistānī, who very effectively controlled the administration during Jamshīd's last days. When Jamshīd died, Mustafā invited Ibrāhīm to return to Golkonda and seize the throne. Ibrāhīm entrusted Mustafā with the most delicate missions. Before the Muslim alliance against Vijayanagara was formed, it was Mustafā who negotiated the peace settlement with Rāmarāja in which Golkonda was forced to cede such important forts as Kondapalli and Mustafanagar to him. Mustafā's subsequent resentment against Rāmarāja strengthened his resolve to form a strong alliance against Vijayanagara. Mustafā's shuttle diplomacy between the courts of Husayn Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar and 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur affected a reconciliation between the two antagonists who now joined forces against Rāmarāja. After defeating Vijayanagara at the battlefield of Banihatti (Talikota) in January 1565, Ibrāhīm sent Mustafā to seize Raichur (Mysore) and Mudgal (in Raichur, Mysore) in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doāb, although the allies had previously agreed to transfer it to 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Mustafā surrendered the forts to Bijapur, however, without consulting either Ibrāhīm or Husayn Nizām Shāh. The Sultan was very angry but took no drastic action against him. Mustafā was merely ordered to leave for Mecca and the holy Shi'i shrines in Iraq and Iran where he had indicated a wish to retire. He was allowed to take the vast quantities of gold and property he had amassed with him. Mustafā obtained a passport for Mecca but did not go there however. He went to 'Alī 'Ādil's court instead where he was warmly welcomed. Ibrāhīm razed Mustafā's mansion to the ground but 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh gave him a palace to live in. The Bijāpūri Sultan had complete confidence in Mustafā Khān. He gave him his signet ring and contemporary rulers sent letters and presents directly to him. Mustafā Khān was killed, however, during the changes in government following 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh's death.

Besides warfare and diplomacy, Mustafā Khān was greatly interested in architecture. The battlements and gates of Golkonda, which form a circumference of 8,000 yards, were completed under his supervision. Its imposing gateway, called *Makka Darwāza* (Mecca Gateway), was finished in 967/1559. The inscription, 14 metres long and .30 metre wide, is most graceful and artistic. It reads:

“In the name of God, who made the word of His unity an impregnable fort, the gates of which have been opened to us through His mercy, and whoever entereth therein shall be safe; and blessings be upon Mustafā, in whose person the forts and defences of prophecy have been completed, and he is the town of learning and 'Alī is the gate of the town and upon his descendants through whom the towers of vicegerency and religious leaderships have arisen, and upon his friends the custodians of the qualities of truth and integrity. After that, this gate which is of fortune and fort of felicity was, verily, built during the days of the administration of the greatest of sovereigns, and the noblest of kings who is an invincible hero on sea and land, the opener of the gates of benevolence to all creatures, the elevator of the edifice of the law prescribed by the Chief of Apostles, the builder of state and religion, the shadow of God in the world, the namesake of Khalīlullāh (the Friend of God) (Prophet Ibrāhīm), Humāyooni A'zam Qutbshāh, may the forts of his sovereignty ever remain safe from trembling and the towers of his kingdom from the clefts of change and alteration! By the noble efforts of the pillar of his powerful empire, and the prop of his bright kingdom, the collector of books and the disperser of armies, whose qualities and pedigree are related to Mazharul 'Ajā'ib (the manifestation of wonders in mankind) 'Alī, better-known among the people by the name of Kamālu'ddīn Husayn and entitled Mustafā Khān on account of his high rank, may God accept his efforts and mitigate his misfortune! In the months of the year 967 A. H. (1559 A. D.) written by Muhammad of Isphahān.”¹¹²

Mustafā's position of *Mir Jumla* in Golkonda was given to Shāh Mir Tabātabā'ī whose original name was Mir Shāh Taqī. He was an eminent scholar, a brilliant orator and an indefatigable general. He controlled both the military and civil administration. He was also frequently sent on delicate diplomatic missions which he negotiated successfully. In 987/1579 he captured the formidable Konadvedu fort which Rāmarāja's nephew Timmarāja had been valiantly defending with an army 30,000 strong. Golkonda's other eminent generals, such as Amīr 'Imādu'd-Dīn Shirāzī, entitled Haydarul-Mulk, had failed to breach the defences but Shāh Mir surrounded the fort with selected troops from the royal body-guard and captured it after bombarding it heavily with the Haydari and Husayni cannons.

After 'Alī 'Ādil's death Shāh Mir was also successful in the face of an even more serious challenge. Murtazā Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar invaded Bidar but the tables were turned on him when Bijapur came to Bidar's assistance. The victorious allies now penetrated into Ahmadnagar

112 *Tārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī*, ff. 138a-140a; *Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 122.

territory. Shāh Mir rushed to Murtazā's rescue. Although the Bijāpūris lost the battle on open ground, Naldurg was still stoutly defended. Shāh Mir's troops fought bravely but could not breach the walls of the fort. Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golkonda sent reinforcements under a leading general Zaynu'l and he re-captured many border forts which the Bijāpūris had taken from the Qutb-Shāhīs. When the fall of Naldurg was imminent, the Bijāpūri commanders opened negotiations with Sayyid Murtazā, the commander of Ahmadnagar, promising that they would make his friend Shāh Abu'l Hasan, Shāh Tāhir's son, the *peshwā* of Bijapur if Murtazā declared war against Golkonda. The news leaked out, however, and Shāh Mir's diplomatic handling of the situation foiled the conspiracy. The Ahmadnagar and Golkonda forces spread out into Bijapur territory and conquered several strategic forts. The armies invited Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to personally command the take-over of Naldurg but he died in April 1580.¹¹³

Ibrāhīm was essentially a man of peace and his efforts were directed mainly to reforming the internal administration. During his stay in Vijayanagara, he had developed an interest in the Telugu language and the Telugu poets basked under the sunshine of Ibrāhīm's patronage. Their close association with the Persian poets in Golkonda accelerated the development of the *Dakhinī* dialect.

The court language was, however, Persian and Qāsim Tabasī drafted all important letters during Ibrāhīm's reign. His *Inshā'* was compiled in 958/1551. Two letters written to Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī of Iran demonstrate Ibrāhīm's respect and devotion to the Safawid Shāh. The letters to Ā'dil Shāh of Bijapur and Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar are of considerable diplomatic importance. The greater part of the correspondence is addressed to Mustafā Khān and Muhtaram Khān. Mustafā Khān's will directs his descendants to send his earthly remains to Karbalā. A copy of his passport to travel to Mecca is also included. Two letters and a *wakālat-nāma* from Sultan Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh to Na'imū'd-Dīn Ni'matu'llāh Sāni, a descendant of Shāh Ni'matu'llāh Walī in the sixth generation, suggest that the great *sūfi* was the spiritual guide to the Qutb-Shāhīs. Other letters to the Qutb-Shāhīs or their grandees confirm the influence of the Ni'matu'llāhī *Sūfi* order in the Qutb Shāhī kingdom.¹¹⁴

At Sultan Ibrāhīm's request, Mullā Hasan Tiblīsī, the author of the *Marghūbū'l-qulūb* wrote a book entitled the *Saydiyya* in 983/1575-76 on the rules for hunting and killing animals under Imāmiyya *fiqh*.

Hāji Abarqū, who moved to Golkonda before 972/1564-65, was an

113 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, pp. 170-72; *Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 119-75.

114 'Ethe', 2107; Ivanow, 350; Sālār Jung, III, no. 786.

eminent poet. He lived at Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh's court for more than sixteen years.¹¹⁵ Many calligraphists also moved from Iran to Golkonda during Ibrāhīm's reign. Muhammad of Isfahān, Ismā'il son of 'Arab of Shīrāz and Taqī'u'd-Dīn Muhammad Sālih of Bahrain were the more important immigrants in this category. Their presence meant the royal library was stocked with selected literary and religious works. Their penmanship is responsible for the elegant inscriptions on the monuments of his reign, as has already been mentioned. The inscription on Ibrāhīm's tomb also prominently asserts:

“There is no god but God, Muhammad is the apostle of God and 'Alī the friend of God (988/1580).”

There are some lines from Qur'ānic verses and then the following prayers:

“Invoke 'Alī, the manifestation of wonders, thou wilt find him succour in misery. All grief and sorrow will soon disappear, by thy friendship (with God) O 'Alī ! O 'Alī ! O 'Alī ! Muhammad the prophet of both the worlds has said. The true believer is alive in both the worlds. Believers do not die, but they move through from one abode to another.”¹¹⁶

The palace built by him has not survived the ravages of time but its description in the *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk* by Rafī'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzī indicates that it was an imposing structure. Besides the royal residence it comprised six separate suites for royal robes, for tailors and embroiders, for royal bodyguards, for painters, calligraphists and book binders and for scholars.¹¹⁷

Ibrāhīm's successor Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh (988-1020/1580-1612), who was his third son, was barely twenty at the time of his accession to the throne. His brother Husayn aged twenty was a learned scholar and Shāh Mīr had betrothed his daughter to him. When Ibrāhīm died, however, Shāh Mīr was absent in Naldurg and unable to take any part in the selection of the new monarch. Naturally Shāh Mīr was very disappointed at Husayn's defeat but he sent his envoy to condole with Sultan Muhammad Qulī and to offer congratulations on his accession. Later on he returned to Golkonda where he was warmly received by Muhammad Qulī and confirmed as *mīr jumla*. At Shāh Mīr's request, Muhammad Qulī accompanied him to Naldurg to command the siege operation which were taking longer than expected. Muhammad Qulī arrived there in Ramazān

115 Z. A. Desāi, *Abarqūh and his Dīwān, Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, 1962, p. 13, n. 1. A copy of the *Saydiyya* is available in the Kitāb-khāna-i Majlis (Parliament House Library) Tehran.

116 *Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 124.

117 *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, ff. 83a-85b.

989/October 1581. The allies' heavy artillery caused several breaches in the Naldurg ramparts but the garrison promptly erected a new wall to replace it. On the other hand, when incessant firing demolished a considerable portion of the ramparts, the debris was so immense that the invaders could not seize the fort by escalade. Both Naldurg and Bijapur were stoutly defended under the direction of 'Ali 'Adil Shāh's widow Chānd Bibi and Shāh Tāhir's son, Shāh Abu'l-Hasan. The Mahratta guerrillas of southern Bijapur consumed by patriotism, fought bravely and local rivalries were forgotten. Muhammad grew bored with the siege which had lasted for more than a year. So, assigning the supreme command to Mīr Zaynu'l-Astarābādī he returned to Golkonda. Zaynu'l was also given the title Mustafā Khān. Shāh Mīr accompanied his monarch and despite his enemies' backbiting, Muhammad Qulī did not ignore his Mīr Jumla. In 991/1583, Muhammad Qulī married Shāh Mīr's daughter, who had previously been betrothed to his elder brother Husayn Qulī, with great festivity and rejoicing. For a month the carnival atmosphere prevailed in Golkonda.

Shāh Mīr's enemies did not, however, give up their attempts to overthrow him although he was now the Sultan's father-in-law. They forged a letter in his name to the 'Adil-Shāhī generals assuring them of the support of the foreigners in the Qutb-Shāhī army. This letter infuriated the Sultan and he immediately imprisoned the Shāh. The news of Shāh Mīr's detention disconcerted the foreigners in the Golkonda army and when the Bijapur army swooped down they easily routed the defenders. Some months later Shāh Mīr was sent back to Isfāhān but died before reaching there.

Nothing is known about Shāh Mīr's daughter. Either she was sent away with her father or she led a very lonely life. According to Mughal authorities and Firishta, Muhammad Qulī had, from his adolescence, been passionately in love with a dancing girl named Bhāgmātī. After his accession, the new Sultan placed one thousand troopers at her disposal so that she could visit the court like a grand nobleman. On his marriage with Bhāgmātī, the Sultan was reputed to have founded a town called Bhagnagar, which was later known as Hyderabad. The contemporary Qutb-Shāhī historians do not refer to the Bhāgmātī episode. Muhammad Qulī's *Kulliyāt* (collection of poems) comprises details concerning about seventeen of his mistresses but none of them is named Bhāgmātī. On the basis of the evidence, H. K. Sherwānī considers the Bhāgmātī legend as baseless. Relying on the accounts of the seventeenth century European travellers he concludes:

“Evidently when the population of Golkonda was released from their over-population (*sic*) city consequent on the construction of Purānā

Pul in 986/1578-9 and came to live in the new city with gardens and groves for miles and miles around, where houses were built in the midst of groves, the common people called it Bāghnagar or the 'City of Gardens' regardless of the official name of Haidarabad given to the city. This Bāghnagar became Bhāgnagar and even Bhāgyanagar at the hands of the sarcastic or the romantic among litterateurs, and while the people forgot the real origin of the term they remembered the romantic element attached to the story."¹¹⁸

During Muhammad Qulī's reign the threat that the kingdom might be annexed to the Mughal empire was, for the first time, seriously felt.¹¹⁹ However, before it was absorbed the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty gave a new direction to the intellectual history of the Shi'as in India and left an indelible mark on the cultural and social life of the Deccan. The pioneer in this movement was Mīr Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādī, who arrived in Golkonda after the accession of Sultan Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh to the throne.

Mīr Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādī

Mīr Muhammad Mu'min hailed from the family of the eminent Sayyids of Astarābād in Gilān province. His father was Sayyid 'Alī Sharafu'd-Dīn Samākī and his mother was the sister of the famous 'alim, Amīr Fakhru'd-Dīn Samākī, a distinguished disciple of Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Mansūr Shīrāzī. Sayyid Mohyiu'd-Dīn Qādirī Zor, the author of a biography of Mīr Muhammad Mu'min, surmises that when the Mīr arrived in Golkonda from Iran in 989/1581-82, he must have been at least thirty years old. He would have, therefore, been born around 960/1552-53.¹²⁰

Mīr Muhammad Mu'min was educated by his maternal uncle Amīr Fakhru'd-Dīn Samākī in the traditional and rational sciences. His distinguished teacher made him a paragon of humility, courtesy and politeness. Mīr Muhammed Mu'min perfected his training in *hadis* under Mawlānā Sayyid 'Alī bin Abī'l Hasan al-Husaynī al-Ibrāhīmī al-Mūsawī entitled Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn. Mīr Mu'min then entered Shāh Tahmāsp's court where he so deeply impressed the Shāh with his erudition that he appointed him tutor to his son, Prince Haydar Mīrzā. After the Prince's death during the reign of Shāh Ismā'il II (984-985/1576-1578) and the instability during the reign of Muhammad Khudā Banda (985-996/1578-1588) Mīr Muhammad grew disillusioned with court life in Iran. He left Qāzwin, the capital of Iran, in 986/1578-79 on a pilgrimage for Mecca. After a short stay there and in Medina he arrived in the Deccan. Early in Muhar-

118 *Tārīkh-i Qutb Shāhī*, ff. 211a-12b; *Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, p. 348.

119 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, pp. 172-74.

120 Mohyiu'd-Dīn Qādirī Zor, *Mīr Muhammad Mu'min, hayāt aur kārnāme*, pp. 19-21.

ram 989/February 1581 he reached Golkonda. Sultan Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh had already died in Rabi' II 988/June 1580 and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh had left the capital to direct the Naldurg siege. Although a similar new immigrant, Sayyid 'Alī-bin 'Azizu'llāh Tabātabā'i, the author of *Burhān-i Ma'āsir*, went directly to the battle-front, Mīr Mu'min preferred to lead the quiet life of a teacher and scholar in Golkonda. He soon became famous for his erudition, piety and integrity, however. After Shāh Mīr's expulsion, Muhammad Quli made Mīr Mu'min his counsellor and was deeply impressed with his piety and political acumen. By 993/1585 the Mīr had been appointed *peshwā* by Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh.¹²¹ When Firishta extended the history of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh up to 1017/1608-9, the Mīr had held the position of *wakīlu's-saltanat* or prime minister, for the last twenty-five years.¹²²

The position of *peshwā* under the Qutb-Shāhis was more senior than that of *mīr jumla*. The *peshwā* was next to the Sultan and directed all judicial, religious, educational and political policies in the kingdom. To all intents and purposes the position was equivalent to that of prime minister. The Qutb-Shāhi histories mention one other *peshwā* prior to Mīr Mu'min. He was Sultan Quli Qutb Shāh's cousin, Sayf Khān 'Aynu'l-Mulk, who had moved to the Ahmadnagar court during Jamshīd Quli's reign. When Jamshīd died and Subhān Quli was raised to the throne, his mother had invited Sayf Khān back to Golkonda and had appointed him *peshwā*. It was only after Ibrāhīm Quli's accession that Sayf Khān was relegated to the background and power fell into the hands of Mustafā Khān, the *mīr jumla*.¹²³ No *peshwā* was appointed by Ibrāhīm Quli. The fact that Sultan Muhammad Quli's *peshwā*, Mīr Mu'min, retained this position until his death during Muhammad Qutb Shāh's reign, exhibits the confidence that both Sultans had in him. Mīr Mu'min was allowed to enter the palace in his palanquin; other dignitaries dismounted at the main door. This exception was later extended to his disciple 'Allāmā Shaykh Muhammad ibn Khātūn also and was regarded as a rare distinction.

Mīr Muhammad Mu'min diverted the Sultan's attention from warfare and territorial expansion to strengthening the internal administration and re-orientating the cultural life of the capital. He was deeply concerned at Mughal expansionist designs and believed that only pressure from the Shāh of Iran could stave off the crisis. He also did all he could to promote unity among the Deccan Sultans. Shāh 'Abbās Safawī was deeply impressed with the Mīr's services to the development of Shi'i intellectual and

121 'Alī bin Tayfūr Bistāmī, *Hadā'iqu's-salātin fī kalamu'l-khawāqīn*, Sālār Jāng Ms., ff. 187a-b.

122 *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, II, p. 174.

123 *Qutb Shāhi dynasty*, pp. 31, 89, 91, 99-104.

religious life in the Qutb-Shāhī kingdom and watched with interest the progress and prosperity of Sultan Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh.¹²⁴

Mir Mu'min did not interfere with the romantic temperament and poetic taste of the Sultan who took pride in being poorly educated. Instead he persuaded his ruler to channel his talents into integrating Shi'ism into the Qutb-Shāhī culture. Muhammad Qulī's *Dakhinī* poetry, besides reflecting his romantic nature, is an anthology of the principal features of Shi'i life in the Deccan.

By the time Muhammad Qulī came to the throne, Golkonda was already over-populated and the noblemen's gardens, hunting pavilions, rest houses and pleasure palaces reached down to the banks of the Musi river. In 986/1578 Sultan Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh had constructed a bridge over the river. This had facilitated visits to the grave and monastery of the famous mystic Shāh Chirāgh who had moved from Najaf and settled down near the village Chichlam, south of the Musi river in the early years of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty. The Sultan decided to found a new town on this site. By 999/1590-1, the plans had been prepared under Mir Mu'min's direction.

The city was planned on a grid pattern consisting of two main roads, running east-west and north-south which intersected at the Chārminār (Four Minarets) complex. Mir Mu'min had in mind the design of the holy city of Mashhad in Iran where Imām Rizā's tomb is likewise placed in the nexus but he seems to have conceived of the novel idea of replacing the tomb with the Chārminār which is both a religious building and a high water mark in Indian architecture.¹²⁵

The Chārminār was built of lime and stone and decorated with stucco. The pinnacles of 'alams, about which we will learn in the second volume were most prominent. Each side of its square structure is about 9.15 metres. The square is framed by four artistic minarets rising to about 49 metres, each minaret being sub-divided into four storeys. A double screen of arched openings at the top of the roof between the minarets is designed to minimise the fatigue caused to the eyes by the height. On the western section of the roof is a most elegant mosque with double arches symbolising the five holy personalities of Islam, the Prophet, his daughter Fātima, the Prophet's son-in-law 'Alī and the Prophet's grandsons by Fātima—Hasan and Husayn. The mosque's pointed arches are framed by corresponding cusped arches. A tank was built next to the mosque for which water was brought from the Jalpalli reservoir. A round pool with a lofty fountain was constructed near the Chārminār. Two elephants and two lions on the fountain pedestal sprinkled the water. They were destroyed by Awrangzib as idols. The

124 'Alī bin Tayfūr, *Hadā'iqu's-salātin*, ff. 192b-94a.

125 *Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 301-2.

Chārminār would have met the same fate but it was spared because of the mosque. Jean de Thevenot who visited Hyderabad in 1666 says:

“That which is called the four Towers, is a square building, of which each face is ten Fathom broad, and about seven high. It is opened in the four sides, by four Arches, four or five Fathom high, and four Fathom wide, and every one of these Arches, fronts a Street, of the same breadth as the Arch. There are two Galleries in it, one over another, and over all a Terrass that serves for a Roof, bordered with a Stone-Balcony; and at each corner of that Building, a Decagone Tower about ten Fathom high, and each Tower hath four Galleries with little Arches on the outside; the whole Building being adorned with Roses and Festoons pretty well cut. It is vaulted underneath, and appears like a Dome, which has in the inside all round Balisters of Stone, pierced and open as the Galleries in the outside, and there are several Doors in the Walls to enter at. Under this Dome there is a large Table placed upon a *Divan*, raised seven or eight Foot from the Ground, with steps to go up to it. All the Galleries of that Building, serve to make the Water mount up, that so being afterwards conveyed to the King's Palace, it might reach the highest Apartments. Nothing in that Town seems so lovely as the outside of that Building, and nevertheless it is surrounded with ugly shops made of Wood, and covered with Straw, where they sell Fruit, which spoils the prospect of it.”¹²⁶

From the four majestic arches of the Chārminār ran four roads, the northern to the Musi river, the southern to Koh-i Tūr (now the site of the Falaknumā palace), the eastern towards the Bay of Bengal and the western to Golkonda.

Another important religious edifice was the 'Ashūr-khāna commenced in 1001/1593. In the Deccan the buildings used for the mourning ceremonies related to the martyrdom of Imām Husayn and his followers at Karbalā are known as the 'Ashūr-khānas. No contemporary record of earlier 'Ashūr-khānas in the Deccan is available but separate halls must have been built from the very establishment of the Shi'i kingdoms there for the mourning ceremonies in the first ten days of Muharram. According to the *Gulzār-i Āsafī*, Sultan Qulī Qutb Shāh built an 'Ashūr-khāna in the Golkonda fort. Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shāh built *Langar Duwāzdah Imām* where food was distributed to propitiate the spirit of the twelve Imāms. It is said that in his reign the *na'*¹²⁷ of Imām Husayn's helmet was received from Bijapur. It was raised there during the first ten days of

126 S. Sen, *Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, Delhi, 1949, p. 133.

127 A horse-shoe shaped piece of iron fixed on helmet.

Muharram as an 'alam or standard. Ibrāhīm Qulī made the exhibition of this *na'l* an integral part of his Muharram celebrations. The 'alams, or imitations of Imām Husayn's standards, were also ceremoniously set up in the 'Āshūr-khānas.

In 1001/1592-93, the Husayni 'Alam was erected at the 'Āshūr-khāna in Golkonda. Its metal pinnacle is shaped like a hand. The five fingers or five leaves represented the spirituality and eminence of Prophet Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn. The Husayni 'Alam still survives. In the middle is inscribed the Qur'ānic verse, "And a speedy victory: so give the Glad Tidings to the Believers." Below the verse is the name of the ruler, "Ghulām-i 'Alī (Slave of 'Alī) Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh 1001 Hijrī." On the borders are inscribed the names of Allāh, Muhammad, Fātima and the twelve Imāms. Bilgrāmi describes the 'Āshūr-khāna thus:

"The inner hall is the oldest portion of this building. It was built by Sultan Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh V, at a cost of Rs. 66,000. It will be apparent from the above inscriptions that the construction of this building remained current from 1001 A.H. (1592 A.D) to 1005 A.H. (1596 A.D.). The name of the reigning sovereign is inscribed on the western wall and also on the central niche, but the word Qulī has been omitted in the latter inscription. The Persian enamel work was executed in the last year of the reign of Sultan Muhammad Qulī in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.). Besides this the name and royal titles of Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh VII, the grandson of Muhammad Qulī, have also been inscribed in fine ornamental style which indicates that he took a considerable part in the renovation of this building. He also introduced the use of standards in this 'Āshūr-khāna during the month of Muharram. The addition of outer halls which stand on a range of huge wooden colonnades was made during the reign of His Highness Nawāb Mir Nizām 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Āsaf Jāh II as will be apparent from inscription No. 5. Inscription No. (7) was fixed by Nawāzish 'Alī Khān Shaidā, a Mutawallī of this 'Āshūr-khāna, when the main gate was built by him during the reign of Āsaf Jāh II. In 1250 A.H. (1834 A.D.) Asad, the Superintendent of buildings, restored the decorations of the halls."

The following inscriptions engraved on Persian enamelled tiles give the history of the 'Āshūr-khāna,

"Help is from God and the success is in view and so give this glad tidings to the faithful. The slave of 'Alī Muhammad Qutb Shāh in the year 1001 (A.H.)."

- (2) On the Western wall,
"Throne verse (Qur'ān, Ch. II, verse 256) Abu'l Muzaffar Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, may God keep his Kingdom and suzerainty 1005 Hijri, (1596 A.D.)."
- (3) On the Western wall, in *Tughra* style,
"The places of worship are for God, hence invoke not any other with God. In the year 1003 A.H. (1594 A.D.)."
(a) "In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate."
(b) "Say, (O Muhammad) every one acts according to his designs."
(c) "Abu'l Muzaffar Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh."
(d) "O God ! O Muhammad ! O 'Ali."
(e) "O opener of the gates."
- (4) On the Northern and Southern walls, in *Tughra* style,
"The Shi'ite *Durūd*."
(a) "I have relied on (God) my creator."
(b) "Verily, there is no guidance except from God."
(c) "The Shi'ite *Durūd*."
(d) "Verily, let enter men, of piety, in paradise and fountains (of immortality), with peace."
- (5) On the hall of Western wall,
"Whereas Nizāmu'l-Mulk of the same dignity as that of Āsaf (son of Barkhiya, Vazier of Solomon the Prophet) treated this abode with reverence, for the sake of (Imām) Husain.
"This holy abode is attributed to that Imām, whose purification has been mentioned in the Qur'ān.
"The invisible voice thus spoke for its chronogram: Our Āsaf Jāh repaired it" 1178 A.H. (1764 A.D.).
- (6) On wooden panels of Northern and Southern hall,
"Deliberated for the renovation of the decoration of this edifice, when God impressed this in the heart of Asad, the Superintendent (of buildings). During the reign of Āsaf Jāh II, the King of Deccan. He constructed a non-existent abode of our Imām 1250 A.H. (1834 A.D.)."
- (7) Over the main entrance gate,
"The gate of favours of Imām of the upper and lower worlds 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.)."¹²⁸

The Jāmi' Masjid, or congregational mosque, on which work started simultaneously, was completed in 1006/1597-98. It has a double hall about 22 metres by 9.75 metres. The beautiful arches of the hall surmount-

ing the majestic row of pillars are very effective. The entrance to the mosque facing the road is unusual and the superimposition of a cusped arch has made it attractive. Both the *naskh* and *nasta'liq* inscriptions on the Jāmi' mosque are very graceful.

The most prominent of Mīr Muhammad Mu'min's religious buildings is the cemetery known as the Dā'ira Mīr Mu'min. Initially the Mīr chose a plot east of the town but later selected the present site near the roads leading to the eastern and southern provinces. He bought the land to provide a free burial ground for the dead. Half of it was already taken up by the grave of Shāh Chirāgh. Mīr Mu'min is said to have sanctified it further by mixing soil from Karbalā in Iraq with the local soil. There was now no need to send corpses to Iraq. At the northern entrance to the Dā'ira, were two big caravanserais. A mosque, wells and reservoirs were also constructed. Corpse-washers were trained and their descendants carried on the trade for many generations.

By 1012/1603-4 the cemetery was in public use as can be gleaned from the epitaphs on the graves of Mīr Abū Turāb and Sultan Ahmad which are dated 1012/1603-4. A petition dated 5 Ramazān 1160/30 August 1747 from Mīr Muhammad Mu'min's grandson, Sayyid Muhammad, shows that about 600,000 to 700,000 eminent Sayyids and mystics from both Arabia and non-Arabian countries had already been buried there. The epitaphs on the graves include those of several hundred scholars, poets and other talented people who had moved to the Qutb-Shāhī capital. Among the many famous names is that of Mīrzā Nūru'd-Dīn 'Alī entitled Nī'mat Khān-i 'Alī (d. 1122/1710), a Shi'i favourite of Awrangzib and an eminent scholar. Some famous Āsaf-Jāhī ministers and scholars also found their permanent resting place there.¹²⁹

Mīr Mu'min's concern for erecting public buildings is exhibited in the *Dārū'sh-Shifā'* (hospital), built under his direction in 1004/1595. It has a spacious square courtyard. A beautiful gateway in the northern wing opens on to a double-storeyed structure with eight double rooms on both floors. The southern, eastern and western wings have twelve double rooms on each floor. All the rooms are spacious and could easily accommodate four beds.

The hospital was also a college of medicine and the learned physicians employed there not only attended the patients but did research into drugs. Patients were admitted to hospital free of charge and were given free medicine.¹³⁰ At present the building is in a dilapidated condition and no attention is being paid to its maintenance. The caravanserai and a school

129 *Mīr Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 50-51, 269-92.

130 *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 52, 53.

attached to it have been converted into ugly residential houses but the mosque to the north-west of the hospital still retains its beauty.

The site of Mir Mu'min's mansion is known as the Muhalla Mir Mu'min. The mansion was extended and improved several times. Many princes of the Āsaf-Jāhī family lived there. The last important occupant was the last Nizām's mother.

Not far from the Chārminār was the great square called the *Jilū-Khāna* which was enclosed by four arched portals known as the *Chārkamān*. Their arches are 18.30 metres high and thus are double the height of those of the Chārminār. The western portal was known as the *Sher-i 'Alī Gate* (the Gate of 'Alī's Lion) and led to the eastern gateway of the palaces; the remaining three portals were known as the *Tripoli'a* (the Three Gates). Mir Mu'min erected a large stone pillar near the eastern gateway of the palaces on which were inscribed Qur'ānic verses and a talisman to protect the king and the royal family from sorcerers and evil-minded people. Consequently, the name of the portal changed from *Kamān Sher-i 'Alī* to *Kamān Sīhr-i Bātil* (the arch for warding off sorcery). Between this gateway and the royal palaces were reservoirs, fountains, parks and mansions.¹³¹

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh and his successors built massive palaces. Some of them are praised by Muhammad Qulī himself in his *Dakhinī* poems; many are described by the Qutb-Shāhī historians. For example the *Khudādād Mahal* was eight-storeys high. It contained a library, paper making and book-binding sections and a section for miniature painting. This palace was burnt down during the reign of Muhammad Qulī's successor who replaced it with a four-storeyed structure. When Awrangzīb saw the palace he was so amazed at its size that he named it *Shaddād Mahal* and ordered its demolition. Another palace, the *Koh-i Tūr*, had three storeys and was a pleasure resort of Muhammad Qulī. It was built in the hills and was surrounded by mansions and gardens. Water from the valley was carried to a reservoir 45 metres × 32 metres. Tanks and fountains were built in the palace halls and apartments and the water was pumped from the reservoir by *jarr-i saqil* (mechanical devices).

Most of these palaces were destroyed by Awrangzīb or his governors. Later on the Āsaf-Jāhī palaces were built on these same sites. The French traveller Thevenot who saw them in their original glory says:

“There are several *Meidans* or Publick places in this Town, but the fairest is that before the King's Palace; It hath to the East and West two great Divans very deep in the Grounds, the Roof whereof being of Carpenters work, is raised five Fathom high, upon four Wooden Pillars;

131 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-54.

this Roof is flat, and hath Balisters of Stone cast over Arch-ways, with Turrets at the corners. These two Divans serve for Tribunals to the *Cotoual* whose Prisons are at the bottom of these Divans, each of them having a Bason of Water before them. The like Balisters go round the Terrass-walks of the place; The Royal Palace is to the North of it, and there is a Portico over against it, where the Musicians come several times a day to play upon their Instruments, when the King is in Town. In the middle of this place, and in sight of the Royal Palace, there is a Wall built, three Foot thick, and six Fathom in height and length, for the fighting of Elephants, and that Wall is betwixt them, when they excite them to fight; but so soon as they are wrought up to a rage, they quickly throw down the Wall. The ordinary Houses there, are not above two Fathom high; they raise them no higher, that they may have the fresh Air during the heats, and most part of them are only of Earth, but the Houses of Persons of Quality are pretty enough.

“The Palace which is three hundred and four score Paces in length, takes up not only one of the sides of the Place, but is continued to the four Towers, where it terminates in a very lofty Pavilion. The Walls of it which are built of great Stones, have at certain distances half Towers, and there are many Windows towards the place, with an open Gallery to see the shews. They say it is very pleasant within, and that the Water rises to the highest Apartments: The Reservatory of that Water, which is brought a great way off, is in the top of the four Towers, from whence it is conveyed into the House by Pipes. No Man enters into this Palace, but by an express Order from the King, who grants it but seldom; nay, commonly no body comes near it, and in the place there is a circuit staked out, that must not be passed over. There is another square *Meidan* in this Town, where many great Men have well built Houses. The Carvanserais are generally all handsome, and the most esteemed is that which is called *Nimet-ulla* in the great Street opposite to the King's Garden: It is a spacious square, and the Court of it is adorned with several Trees of different kinds, and a large Bason where the Mahometans performe their Ablutions.”¹³²

As if the construction of Hyderabad itself was not enough, Mir Muham-mad Mu'min founded many villages as centres of Shi'i and Islamic life. In them he constructed reservoirs, mosques, caravanserais, 'Ashūr-khānas and planted gardens. The mosques and 'Ashūr-khānas brought the Hindu villagers into contact with the Islamic and Shi'i way of life. The 'alams and other symbols of the tragedy of Karbalā were introduced by Mir

Mu'min into these villages where they aroused Hindu curiosity and helped to convert them to Shi'ism.

In 1014/1605 Mīr Muhammad Mu'min founded Sayyidabad village about six to seven kilometres to the east of his mansion. The name was later corrupted to Saidābāgh. He built a caravanserai and a mosque in the village and made land grants for their upkeep. The mosque is not very big but its arches are well-proportioned. The mosque's projecting eaves resemble 'alams. The quadrangle follows the pattern of that of the *Dāru'sh-Shifā'*. It contained fifty-six rooms which provided hostel accommodation for students and teachers. Visitors could also stay there.

In 1019/1610-11 Mīr Muhammad Mu'min built a mosque in the village Mīrpeth near the Mawlā 'Alī hills. The beautiful inscription in the mosque is carved on a black basalt slab. The mosque and other buildings were constructed for the use of the visitors to the Mawlā 'Alī miraculous palm prints on the Mawlā 'Alī hills.

At about the same time, Mīr Muhammad Mu'min founded Mīrpeth, some thirteen kilometres from the main town and built a mosque on the pattern of that of Sayyidabad, but it is more artistic. Two medallions added to the arches in the facade of this mosque greatly enhance the beauty of the structure. A garden was planted in the mosque's spacious quadrangle.

Other villages founded by Mīr Muhammad Mu'min are mentioned in a *farmān* from 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh (1020-1035/1612-1626). It shows that in less than forty-two years after the Mīr's death, his grandsons had lost control of a number of these villages. Subsequently 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh restored them to Mīr Mu'min's grandsons as an *in'ām* (rent free grant).¹³³

Mīr Muhammad Mu'min aroused Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's interest in celebrating many Islamic festivals at a government level. This involved great effort and gave work to many different kinds of artisans. Besides Muharram, which we shall discuss separately, the most important celebrations in the year were the festivities in memory of Prophet Muhammad's birthday, the beginning of his prophetic mission (*bi'sat*) and his ascension to the Divine proximity (*mi'rāj*), as well as the celebrations for 'Alī's birthday, the fire-works and illuminations of *Shab-Barāt*, the martyrdom of 'Alī, 'Īdu'l-Fitr, 'Īdu'z-zuhā' and 'Īd-Ghadīr. Of these the Shi'i festivities concerned 'Alī's birthday, his martyrdom, and his nomination by Prophet Muhammad as his successor ('Īd-Ghadīr). The celebration of these occasions at a government level, however, made them popular among all sections of the populace. *Naw-Rūz*, or New Year's day, occurs on the day the sun enters Aries. It is a pre-Islamic Iranian festival but the Muslim Iranian rulers and some Medieval Indian rulers too had made it

133 *Mīr Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 63-106.

a state festival. The Hindu spring festival called *Basant*, and that at the beginning of the rainy season were also celebrated. Muhammad Quli composed poems on these occasions in the *Dakhinī*. They give interesting details of the festivities and depict the enthusiastic participation of the people.

Mir Muhammad Mu'min, strengthened the Qutb-Shāhī administration by recommending talented Īrānīs for all high and responsible positions. The most outstanding among the Īrānīs was Mirzā Muhammad Amīn Shahrastānī. When he arrived in Hyderabad, the Sultan's *Mir Jumla*, Malik Amīnu'l-Mulk Alf Khān had just died and the position was vacant. The Sultan appointed Mirzā Muhammad Amīn as *Mir Jumla* in 1011/1602-3, on Mir Mu'min's recommendation. Mir Mu'min's support enabled Mirzā Muhammad Amīn to work independently and confidently. He controlled Sultan Muhammad Quli's entire administrative framework until 1019/1610-11. In 1017/1608-9 Sultan Muhammad Quli was enraged by the audacity of some foreigners who had held a party in one of his palaces and ordered their execution. The *Dakhinīs* thereupon took the opportunity to have immigrants indiscriminately massacred. At least a hundred foreigners were killed and their property plundered. When Mirzā Muhammad Amīn was informed of the incident he rushed to the Sultan's bedroom. The guards refused to disturb the Sultan's rest so Mirzā Muhammad Amīn himself knocked on the door. When the Sultan emerged, the Mirzā urged him to inspect the massacre for himself. The Sultan was appalled at the senseless slaughter and strongly reprimanded the *kotwal*. Those who had participated in the massacre were subsequently executed and peace was restored to the capital.

A few months later Mirzā Amīn feted the Sultan with a grand reception at which he offered the Sultan many valuable presents. In 1019/1610 the Mirzā was ordered to suppress the rebellion by Pratāp Shāh of Bustar. Mirzā Amīn was marching unopposed when the onset of rain baulked down his progress and he was forced to retreat. Muhammad Quli was on his death-bed. Although Sultan Muhammad was Mir Mu'min's candidate for the throne, apparently Mirzā Amīn did not support him. When Sultan Muhammad ascended the throne, Mirzā Amīn, conscious of the danger of his position, resigned and was allowed to return to Iran.

In Rabi' I 1021/May 1612 Muhammad Amīn left Hyderabad for Bijapur but Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh did not offer him any position there. Consequently he left for Iran taking with him the enormous wealth he had amassed. The presentation of valuable gifts and the influence of his nephew Mir Rizā' enabled him to obtain a position in Shāh 'Abbās' court. Although he was richly rewarded for his services, Muhammad Amīn was not satisfied and he applied to Jahāngīr for an appointment. The Emperor invited him to his court. He arrived at Agra early in 1618 and presented twelve horses, two rings and several pieces of silk to Jahāngīr. He was given a *mansab* of

1,500 *zāt* and 200 *sawār*. He was steadily promoted; in October 1623 his *mansab* was raised to 3,000 *zāt* and 300 *sawār*. His prestige continued to increase during Shāhjahān's reign as well; in 1636 his *mansab* was raised to 5,000 *zāt* and 2,000 *sawār* and he was made *mīr bakhshī*. On 22 Rabi' II 1047/13 September 1637 he died.

According to the author of *Ma'āsiru'l-Umarā'*, Muhammad Amīn was a bigoted Imāmiyya. Even in Shāhjahān's presence he spoke forcefully about his faith. The Emperor tolerated his comments and observed that the Mīr was a true Isfahāni for they were known for their roughness and vehemence. Although scolding and abuse were innate in the Mīrzā's character, he was generous to a fault. For example during the Emperor's visit to Burhanpur in 1632, famine and scarcity made life impossible. According to the imperial orders, therefore, the nobles established centres for the free distribution of food from their own resources. The most sumptuous and liberal centre belonged to the Mīrzā.

In Hyderabad Muhammad Amīn's mansion and garden on the river bank were most attractive and majestic. After his departure to Iran they were commandeered by the state and used as a guest house for distinguished visitors, including ambassadors from foreign countries. Even the Iranian ambassador, Imām Qulī Beg, who arrived in Hyderabad in 1044/1634-35, stayed in Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn's mansion.

Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn was a good poet and adopted *Rūhu'l-Amīn* as his nom-de-plume. He believed that his imitations of Nizāmi's *Khamṣa* were better than those of other poets like Jāmi and Hātifī. Of his works the following are still available:

1. *Khusraw wa Shīrīn*, composed on the model of Nizāmi's *masnawī* of the same name.
2. *Matmahul-anwār*, composed on the model of the *Makhzanu'l-asrār*.
3. *Layla wa Majnūn*, composed on the model of the Nizāmi's *masnawī* of the same name.
4. *Āsmān-i Hashtum* or the *Falaku'l-burūj*, composed in imitation of Nizāmi's *Haft Paykar*.

Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn does not seem to have written any imitation of Nizāmi's fifth *masnawī*, the *Sikandar-nāma*. The Mīrzā dedicated the first three *masnawīs* to Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. He began the fourth poem during his reign also but completed it in that of the next ruler, Muhammad Qutb Shāh.

The Mīrzā named his *diwān* (collection of poems), *Gulistān-i nāz* which also contained *ghazals* written by him in his early life. The *distichs* in the *ghazals* number 5,000.¹³⁴

134 Shāhnawāz Khān, *Ma'āsiru'l-Umarā'*, Calcutta, III, pp. 413-18; *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1864, p. 224; Lāhorī, *Bādshāhnāma*, Calcutta, I, p. 181; Muhammad Sāliḥ, *'Amal-i sāliḥ*, Calcutta 1912-36, I, pp. 98, 251, 280.

Other talented proteges of Mīr Muhammad Mu'min, who were also pillars of the Qutb-Shāhī administrative framework, will be discussed in subsequent pages. The Mīr himself was mainly interested in devising schemes to promote the welfare of the people and the spread of Shi'ism. He spent a considerable portion of his time in prayers and scholarly pursuits.

On 23 Rajab 1001/25 April 1593 the Sultan's nephew, Prince Muhammad, son of Prince Muhammad Amīn and grandson of Ibrāhīm Qulī, was born. Although the Sultan was only twenty-eight years old he believed that he would never have a son of his own. He wished to adopt the child therefore, but could not do so while his younger brother lived. When Muhammad Amīn died on 15 Sha'bān 1004/14 April 1596, the Sultan himself brought his deceased brother's son to his house and placed his education in Mīr Mu'min's hands. The Mīr carefully selected the best teachers for the Prince and devoted his personal attention and care to his education and upbringing. Soon the Prince was a highly educated scholar, a good soldier and, above all, a very religious man.

Shortly after Prince Muhammad's birth, the Sultan had a daughter named Hayāt Bakhshī Begum. By the time she was ten or eleven years old, the fame of her beauty and accomplishments had reached the court of Shāh 'Abbās Safawī. In 1012/1603-4 Shāh 'Abbās sent Prince Aghuzlū Sultān as his envoy to Hyderabad in order to strengthen the friendship between the two rulers. Shāh 'Abbās was also interested in arranging a marriage between one of his sons and Hayāt Bakhshī Begum. According to Firishta this was a rare honour for an Emperor like Shāh 'Abbās to bestow upon a small kingdom. The historian believed that the wedding would take place and that Hayāt Bakhshī would be sent to Iran.¹³⁵ Ordinarily this event would have delighted Mīr Mu'min who too was keen to strengthen the bonds of friendship between Iran and Golkonda. The proposal, however, was not in Golkonda's interest. Sultan Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's health was feeble and he was not expected to survive much longer. The Sultan's brother, Muhammad Khudā Banda, who was likely to succeed him, was a favourite of the Dakhinī noblemen, *sūfis* and Sunnī population of Golkonda. Obviously his accession to the throne would have undermined the influence of the foreigners and the Shi'is which Mīr Mu'min had fought so hard to promote. Consequently Mīr Mu'min persuaded the Sultan, who naturally did not wish to send his only child to Iran, to marry her to his nephew Prince Muhammad. This would, of course, strengthen the Prince's claim to the throne. In Rabi' I 1016/June 1607, the marriage of Hayāt Bakhshī Begum was solemnized with prolonged festivities and rejoicings.

The Iranian envoy Prince Aghuzlū, who had been a royal guest for the last four years, also participated in the celebrations.

No reply to the Shāh's marriage proposal was now required. Although Shāh's envoy and his party were royally feted, their long stay in Hyderabad aroused the Shāh's suspicions. These were removed, however, when Hājji Qanbar 'Ali, one of the Sultan's favourites, was sent to Shāh 'Abbās' court. In 1018/1609 Prince Aghuzlū was allowed to leave for Iran. A senior noble, Amīr Mahdī Qulī Sultān, probably a scion of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty, was ordered to accompany the Iranian envoy and act as Sultan Muhammad Qulī's ambassador at the Shāh's court.¹³⁶

Hayāt Bakhshī Begum's wedding had cut the ground from under the feet of Khudā Banda and his Dakhinī party. Nevertheless, together with their leader, Shāh Rājū, a descendant of Khwāja Banda Nawāz Gīsū Darāz, and other eminent Sunnis, they tried to organise a *coup d'état*. The news, however, leaked out and Khudā Banda was imprisoned in the Golkonda fort, where he died in Muharram 1020/March-April 1611.

In Ramazān 1020/November-December 1611, Sultan Muhammad Qulī fell seriously ill from alcohol. On 17 Zu'lqā'da 1020/21 January 1612, he died. Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh left an indelible mark on the Qutb-Shāhī culture. He loved the Deccan and the Dakhinī way of life but, under Mīr Mu'min's influence, he also supported Shi'ism and introduced Shi'i ceremonies to his people. When he heard of the Sultan's death, Mīr Muhammad Mu'min went immediately to the Sultan's palace and, according to his master's will, declared his nephew and son-in-law, Prince Muhammad, the new king. On 10 Zu'lhijja 1020/13 February 1612, the formal coronation took place. Like other poets, Mīr Muhammad Mu'min wrote odes praising the young Sultan and praying for his long life and prosperity. The main thrust of his ode was to strengthen the Sultan's love for Iran. He writes:

"Your auspicious feet have transformed the dust of Telingana into a collyrium,

I may be sacrificed to your holy dust which continuously bestows a new life on human beings.

Although the Emperor of the world, Shāh 'Abbās made Safāhān (Isfahān) a new town.

O King: Because of you Hyderabad has become *Safāhān-i Nawī* (A new Isfahān)."

The envoys of the Nizām-Shāhī and Bijāpūri sultans also arrived to congratulate Sultan Muhammad. The most memorable event, however,

136 *Mīr Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 55-57, 59-62.

was the arrival of the Iranian envoy, Husayn Beg Qipchāqī by whom the Shāh sent a special *farmān*, dated Ramazān 1022/October-November 1613, to Mir Muhammad Mu'min. Husayn Beg Qipchāqī was received at Dabol port by Mir Zaynu'l-'Ābidin Māzandarāni who was famous for his knowledge of protocol. The envoy and his party were feted with royal entertainments at each stage of their journey. On 10 Rajab 1023/16 August 1614, Qipchāqī arrived near Hyderabad. The King personally received him at the Kālā Chabūtara in Golkonda. Qipchāqī and his party stayed for two years and four months in Golkonda enjoying Muhammad Qutb Shāh's lavish hospitality.

The *farmān* to Mir Muhammad Mu'min addressing him with respectful titles, assured him of the Shāh of Iran's kindness and patronage. It acknowledges the Mir's devotion to the Safawid dynasty of Iran and reiterates the fact that the Golkonda Sultans had always been devoted to the Prophet's Ahl-i Bayt and were the Safawid's well-wishers. The *farmān* urges Mir Mu'min to spare no pains in developing a sincere friendship between the Safawids and the Golkonda rulers. The *farmān* also encourages Mir Muhammad Mu'min to write to the Shāh without hesitation informing him of any wishes.

The Mir's reply states that he was the hereditary well-wisher of the Shāh's dynasty. Although misfortune had physically driven him away from the Shāh's court, he was not unaware of the conditions there and deemed himself one of the Shāh's proteges. As regards the Qutb-Shāhī kingdom, its rulers recited the name of Prophet Muhammad, Fātima, the twelve Imāms and then that of His Imperial Majesty the Shāh of Iran in the *khutbas*. The letter concludes with the remark that although it was correct that he (Mir Mu'min) did not write letters to the Shāh, that did not mean that he was negligent of his duty to pray for the prosperity of the Safawid dynasty. He hoped that, as had been the case in earlier victories, until the appearance of Imām Mahdī, the dynasty would be crowned with renewed victories and unlimited Divine help.

In the middle of Zu'lqa'da 1025/end of November 1616, the envoy, was given leave to return to Iran. Mir Mu'min ordered his own protege, 'Allāma ibn Khātūn, who had arrived in Hyderabad from Mashhad in 1009/1600-1, to accompany Qipchāqī and serve at Shāh 'Abbās' court as the Qutb-Shāhī envoy. Ibn Khātūn delivered Mir Mu'min's reply to the Shāh and stayed in Iran until 1625 visiting the important religious and intellectual centres there.¹³⁷

On 28 Shawwāl 1023/1 December 1614, Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh's eldest son Prince 'Abdu'llāh Mirzā was born. Mir Muhammad Mu'min had written chronograms on the birth of Sultan Muhammad

137 'Alī bin Tayfūr, *Hadīqatu's-salātin*, ff. 192b-194b; *Mir Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 109-27.

Qutb Shāh and was delighted therefore to write them on the birth of Muhammad Qutb Shāh's son as well. Mir Muhammad Mu'min's son, Mir Majdu'd-Din Muhammad, also composed a chronogram. The astrologer, however, urged the Sultan not to see the Prince for twelve years on pain of his own misfortune. Mir Muhammad Mu'min confirmed this prophecy. This made the Sultan exceedingly sad but the birth of his second son on 28 Shawwāl 1025/8 November 1616, drove away his gloom. The rejoicings on this occasion exceeded those held at the elder son's birth. The new baby was named 'Ali Mīrzā. Both princes received a very extensive education. Prince 'Abdu'llāh's teachers were mostly Mir Mu'min's proteges and held high positions in the Sultan's service. The most promising among 'Abdu'llāh's teachers was Mawlānā Husayn Shirāzi. He was an eminent calligraphist and the inscriptions on Mir Mu'min's mosque were written by him. Mir Muhammad Mu'min also personally supervised 'Abdu'llāh's education.¹³⁸

Mir Muhammad Mu'min's last days were darkened by sadness because of the death of his only son, Mir Majdu'd-Din Muhammad who had become an erudite scholar under his father's training. He was a man of ascetic temperament who spent his time in the company of dervishes and selflessly helped the needy. The people of the Qutb-Shāhi kingdom loved him dearly because of his generosity. He was married to the daughter of Yülchī Beg, an eminent general in Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh's reign. Mir Muhammad was so deeply shocked at Majdu'd-Din's death in Rabi' I 1034/January 1625, that he himself died on 2 Jumāda I 1034/10 February 1625. Mir Muhammad Mu'min had already buried his son under the dome he had reserved for himself in the Dā'ira Mir Muhammad Mu'min. Consequently, his own corpse was buried in another part of the Dā'ira.¹³⁹

Majdu'd-Din's Persian *ghazals* are quoted in different works and in anthologies but they were not collected in a *diwān*.¹⁴⁰ Mir Muhammad Mu'min's *diwān* was compiled and it comprises *qasidas*, *ghazals* and *marsiyas*. A manuscript copy of the work is available in the India Office, London.¹⁴¹

According to Iskandar Beg Turkmān, the *qasidas*, *ghazals* and *rubā'is* by Mir Muhammad Mu'min were impressive.¹⁴² The Mir's mastery of the rules of prosody made his verses famous among scholars. In 1007/1598-99 the Mir wrote *Urūz-i Muhammad Mu'min*, a treatise on prosody and dedicated it to Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh. At Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh's request he also wrote the *Risāla Miqdāriyya* in Persian. This

138 Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *Hadīqatu's-salāṭīn*, pp. 33-34; *Mir Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 129-34.

139 *Mir Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 161-84.

140 *Mir Muhammad Mu'min*, pp. 165-70.

141 India Office Ms., Ethe, 1530.

142 *'Ālam Ārā'i-'Abbāsī*, Tehran, 1350 sh, I, p. 146.

is designed to reconcile the conflicting standards in weights and measures. The work draws upon the classical works of lexicon, *fiqh* and medicine but the Mir brought his own observations to bear upon the subject in order to make it authentic and useful.

Mir Muhammad Mu'min wrote the *Kitāb Rij'at* on *hadis* in Arabic. It contains selections from the *ahādīs* of the *Imāms* and attempts to initiate new methods of discussing them. The Mir collected rare books for the imperial library from all over the world, paying particular attention to religious works. At his instigation, one of his fellow countrymen, Mawlānā Mirzā Muhammad Astarābādi, procured the *Kitāb Kasirū'l-Miyāmīn*, a work on *fiqh* said to have been written by Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn for his son Zayd. The copy which the Mirzā obtained in Medina was based on the manuscripts said to have been transcribed by the eighth Imām Rizā¹⁴³ himself. Mirzā Muhammad had prepared a transcript from Imām Rizā's codex but he died before he could present it to Sultan Muhammad. In Muharram 1029/December 1620, the manuscript copy was presented on his behalf to the Sultan by Mir Mu'min. The Mir himself also wrote introductory remarks about the manuscript and its importance. The Sultan ordered one of Mir Mu'min's pupils, Muhammad entitled Shāh Qāzi, to translate it into Persian. Shāh Qāzi worked expeditiously and Muhammad Mu'min Arab bin Sharafu'd-Dīn Hasan Shirāzi, an eminent calligraphist at court completed its transcription on 30 Zu'l-hijja 1029/26 November 1620. The translation was entitled the *Tarjama-i Fiqhū'r-Rizawī*.¹⁴³

The death of Mir Mu'min was an irreparable loss to Shi'ism in the Deccan. Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh was deeply distressed. His continual separation from his son 'Abdu'llāh from the time of his birth now became unbearable. After Mir Mu'min's death, the Sultan, in consultation with astrologers, invited the Prince to his palace, possibly on 17 Rabi' I 1035/17 December 1625. The Prince's presence drove away his gloom and the Sultan counselled his son on administrative and government matters. On 13 Jumāda I 1035/10 February 1626 Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh died.¹⁴⁴

The Sultan was a great patron of art and architecture. In 1023/1614 he built a stupendous mosque in Hyderabad to cater for the religious needs of the growing population there. He named it the *Baytu'l-'Atiq* (the first house of Divine worship in Mecca). The numerical value of the *Baytu'l-'Atiq* is 1023. After some years it came to be known as 'Mecca Masjid'. Its roofed prayer hall is 66.27 metres long, 54.9 metres wide and 22.9

143 Sālār Jang Ms., VII, no. 2716.

144 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Hadīqatū's-salāīn*, Hyderabad, 1961, pp. 5-26.

metres high. The domes supporting the roof are flattened. Tavernier, who visited the Deccan after the Sultan's death, says:

"It is about fifty years since they began to build a splendid pagoda in the town; it will be the grandest in all India if it should be completed. The size of the stones is a subject for special astonishment, and that of the niche which is the place for prayer, is an entire rock of such enormous size that they spent five years in quarrying it, and 500 or 600 men were employed continually on this work. It required still more time to roll it upon the conveyance by which they brought it to the pagoda; and they told me that it took 1,400 oxen to draw it. I shall explain why the work is incomplete. If it had been finished it would have justly passed for the noblest edifice in the whole of Asia."¹⁴⁵

Sultan Muhammad built a satellite town some nine kilometres from Chārminar to retire to with his courtiers when he needed peace and relaxation. It was called Sultān Nagar. A beautiful mosque with two tall minarets was erected there. The palace, the audience hall, library and government offices were also planned on a grand scale. About two kilometres to the east of the mosque was a gateway called the Bidar Darwāza. After the Sultan's death, his successor, considering it unlucky, abandoned the project.¹⁴⁶ The Sultan also built various mosques, schools and tanks. A beautiful slab measuring 1.83 metres was fixed in the western wall of the Golkonda fort. It states that the wall was repaired in 1029/1619 and the inscription was engraved in 1038/1628. It says:

1. 'Unto God.'
2. 'Allāh, Muhammad, 'Alī.'
3. 'O God! O Muhammad! O 'Alī! help Sultan 'Abdu'llāh.'
4. 'The wall of Muhammadnagar fort was repaired under the superintendence of Sultan Nawāb 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh.'
5. 'By Malik Yousuf a deputy of Malik Noor Muhammad during the months of the year one thousand and twenty nine. On the last day of Shabān 1038 A.H. (1628 A.D.).'
6. (*Nād-i'Alī*) 'Invoke 'Alī the manifestation of wonders Thou wilt find him a refuge in Misery.
All grief and sorrow will soon disappear.
By thy friendship (with God) O 'Alī'
7. 'There is no soldier (*fata*, spiritually chivalrous) like 'Alī, and no sword like Zu'lfaqār.'
8. 'Unto God'."¹⁴⁷

145 V. Ball, (tr) *Travels in India* by J. B. Tavernier, Delhi, 1977 (reprint) I, p. 124.

146 *The landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 46-47, 85, 201.

147 *Ibid.*, pp. 133-34.

Sultan Muhammad was not interested in *Dakhini* poetry. He composed Persian poetry and spent most of his time in the company of Persian and Arabic scholars. He wrote comments and notes on both the manuscripts which were presented to him and those which were compiled or transcribed at his request. A number of these books have subsequently been discovered. He asked Sayyid Abu'l-Ma'ali son of Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari, to translate into Persian his father's famous polemical work in Arabic, the *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib*.¹⁴⁸ Sultan Muhammad's scholarly and religious temperament put an end to the libertine atmosphere of his uncle's court. He had had 'Banda-i Shāh-i Najaf (slave of the Shāh of Najaf, 'Ali) Sultan Muhammad Shāh' engraved on his seal.¹⁴⁹ The dancing and revelry which had become part of the Rabi' II or *Shab-i Barāt* celebrations, were abolished and the consequent savings given to the 'ulamā' and other pious people. On Prophet Muhammad's birthday celebrations, the general public was invited to have their meals at state expense. The Muharram came to be celebrated on a grand scale.

Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shāh's son, 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh was proclaimed king in Chārminār on 13 Jumāda I 1035/10 February 1626. Jahāngir's death and Shāhjahān's accession to the Mughal throne made the Mughal Deccan policy most aggressive. The main thrust of Shāhjahān's policy was to annex the Nizām-Shāhi kingdom of Ahmadnagar and reduce Bijapur and Golkonda to vassal states. Consequently the administrative problems in the Qutb-Shāhi kingdom grew increasingly complex. Mir Muhammad Mu'min's death had made the selection of his successor exceedingly difficult for Muhammad Qutb Shāh. He, therefore, left the position vacant and performed the duties of *peshwā* himself. His own successor to the throne was only twelve years old at the time and could not rule without a *peshwā*. The king's grand-mother, Khānam Āgha the wife of Prince Muhammad Amin, therefore, had her son-in-law, Shāh Muhammad son of Shāh 'Ali 'Arab Shāh, appointed to the position.

Meanwhile Shaykh Muhammad son of 'Ali, son of Khātūn of Tūs and 'Āmil, known as ibn-i Khātūn 'Āmili had returned from Iran to 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's court. He had been sent as an envoy to Shāh 'Abbās' court in 1025/1616 on Mir Muhammad Mu'min's recommendation. He was accompanied by Qāsim Beg Būran, the *sipah sālār* (commander-in-chief) of Māzandarān, who was the Shāh's envoy. Before his death Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh had wanted to appoint ibn-i Khātūn to some high position. Ibn-i Khātūn was sister's son to the celebrated Shi'i divine and scholar Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmili¹⁵⁰ and, before moving to Hydera-

148 *Infra*, p. 351.

149 *Qasīda-i Burda*, in Sālār Jang Museum; *Qutb-Shāhi dynasty*, pp. 397-402.

150 *Supra*, pp. 136, 137; *Infra*, pp. 326-27.

bad, had sat at his uncle's feet. At Hyderabad he had worked under Mir Muhammad Mu'min and this had sharpened his political acumen and administrative talents. Had he been in Hyderabad when Mir Mu'min died, he would have been appointed his teacher's successor. As the position of *peshwā* had been filled before his arrival he was appointed as deputy *peshwā*. In addition, he was also given the position of *dabīr* (Secretary).¹⁵¹ Shāh Muhammad did not appreciate the appointment of a deputy¹⁵² as it meant the curtailment of his power but he was not an administrator. Things came to a head when Shāhjahān's envoy Shaykh Muhyi'u'd-Dīn Pirzāda arrived in Golkonda. He was sent to the Qutb-Shāhi court in 1037/1628 before the Mughal Emperor moved to Burhanpur. The imperial envoy was dissatisfied with his reception and the king was at a loss.¹⁵³ Mir Muhammad Mu'min's disciples who were hoping to discredit the *peshwā*, Shāh Muhammad, exploited the crisis to their own advantage. One of them, Khwāja Afzal Turka, who was the *sar-khayl* (commander-in-chief) produced the letters which Shāh Muhammad had written to 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur (without the King's knowledge). They were handwritten by Shāh Muhammad's secretary, Shāh Qāzī, the translator of the *Kasirū'l-Miyāmin*, who was also a disciple of Mir Mu'min. The king terminated Shāh Muhammad's appointment and on 9 Ramazān 1038/2 May 1629 made ibn-i Khātūn the new *peshwā*.

This appointment made Mir Muhammad Mu'min's disciples the rulers of the Qutb-Shāhi kingdom. Ibn-i Khātūn who was an experienced diplomat and a perspicacious author took the opportunity to write to Shāhjahān, his prime minister, Āsaf Khān and other eminent Mughal dignitaries demonstrating 'Abdu'llāh's loyalty. They seemed to have been convinced and any shortcomings in the Mughal envoy's reception were forgiven. King 'Abdu'llāh was delighted and allowed ibn-i Khātūn to come to the palace on his palanquin, an honour that previously none but his teacher, Muhammad Mu'min, had enjoyed.

Ibn-i Khātūn made another sound arrangement when he sent an envoy to Shāh 'Abbās' court. Qāsim Beg Būran, Shāh 'Abbās' envoy who had accompanied ibn-i Khātūn to Hyderabad, had died in 1034/1625 and his son, Muhammad Qulī Beg, was treated by the king as his father's successor. Khayrāt Khān *sar-nawbat*, who held a ministerial post, volunteered to accompany Muhammad Qulī Beg to Iran as 'Abdu'llāh Qutb

151 *Peshwā* was equivalent to the Prime Minister. Next important minister was *Jumlatu'l-Mulūk* or *Mīr Jumla* (Finance Minister). Other *wazīrs* or ministers were below the rank of *Mīr Jumla*. *Dabīr* or Secretary held a rank lower to the *wazīr*.

152 Nizāmu'd-Dīn, pp. 33-34.

153 *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

Shāh's envoy. Valuable gifts were sent with the ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās. When they reached Surat, Shāhjāhān summoned them to Agra and sent his own letters and oral messages to the Iranian ruler through Khayrāt Khān. This was a rare distinction for the Golkonda envoy. When they reached Bandar 'Abbās, they heard the news of Shāh 'Abbās' death. Khayrāt Khān therefore presented the letters from 'Abdu'llāh and Shāhjāhān to Shāh 'Abbās' successor, Shāh Safi (1038-1052/1629-42), at Isfāhān. He then sent details of his honourable reception at the Iranian court back to 'Abdu'llāh's court together with some horses which were gifts to the Golkonda king.¹⁵⁴

On 7 Rajab 1040/9 February 1631, King 'Abdu'llāh sent the Mughal ambassador Muhyi'u'd-Din back to the Emperor Shāhjāhān who was now in Burhanpur. On his own behalf the King sent a senior official, Wafā Khān with gifts of horses, elephants, 30,000 *huns* in cash and other valuables to the Emperor. Subsequently, Shāhjāhān took Shaykh Muhyi'u'd-Din to task for the bad manners he had shown after his arrival at the Qutb-Shāhī court.¹⁵⁵ In Ramazān 1041/April 1632 Shāhjāhān left Burhanpur to the great relief of the Deccan rulers. 'Abdu'llāh was also delighted at the news. The intrigues against ibn Khātūn, however, alienated the King from him and he was deprived of his office of *pešwā*. In 1043/1634, when the enquiries had revealed the falseness of the accusations against him, he was appointed *mīr jumla*. His sister's son Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir was appointed his deputy and the *sar-khayl*. To show his confidence in him, the King placed several thousand troopers at ibn Khātūn's disposal. As *mīr jumla*, ibn-i Khātūn streamlined the administration and increased the salary of the officers of the royal household and other dignitaries. The 'ulamā', scholars, merchants and the common people also benefited. Naturally this munificence made ibn-i Khātūn very popular. During his tenure as *mīr jumla*, the King, accompanied by his mother, visited his house twice.¹⁵⁶

In 1044/1634-35, Khayrāt Khān, the Qutb-Shāhī envoy to Iran, returned with Imām Qulī Beg Shāmlū a high dignitary of the Safawid court. Travelling through Qandahār the party arrived at the Mughal court and from thence proceeded to Hyderabad. Before entering the capital they were received first by Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir, the *sar-khayl* and then by Yūlchī Beg, the father-in-law of Mīr Muhammad Mu'min's son. On 17 Zu'lqā'da 1044/4 May 1635, the king himself received the Iranian ambassador. The mansion and garden of Mirzā

154 *Ibid.*, pp. 78-85.

155 *Ibid.*, p. 92.

156 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-48.

Muhammad Amin, the former *mīr jumla*, were assigned to Imām Quli Beg during his stay.¹⁵⁷

The festivities to welcome the Iranian envoy were, however, overshadowed by the news of Shāhjahān's departure from Agra in Rabi' II 1045/October 1635. The crisis could be handled only by ibn-i Khātūn and he was appointed *peshwā* again on 17 Rajab 1045/27 December 1635. It was also ordered that he should retain the position of *mīr jumla* as long as he was unable to recommend a suitable substitute.¹⁵⁸

Shāhjahān sent Makramat Khān *dīwān-i buyūtāt* as an envoy to Bijapur and 'Abdu'l-Latif *dīwān-i tan* to Golkonda. In his *farmān* to Qutbu'l-Mulk (the Mughals did not acknowledge the Deccan rulers as Shāh), Shāhjahān wrote that as an Emperor of Islam it was his duty to promulgate the Sunni faith and to ensure that in his domain there were neither innovations nor misguidance. It had come to his (Shāhjahān's) notice that in his (Qutbu'l-Mulk's) territories the Prophet's companions, who according to the six canonical works of *ahādīs* were exceedingly holy and closely associated with the Prophet, were abused. Furthermore, no attempt was made to restrain or punish those offenders. Qutbu'l-Mulk was therefore directed to totally stop those evil practices. Were there any wicked person to commit those crimes he should be immediately punished. If he were not punished it would prove Qutbu'l-Mulk's connivance in the practice and would make it incumbent upon him (Shāhjahān) to seize Qutbu'l-Mulk's territories and consider the wealth belonging to his territories lawful for himself.

Secondly it had been reported to him (Shāhjahān) that in Qutbu'l-Mulk's territories, the *khutba* was recited in the name of the ruler of Iran. Since Qutbu'l-Mulk was the *murīd* (disciple) of the Mughal Emperor, there was no reason to do that. The *khutba* should be adorned with the glorious name of the Mughal Emperor.

Thirdly, the payment of a considerable amount of tribute was overdue. Consequently a well-trained envoy was being sent in order to bring home to Qutbu'l-Mulk the need to follow the path of obedience and to assure him of the Emperor's favours provided that, like his father the late Qutbu'l-Mulk, he was also devoted to the Emperor's service. Or else, the letter threateningly concluded, he (Qutbu'l-Mulk) would himself be responsible for the consequences of his own misdeeds.

In Golkonda, the Emperor's envoy was warmly received by Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir, the *sar-khayl* at several stages before his arrival in Hyderabad. Just outside Hyderabad he stayed in the palace near Husayn

157 *Ibid.*, pp. 153-56.

158 *Ibid.*, pp. 164-66.

Sāghar (Sāgar). On 14 Ramazān 1045/11 February 1636, the envoy was feted with a royal reception.

Ibn Khātūn invited Shāhjahān's envoy, 'Abdu'l-Latif and his party to his mansion, lavishly entertained them and tried to convince them of the Qutb-Shāhī's loyalty to the Mughals. It would seem that during their stay in Hyderabad, the Prophet's companions were not discussed, nevertheless Shāhjahān's envoys could not tolerate the Qutb-Shāhī practice of seeking Divine blessings initially for the Safawid king, then the Qutb-Shāhī rulers and lastly for Shāhjahān. The Golkonda king refused to change this practice. Both 'Abdu'l-Latif and ibn Khātūn discussed the issue for several days. They reached a compromise that only *fātiha* should be recited in the *khutba* but this proved unacceptable to Shāhjahān. The Qutb-Shāhī 'ulamā' were, therefore, persuaded by ibn Khātūn to assure their king that, in order to avoid bloodshed, the *khutba* should be recited in the form required by Shāhjahān. 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh reluctantly agreed and 'Abdu'l-Latif reported back that the Emperor's orders had been implemented. Meanwhile the Mughal forces had over-run the 'Ādil Shāhī territories and Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh had been forced to surrender.

Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir was sent to accompany 'Abdu'l-Latif to Shāhjahān's court. Ibn-i Khātūn arranged a grand farewell feast for the imperial envoy at Hayatabad, named after the King's mother. In Zu'l-hijja 1045/May 1636 the *Inqiyād-nāma* (Deed of Submission), authenticated by the imprint of the Emperor's palm dipped in saffron, was finalised.

'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh received the envoy bringing the treaty with great pomp and show. According to the Qutb-Shāhī historians such a catastrophe had never befallen the kingdom before but ibn-i Khātūn's diplomacy had staved off the crisis. The King also was greatly impressed with his *peshwā's* handling of the situation. Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir was sent again to the Emperor who received him with great honour and granted him a private interview where none but the princes were present. The imperial jewels were shown to Shaykh Tāhir. He was then asked to call on the heir apparent, Dārā Shukoh, in his palace. Shaykh Tāhir received many valuable gifts. A gorgeous robe of honour was sent to ibn-i Khātūn "whose efforts had turned the war into peace and had prevented bloodshed on both sides". In July 1636 the Emperor, appointing Awrangzib as Viceroy of the Deccan, left for Agra.

According to the "Deed of Submission", the names of the twelve Imāms were to be replaced with those of the first four caliphs and the name of the Shāh of Iran was to be replaced with that of the Mughal Emperor. The legends on the gold and silver coins struck in the Qutb-Shāhī kingdom had to be submitted to the Emperor for approval. A very

heavy tribute was fixed and many other humiliating conditions were imposed.¹⁵⁹

Although the Golkonda kingdom lost its independence, ibn-i Khātūn's diplomacy saved it from total annihilation. Ibn-i Khātūn remained *peshwā* for only a couple of years longer but during this period he recruited competent officers for the kingdom and adjusted Shī'ism to the changed political conditions. His conciliatory temperament and farsightedness were a beacon to the 'ulamā' in particular and to the state dignitaries in general. His arduous duties as *mir jumla*, and the intrigues of his rivals and the ambivalence of his ruler did not undermine his interest in teaching and scholarly pursuits. Early in the morning *qāzis*, 'ulamā', scholars, pious people, poets, ministers, noblemen and other dignitaries attended his lectures in his mansion on Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs*, *fiqh*, philosophy, mathematics and logic. After the lectures he went to the palace to perform his official duties. In the evening a large crowd was entertained at his table. Dinner was followed by the night session of lectures. On Tuesdays, which was a holiday in those days ibn-i Khātūn invited both Persian poets and those who wrote Arabic poetry to one of the gardens near Hyderabad. The various ambassadors in Hyderabad were also present. All benefited from these discussions. Those talented foreigners who wished to start a career at court tried to make their mark in ibn-i Khātūn's assemblies.

In 1059/1649, ibn-i Khātūn resigned. He died in Mocha on his way to Mecca. His earthly remains were brought to Hyderabad for burial beside those of his wife who had predeceased him.

Ibn-i Khātūn popularised the works of his uncle and teacher, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Āmilī (d. 1013/1622), as well as those of other Shī'i scholars. He himself wrote many important books. His earliest known work is the *Tarjama-i Qutb Shāhī*. It is a Persian translation of the Arabic *Arba'ūn Hadīsān* by Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Āmilī. Like the Sunni academics, the Shī'i scholars also compiled the forty *ahādīs* of the Prophet transmitted by their Shī'i Imāms into book form. Of these Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad 'Āmilī's work compiled in 971/1564 is most important. Ibn-i Khātūn completed his Persian translation before 1024/1615 and took it with him to Iran when he was sent as an envoy to Shāh 'Abbās' court. He called on Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī and requested him to review his translation. Bahā'u'd-Dīn read the work, admired the translation and wrote an eulogistic note dated 2 Shawwāl 1027/12 September 1618. At the end of Rajab 1056/September 1646 ibn-i Khātūn collated the royal codex (now in Sālār Jang Museum and Library, Hyderabad No. H. I. 10) with

159 *Ibid.*, pp. 168-79; Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, II, pp. 177-81; *Makātib Sultān 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāhī*, Sālār Jang, Adab 295; *Qutb-Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 435-37.

his own manuscript and signed the manuscript at the margin of the colophon.¹⁶⁰

Ibn-i Khātūn wrote comments and marginal glosses on the *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsi*, the Persian *magnum opus* on *fiqh* by Bahā'ud-Dīn Muhammad 'Āmilī. The author dedicated the *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsi* to Shāh 'Abbās I but died before completing the work. At Shāh 'Abbās' command the first volume containing chapters 1 to 5 was edited by 'Izzud-Dīn Muhammad bin Muhammad Ismā'il al-Husaynī al-Mūsawī; the second half of the book, comprising fifteen chapters, was written by Nizām bin Husayn Sāwji and completed in 1032/1622. The work became very famous as a handbook of *fiqh*. Ibn-i Khātūn's glosses clarify the obscure points in the *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsi*.¹⁶¹ They were written on the margin of the work itself but in 1054/1644, Burhān Tabrizi compiled them into book form.

Ibn-i Khātūn also wrote a commentary on the *Irshādu'l-Azhān ilā Ahkāmī'l-Imām* on Shi'i *fiqh* produced by Jamālu'd-Dīn Hasan bin Yūsuf bin 'Alī bin al-Mutahhar al-Hillī (d. 726/1326) in 696/1296 for his son Fakhru'd-Dīn Muhammad. Both the original and the commentary are in Arabic.¹⁶²

Ibn-i Khātūn's Arabic treatise *Risāla fi jawāb naghz al-Bahā'iyya* was not available to the author. In 1058/1648 Ibn-i Khātūn completed the *Kitāb al-Imāma* after working on it for more than one and a half years. Assuming that he was about thirty years old when he arrived in Hyderabad in 1009/1600-1, he was at least seventy-seven years old when he completed the work. It is divided into a *muqaddima* (preface), twelve *fasls* (chapters) and a *khātima* (conclusion). It is dedicated to Sultan 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh.¹⁶³

Besides drawing upon works by non-Indian authors, the *Kitāb al-Imāma* also refers to the *Ihqāqu'l-Haqq* and the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin* by Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī. The work argues that as the caliphate is essentially the Divine vicegerency on earth, the Prophet's successors should also be Divinely appointed. It is designed to prove that none but 'Alī and his successors, who were superior to the whole of mankind, could be appointed Imāms. It marshalls evidences from standard Sunni works to demonstrate that the first three successors to Prophet Muhammad were not rightful caliphs and that the twelve Shi'i Imāms were the only true successors to Prophet Muhammad and the sole guides of mankind.

Ibn-i Khātūn was the last Qutb-Shāhī dignitary to hold the position of *peshwā*. His successors were simply *mīr jumlas*. The most outstanding

160 Sālār Jang Museum, VII, no. 2592.

161 Sālār Jang Museum, VII, nos. 2731, 2732.

162 Sālār Jang Museum, IV, 1128-1136.

163 Sālār Jang Museum, VII, no. 2968.

of these was Muhammad Sa'id Ardistāni, more popularly known as "Mir Jumla". He belonged to a poor Sayyid family from Ardistan in the Iranian province of Isfahān. Nevertheless he received a good religious education and believed that he deserved a senior position in the religious ministry under Shaykhu'l-Islām. His hopes were frustrated, he believed, because of the corruption rampant in that ministry. As Manucci says, he arrived in Golkonda with some Iranian horse merchants, who were bringing horses to sell to the King. There does not seem to be any truth in the same author's statement that he "went through the streets from door to door selling shoes".¹⁶⁴ The date of his arrival is not known but it seems that he moved from Iran in 1043/1634. In Isfahān he could not have missed the Qutb-Shāhi envoy of ibn-i Khātūn's stature. In Hyderabad it was not difficult for him to join ibn-i Khātūn's literary assemblies and impress the *Peshwā* with his remarkable clear judgements. He was appointed *silahdār* (a member of the royal body-guard) and *sar-i daftar-i shāhi* (head of the royal record office). This office was reserved for recognised scholars. In 1045/1635-36 he was appointed *hawaldār* or Governor of Masulipatam. According to the English factory records, the former governors there were "vexatious". As an experienced merchant Mir Muhammad Sa'id increased the income of the port and also involved himself in private trade. His junks sailed both to the Persian Gulf and to South East Asia. He made agreements with European companies in which he balanced the state interest, that of the companies and his own. English factors borrowed money from him at an interest of 1.5% for four or five months.¹⁶⁵ In c. 1046/1636-37, he was appointed the *hawaldār* of the *mahāl* of Mustafanagar (Condapally), an important fort in Telingana.

In 1048/1638-39, Mir Muhammad Sa'id built the four-storeyed palace, Hayāt Mahal, in Hyderabad for the queen mother Hayāt Bakhshī Begum. He employed expert engineers and architects but also brought his own experience in the realm of planning to bear upon the project. The edifice was majestic and its frescoes combined in themselves the best techniques of both Iranian and Mughal painting. Poets wrote odes in praise of the building and the historian Nizāmu'd-Dīn waxed eloquent when describing its perfection and beauty.¹⁶⁶

On 13 Rajab 1049/9 November 1639, the Sultan set off from his capital with a huge party of about 5,000 to visit Masulipatam. Ibn-i Khātūn accompanied them. Muhammad Sa'id did not neglect the minutest

164 Niccolao Manucci, *Storia de mogor*, English translation by W. Irvine, London, 1907, I, pp. 226-27.

165 W. Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India*, 1642-45, Oxford, 1913, p. 69.

166 *Nāzimu'd-Dīn*, pp. 216-19.

detail to ensure a comfortable journey for the Sultan, queens and royal cavalcade. At Bezwada the captains of the English and Dutch companies called on the Sultan and accompanied him on his onward journey. Near the port, the Sultan took his seat beside Muhammad Sa'id on the elephant and inspected the shops which had been specially decorated for the occasion. Muhammad Sa'id provided lavish entertainment for the Sultan, the ladies and the court dignitaries. The delighted Sultan remitted many taxes. When he left in the middle of December, the Sultan bestowed rare gifts on Mir Muhammad Sa'id to honour him.¹⁶⁷

Muhammad Sa'id soon became indispensable to the civil administration, while ibn-i Khātūn devoted his time mainly to scholarly pursuits. Muhammad Sa'id's next major success was the conquest of Karnataka and the destruction of the remainder of the Vijayanagara empire in the region. The Bijāpūrīs were the first to embark upon invading western Karnataka. In 1031/1622 they conquered Karnul and later Ikkeri and Sira. Bangalore was also annexed to the Bijāpūri kingdom. From 1636, Shāhjahān encouraged both the Bijapur and Golkonda rulers to penetrate deeper into the Karnataka region from the river Krishna to Tanjore beyond the Kaveri, and to partition the conquered territories between themselves. These areas were now ruled by petty Hindu principalities which had emerged following the extinction of the Vijayanagara empire. They were plunged in internecine wars of self-aggrandizement. It was not difficult, therefore, for the Bijāpūri generals to seize the coastal region between Jinji and Tanjore.

The early Qutb-Shāhī invasions of the eastern Karnataka highlands were not a success but the position changed when Muhammad Sa'id was appointed commander. In April 1642 he advanced at the head of 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry and artillery; taking a number of European gunners and cannon-makers with him, he seized fort after fort. Following his departure to court at the end of 1643, however, his successor, Ghāzi 'Ali Beg, was unable to make any headway. In 1650 Muhammad Sa'id marched against Gandiaota in the modern Cuddapah and Anantnagar districts of Madras. Although it was a formidable fort and the Golkonda forces had been repulsed previously by its Hindu rulers, Muhammad Sa'id captured it by combining military pressure with diplomacy. He was rewarded with the post of *mir jumla*. His victories provoked war however between the Bijapur and Golkonda rulers. Their appeals to Shāhjahān to intervene were fruitless. Initially the Bijāpūri generals achieved some success against Mir Jumla but ultimately they too admitted his superiority. Gandiaota and the Kokkanur territories were left under his control. The conquered areas included strong forts, land yielding

167 *Ibid.*, pp. 230-33.

an annual revenue of 43 lacs of rupees, and several diamond mines. The Qutb-Shāhi kingdom now extended to San Thome, south of Madras and Chingleput.¹⁶⁸

'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, ascribing the conquest to his Mir Jumla's efforts, bequeathed the income from three Karnataka villages for the expenditure of holy-men and pilgrims in Najaf and Karbalā. The Mir Jumla and his descendants were appointed as hereditary superintendents of the endowment. Mir Jumla was also made the *tarafdār* of Karnataka. Besides the revenue from agriculture and overseas trade to the Persian Gulf and South East Asian countries, the income from the diamond mines, worked by 12,000 to 60,000 men, women and children, was enormous.

As a governor of Karnataka, Mir Jumla confirmed the privileges of the European companies but he did not allow them to step beyond these limits. He tried to play the English Company against the Dutch and did not even hesitate to assume the monopoly of the cloth trade himself. During his governorship, the European companies did not defy his orders.¹⁶⁹

From his own resources he maintained an army of 5,000 well-equipped cavalry. Four thousand Golkonda troops and their commanders obeyed his orders. His artillery was also very efficient and the infantry under him numbered 20,000. His conquests made 'Abdu'llāh proud of him.¹⁷⁰ Mir Jumla was subservient to his ruler, but his enemies, particularly the *Dakhini* leaders, seem to have aroused the King's jealousy of his minister's growing power and wealth. There was no Mir Muhammad Mu'min or ibn-i Khātūn to nullify the intrigues. Mir Jumla's son, Muhammad Amin, who served as his father's deputy in Golkonda, was a drunkard, bad-tempered and presumptuous. Mir Jumla's enemies exploited his son's lack of self-discipline to their own advantage and estranged the Sultan from the Vizier. The European accounts ask us to believe that "the improper intimacy" between the Queen Mother, Hayāt Bakhshi Begum, and Mir Jumla was also responsible for the Sultan's enmity.¹⁷¹ There is no doubt that Hayāt Bakhshi Begum was highly impressed with Mir Jumla's achievements and occasionally rewarded him with gifts, but they had both passed middle age and were too dignified to behave improperly. Moreover, at the time of the gulf of misunderstanding between the King and his Vizier becoming wider and wider Mir Jumla was far from Golkonda.

The cautious and farsighted Mir Jumla began to plan his defence. Around 1653 he wrote to the prime minister of Iran and petitioned the

168 *'Amal-i sālih*, III, p. 213; J. N. Sarkar, *The life of Mir Jumla*, New Delhi, 2nd edition, 1979, pp. 28-42.

169 *The English Factories in India, 1646-1650*, pp. 25, 26, 70, 98, 137, 139.

170 *Ma'āsiru'l-umayrā'*, III, pp. 510-11.

171 *The life of Mir Jumla*, p. 104.

Shāh to give him an opportunity to work for the Iranian government. Shāh 'Abbās II (1052-1077/1642-1666) hesitated to annoy Qutb Shāh and urged Mir Jumla to develop friendly relations with his own ruler. Realising that the Iranian court was also a hot-bed of intrigue and sedition, Mir Jumla offered his services to the Sultan of Bijapur who was delighted to secure them, even if it meant war. He was forestalled, however, by Prince Awrangzib, who rightly believed that the removal of Mir Jumla from the Qutb-Shāhī court would provide a God-send opportunity for him to conquer Golkonda. He therefore sent his agent, Muhammad Mu'min, to Mir Jumla offering him protection and promises of patronage at his father's court.¹⁷²

Then 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh also became aware of Mir Jumla's secret correspondence with foreign powers. He tried to win him over but the time for healing the wounds of enmity had long passed. It was now up to Mir Jumla to obtain the best terms from the Mughal court. His replies to the Sultan were non-committal but towards the end of November 1655, Muhammad Amin's drunken insolence at the Sultan's court, precipitated the crisis. The angry Qutb Shāh imprisoned Muhammad Amin and his family. Before Awrangzib's report on the incident could reach the imperial court, Shāhjahān had despatched a *farmān* appointing Mir Jumla a *mansabdār* of 5,000 and his son a *mansabdār* of 2,000. A *farmān* was also sent to Qutb-Shāh ordering him to facilitate their departure from Golkonda with all their property. At the end of December, Awrangzib sent the Emperor's letters on to Qutb Shāh for his compliance and massed his troops on the Golkonda border. Early in January 1656, Shāhjahān ordered Qutb Shāh to release Muhammad Amin and his family and authorised Awrangzib to invade Golkonda in case of a refusal. Awrangzib, however, did not give Qutb Shāh the opportunity to implement the imperial commands. He ordered his son Prince Muhammad Sultan, who had encamped at Nander on 17 January, to invade Hyderabad. After making sure that the Bijāpūri armies were not likely to come to Qutb Shāh's rescue, Awrangzib himself marched to join his son.

On receiving the imperial orders, Qutb Shāh immediately released Muhammad Amin and his family. They met Prince Muhammad near Hyderabad but the Prince did not put an end to aggression. Qutb Shāh, who was taken by surprise, fled with his family to the Golkonda fort for protection. Although the Prince seized Hyderabad he was unable to capture and kill Qutb Shāh as his father had ordered. For two days and nights the wealthiest city of India was given to plunder and

172 *Munsha'āt Nāzirū'l-mamālik al-Sultānī Hājjī 'Abdu'l-'Alī Tabrīzī*, British Museum, Add. 6600, ff. 67a-83a, transcript of British Museum Ms. Add. 6600, National Library, Calcutta, ff. 70a-74a; *Ruq'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Azamgarh, n.d., pp. 159-61.

carnage. Qutb Shāh's entreaties offering submission fell on deaf ears.¹⁷³

On his way to Hyderabad Awrangzib wrote to Shāhjahān requesting to be allowed to annex the prosperous Golkonda sultanate to the Mughal empire. He reported that after crossing the Golkonda frontiers he had been deeply impressed with the richness of the soil, the abundance of water and population, the lovely climate and the overwhelming number of cultivated fields. Even during the first stage of his journey there were innumerable large ponds, natural springs, canals, villages and populated hamlets. Although at Qutbu'l-Mulk's advice the people had fled their homes, not a single patch of uncultivated land was found. The most productive areas in the imperial territory were no match to the fertile Golkonda land. Unfortunately these riches had fallen into the hands of such an ungrateful infidel as 'Abdu'llāh who did not deserve them. His brutality and oppression knew no bounds. The cries of the Golkonda people in general and of Hyderabad in particular against his depredations had penetrated the heavens.

Qutbu'l-Mulk's ignorance and stupidity had prompted him to forsake the *sunna* and to practise sinful innovations. He had popularized in his kingdom *rifz* and vilification of the Prophet's eminent companions, both of which were stark infidelity and heresy, to such an extent that the entire kingdom had abandoned the Sunnī faith, given up the path of right guidance and publicly performed and said all that which ought not to be done or said.

Drawing Shāhjahān's attention to the duty of the kings of Islam to annihilate oppressive and irreligious governors, the letter urged the Emperor to pay attention to the revival of the *sunna* of the Prophet in Golkonda. It further added that although 'Abdu'llāh and his ancestors were the protégés of the Mughal emperors, they considered themselves dependent on the rulers of Iran and constantly despatched valuable gifts and ship loads of armaments to them. The wretched King of Golkonda had thrown overboard the rules and etiquette of the *tora* (Mughal institutions) and had started war against the victorious Mughal army. He (Aurangzib) had gained full control of the situation and the chastisement and destruction of the ruler of Golkonda would be rewarding both from the religious and worldly point of view.¹⁷⁴

Taking the imperial sanction to seize Golkonda for granted, Awrangzib besieged it on 17 February. Qutbu'l-Mulk wrote submissive letters to Shāhjahān and Dārā Shukoh. His envoys heavily bribed the heir apparent, who prevailed upon the Emperor to restore Qutbu'l-Mulk's kingdom to him on the payment of a heavy indemnity. On 18 February

173 *Ruq'āt-i 'Alamgīrī*, I, pp. 173-183.

174 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 185-188.

the Emperor sent a letter to Awrangzib forgiving Qutbu'l-Mulk but the Prince suppressed it and continued to attack the fort. At long last Awrangzib allowed the King's mother, Hayāt Bakhshī Begum, to wait on him and beg for her son's life. Awrangzib reluctantly agreed to restore the kingdom on the payment of one *crore* of rupees as indemnity and the settlement of all arrears in tribute. The Golkonda king also agreed to marry his eldest daughter to Prince Muhammad Sultan. At the end of March Mir Jumla joined Awrangzib with 6,000 cavalry, 15,000 infantry and an impressive train of artillery. On 10 April 1656 peremptory orders from Shāhjahān forced Awrangzib to raise the siege and retire to Awrangabad. On 17 July Mir Jumla arrived in Delhi. He brought with him his vast wealth consisting of *object d'art*, diamonds, rubies, and other precious jewellery which he had collected during his service in Golkonda and Karnataka. According to 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, he transferred the entire Golkonda treasury to Delhi. Mir Jumla presented the Emperor with gifts worth rupees fifteen lakhs, including a big diamond weighing 756 English carats. Later this was known as the celebrated *Koh-i Nūr* and now adorns the crown of Queen Elizabeth II of England. He was made a *mansabdār* of 6,000 and appointed prime minister in place of the lately deceased Sa'du'llāh Khān.¹⁷⁵ We shall be discussing Mir Jumla's career at the Mughal court in the second volume.

Qutb Shāh rightly considered Mir Jumla's treacherous conduct responsible for the catastrophe that befell Golkonda. He accused Shāhjahān of violating the treaty of 1636 which he had solemnly signed. He also condemned him for forgetting that, in 1623 Shāhjahān had been given safe passage through Golkonda when he had rebelled against Jahāngir and was hotly pursued by his father's generals. In his turn, Shāhjahān accused 'Abdu'llāh of incompetence in failing to utilise Mir Jumla's matchless talents to his own advantage.

In a letter to Shāh 'Abbās, 'Abdu'llāh gave a full account of the catastrophe that had befallen him. He wrote:

“Now there are no hopes left and no remedies are possible. I believe that your religious and sectarian sentiments, bounty and prestige would not allow the destruction of the Imāms' way of life from a country which is a rendezvous for foreigners and a shelter for pious people. You would not permit that the ears of the inhabitants of this centre of faith (Golkonda) are deprived of listening to the call of “Alī is Allāh's friend” which since the last 170 years had echoed because

175 *Munshā'āt-i Nāziru'l-mamālik*, ff. 145a-148b; Muhammad Wāris, Khudābakhsh Library, Patna, ff. 108b-110b; *The English factories in India, 1655-60*, pp. 69-71; *'Anāl-i sālih*, III, pp. 226-29; *Ma'āsiru'l-umarā'*, III, pp. 533-35; *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, I, p. 753.

of the assistance and support of that exalted dynasty (the Safawids). You would not allow that in this region (Golkonda) the traditions of the innovators (Sunnīs) and the opponents of the holy Ahl-i bayt (Peace be on them) are promulgated and that falsehood dominates the truth."¹⁷⁶

Qutbu'l-Mulk hoped that in order to protect the faith of the Imāms, Shāh 'Abbās would send forces to the Qandahār border. He even promised to re-imburse the Shāh's representative at the Golkonda court for the expenditure incurred in this operation. Shāh 'Abbās expressed sympathy but took no action, other than breaking-off relations with the Mughal court.

Awrangzib's invasion of Bijapur, early in 1657 prompted even 'Ali 'Adil Shāh II to write to Shāh 'Abbās II for help against the wanton Mughal aggression but he too was offered merely consolation and sympathy. The Shāh, however, urged both Sultans to intensify the bonds of friendship between themselves.

The war of succession following Shāhjahān's illness and Awrangzib's consequent pre-occupation with his conquests, gave both kingdoms a short lease of life. After the departure of the Mughal forces, 'Abdu'llāh addressed himself to the task of re-organising the devastated kingdom. Rizā' Qulī Beg, entitled Nekkām Khān, whom 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh appointed governor of the Karnataka in 1662, re-captured San Thome and asserted his authority over the English. He refused to allow the Dutch to fortify Pulicat and denied further leases to foreigners. In 1665 the English factors described him as "The greatest of all forces and the greatest in power". Nekkām Khān died on 10 Zu'l-hijja 1082/8 April 1672. In less than a month 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh was also dead.¹⁷⁷

The accounts of Tavernier, Bernier, Thevenot and the European factory records have made the history of 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh more detailed and accurate than that of his predecessors. We can tell with confidence of the mining, cutting and refining of diamonds which had made Golkonda exceedingly famous. Kullur, on the Krishna, was the richest diamond mine. Garnet, amethyst, topaz and agate etc., were also mined in the kingdom. Not only was Masulipatam a busy port where ships from the Far East, South East Asia, the Persian Gulf and Europe exchanged goods, it was also a centre for the production of a variety of textiles. Iron mined in the Kalaghat hills was used in manufacturing swords, daggers and lances which were sold all over the Indies. Near Masulipatam there were large ship-building yards. A royal warrant from King Charles of England

176 *Makātib-i Tārikh-i 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh*, Sālār Jang Museum, ff. 2b-6b.

177 *History of the Qutb Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 630-34.

dated 21 February 1662, ordered the English not to "teach the natives to build and navigate ships in those parts to the great prejudice of the English nation, contrary to the royal charter granted to the said (East India) Company."¹⁷⁸

Trunk roads connected Hyderabad with Bijapur, Surat, Goa, Masulipatam and Madras via Gandiaota. Minor roads linked other parts of the kingdom with the main roads.

Besides ibn-i Khātūn's works, a number of other scholars also wrote important religious books under Sultan 'Abdu'llāh's patronage. Mirzā Fazlu'llāh Shīrāzī was able to compile one thousand apostolic traditions regarding the truth of the Shī'i faith. The *Jung-i Qutb Shāh* by an anonymous author, comprises partly ethical and partly theological precepts from the prophets, the Imāms and other holy men. The historian Mirzā Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, the author of the *Hadīqatu's-salātīn*, wrote a day-to-day chronicle of Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's life from his birth on 21 November 1614 to 1 January 1644. This also provides glimpses of Shī'i religious, social and intellectual life under 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh and his predecessors. His reports on the discussions of the Majlis-i Diwāndāri (Privy Council) are very informative and his accounts of the reception given to foreign envoys offer interesting historical details. Shaykh Hārūn Jazā'irī, a protégé of ibn-i Khātūn was an outstanding *faqīh* who disseminated Shī'i learning for thirty years in Hyderabad. Mullā Taqīyā Shīrāzī was a seasoned diplomat and had deeply impressed Shāhjahān with his tact and learning. Hasan Beg Shīrāzī was a competent *kotwāl* (police officer) and engineer. He made singular contributions to the creation of Hayāt Mahal and some other mosques.¹⁷⁹

The growing popularity of Muharram prompted the Telūgū poets and musicians to compile treatises and anthologies on the episodes surrounding Imām Husayn's martyrdom. 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's patronage was also instrumental in the blossoming of *Dakhinī* poetry. Ghawwāsī wrote a *masnawī* of 14,000 verses relating the romance of Prince Sayfu'l-Mulk and Princess Badi'u'l-jamāl. The legend is based on *The Arabian Nights*. He completed it in 1035/1626, towards the end of Sultan Qutb Shāh's reign but it did not become famous until 'Abdu'llāh was Sultan. In 1049/1659, Ghawwāsī composed the *Tuti-nāma* based on the Persian version of Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Nakhshabī (d. 751/1350-51). This originated from the Sanskrit *Suka-saptatī* or the *Parrot's Seventy Stories*.¹⁸⁰ Ghawwāsī's *Mayna-Satwantī* is based on Mullā Dāwūd's *Chandāyan*¹⁸¹ completed in 781/

178 *The English Factories in India*, 1661-64, p. 99.

179 *Nizāmu'd-Dīn*, pp. 213-15.

180 *A history of Sūfism in India*, I, pp. 132-33.

181 *Ibid.*, pp. 348-49, 364-66.

1379-80. His *Kulliyāt* (collection of different forms of poems) had also been published and contains *marsiyas* or elegies on Imām Husayn's martyrdom.

Mullā Wajhi lived through the reigns of Ibrāhīm Qulī, Muhammad Qulī, who made him poet-laureate, and Muhammad. He was still mentally active in 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's reign. In Muhammad Qulī's time he composed his *magnum opus* the *Qutb-Mushtari*. In 'Abdu'llāh's reign he wrote an allegorical story *Sahrās* (All Senses) in rhymed prose interspersed with verses. The author called the language of his creative contribution "Hindi" but Urdu scholars consider it a milestone in the development of Urdu prose.

The most prominent poet in the *Dakhīni* language at the Qutb-Shāhī court was Mazharu'd-Dīn ibn-i Nishāti. He completed *Phūlban* in 1066/1656 and presented a copy to 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh. Like the tales in *The Arabian Nights*, a number of stories in *Phūlban* are interwoven round a central theme. Ibn-i Nishāti also wrote *marsiyas*.¹⁸²

'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh had three daughters and no sons. The eldest was married to Prince Muhammad Sultan and it was hoped that after 'Abdu'llāh's death, Muhammad Sultan would ascend the Qutb-Shāhī throne. The war of succession and Awrangzib's victory could not have been anticipated as everyone expected Dārā Shukoh would succeed his father as Emperor. Had this occurred, probably Golkonda would have offered both Prince Muhammad and Awrangzib asylum. Luckily for Awrangzib he was victorious in the war of succession and was able to kill Murād and Dārā. He defeated the third contender Shujā' in the battle at Khajwa and ordered Muhammad Sultan and Mir Jumla, who had joined him, to pursue his brother. Muhammad Sultan had earlier been betrothed to Shujā's daughter, Gulrukh Begum, but Mir Jumla's successful pursuit of her father made him despair of ever marrying her. The Prince also found Mir Jumla's strenuous military campaigns unbearable, so, in June 1659, he deserted Mir Jumla to join Shujā'. He was soon disillusioned as to his uncle's prospects of success. He changed sides again and went back to Mir Jumla but was sent to Awrangzib.¹⁸³ Prince Muhammad was imprisoned in Gwalior fort. His succession to the Golkonda throne was now out of question. He died in 1672.

'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh's third son-in-law, Abu'l-Hasan, who had previously led the life of an ascetic in Shāh Rājū's *khānqāh*, was proclaimed his father-in-law's successor by the dominant courtier group. He was called Abu'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh. The husband of 'Abdu'llāh's second daughter, Mirzā Nizāmu'd-Dīn of Mecca, who was an enterprising

182 Nizāmu'd-Dīn, p. 130.

183 *Mā'āsir-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Calcutta 1870-73, p. 30.

character and had been his father-in-law's adviser, was imprisoned where he died in Safar 1085/May 1674.¹⁸⁴

Abu'l-Hasan made Sayyid Muzaffar Māzandarāni, who had helped him ascend the throne, his *mir jumla* but then angrily resisted his appointee's attempts to control his own freedom. He replaced him with Madanna, who had started his career as a *sharoff* and was now Muzaffar's personal secretary. Madanna appointed his brother Akanna, minister in-charge of the army. The regular payment of tribute to Awrangzib in order to save the kingdom from further catastrophe, was Abu'l-Hasan's main headache. Madanna streamlined the administration but his alliance with Shivāji to conquer the rest of Karnataka was disastrous. Nevertheless at his suggestion Shivāji was given a warm welcome in Hyderabad. Abu'l-Hasan promised to pay the campaign expenses and assist Shivāji with an auxiliary army. In return Shivāji agreed to surrender the areas of Karnataka, which had not previously been ruled by his father Shāhji, to Abu'l-Hasan. During 1677 and 1678 Shivāji conquered Jinji, Vellore and a considerable number of forts and consolidated the region into a well-protected Mahratta territory. He did not cede even one inch to Abu'l-Hasan. The Qutb-Shāhi kingdom lost both wealth and prestige. Furthermore Awrangzib would never approve of the Sultan's hobnobbing with the Mughal's deadly enemy, Shivāji.¹⁸⁵

In Zu'l-hijja 1094/November 1683, Awrangzib arrived in Ahmadnagar to destroy the Mahrattas and annex Bijapur and Golkonda to the Mughal empire. His first target was Bijapur, which he invaded in Rajab 1096/June 1685. Abu'l-Hasan wished to help his neighbour but the roads were blocked and he was warned to desist. Before Bijapur's fall in September 1686, the imperial army had seized Malkhed in Golkonda territory and was marching towards Hyderabad. The Sultan, followed by noblemen and merchants, fled to the Golkonda fort. The Mughal army under Prince Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam arrived near Hyderabad and the soldiers again plunged into an orgy of carnage and plunder. On 18 October 1685 the Mughal army made Hyderabad its centre for further operations. The terms for surrender were now being negotiated. The Deccani nobles considered Madanna responsible for the Mughal invasion and put him to death in March 1686. His brother, Akanna, was also killed.

After the fall of Bijapur, Awrangzib besieged Golkonda; arriving there in February 1687. Golkonda really consisted of four distinct forts enclosed within the same defence lines. The garrison heroically defended the forts for seven and a half months. Among the Mughals themselves, Prince Mu'azzam Shāh 'Ālam, the Shi'is in the imperial army and many Sunnis

184 *Qutb-Shāhi dynasty*, pp. 601-3.

185 *Ibid.*, pp. 625-30, 634-43.

opposed Awrangzib's destruction of Golkonda. Shaykhu'l-Islām, who had reluctantly accepted the post of Chief Qāzī under Awrangzib, gave a *fatwa* proclaiming the war against Bijapur and Golkonda unlawful. He was dismissed and exiled to Mecca. His successor Qāzī 'Abdu'llāh also urged the Emperor to spare Abu'l-Hasan's territories but Awrangzib refused to listen. Rain, pestilence and famine took a heavy toll of the Mughal army. At the end of June the imperialists exploded mines next to the Golkonda defences but they did little damage as the garrison had already emptied the gunpowder out of the Mughal tunnels. The greatest losses were suffered by the invading army. It was during the night of 24 Zu'lqā'da 1098/1 October 1687 that a treacherous Afghan commander of the garrison left the postern gate of the fort open. The Mughals, under their Shi'i commander Rūhu'llāh Khān, entered the fort. 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lāri (Mustafā Khān), a Golkonda commander, who had consistently rejected the bribes offered by the Mughals, saying "he would rather be ranked among the seventy-two faithful companions who perished with Imām Husayn at Karbalā than with the 22,000 traitors who overcame him", rushed to the gate of the Bala Hisar citadel to save Abu'l-Hasan. He fought fiercely against the Mughal invaders and fell half-dead. He was picked up and, on the Emperor's orders, nursed back to health. Rūhu'llāh Khān entered the Bala Hisar palace. The Sultan was ready to receive him and they exchanged greetings. Abu'l-Hasan ordered his servants to serve breakfast. The following conversation took place:

'Rūhu'llāh Khān : 'Your Majesty! Is this the time at which you should have your breakfast with any equanimity?'

The Sultan: 'But this is the hour at which I have my usual breakfast.'

Rūhu'llāh Khān: 'Your Majesty is right; but how is it possible for you to have any appetite at this critical juncture?'

The Sultan: 'You see, my reliance is on God who has always been good and kind to me. Both my parents spent their lives in comfort; but the Almighty so willed that I should live the life of a *faqir* for many years. Then He raised me to the throne without my least expectation. And now, due to my own sins and misdeeds, the reins of government have gone out of my grip. But I again thank the Almighty that the government of this land should pass on to a devout Muslim like 'Ālamgir.'"

The Nizām-Shāhī palace called Kala Mahal in Dawlatabad was ultimately assigned to Abu'l-Hasan as his residence and an annual pension of Rs. 50,000 was fixed for his living expenses. In 1111/1699-1700 he died from diarrhoea. His dead body was buried at Khuldabad near the

tomb of the grandfather of his religious guide, Shāh Rājū.¹⁸⁶

Mughal historians depict Abu'l-Hasan as a sensual monster. Modern histories also echo similar sentiments. These opinions seem to be gross exaggerations. Abu'l-Hasan was brought up at a spiritual centre and he remained deeply devoted to spiritual values throughout his life. He was a reckless spendthrift and paid no attention to the consequences of his extravagance. Throughout his reign he was forced to satisfy Awrangzib's demands for the payment of tribute. Even then the royal treasury contained 6,851,000 *huns*, 20,053,000 rupees and 151,300,000 *dāms*, besides gold and silver vessels and priceless jewellery and diamonds.¹⁸⁷ The wealth gained in plunder by the imperial soldiers was unimaginable. The wholesale destruction of the Qutb-Shāhī palaces, monuments and works of art was senseless and incredible. Despite his weaknesses, the Qutb-Shāhī subjects loved their Sultan deeply and did not hesitate to make sacrifices to maintain him on the throne.

No trace of the palaces built by Abu'l-Hasan survives, but the Miyān Mishk mosque built in 1085/1674 was spared. The Sultan's *farmāns* on black basalt tablets are spread over the mosque's interior. Not only are they important for their calligraphy but they spell out the Sultan's concern for the Muharram celebrations. They read:

“Copy of the *farmān* of Sultan Abu'l-Hasan Qutb Shāh ‘This *farmān*, obeyed by the world and as exalted as the sun, has received the honour of issuing from the auspicious court, filled with imperial dignity, to this effect that the present and future revenue officers, accountants, subordinate establishment and landholders of the *Kotwālkhāna* and police station of Musta'idpur, having been protected by Royal grace should know that the trusted servant of the imperial court, Malik Mishk, the Commander of the Carnatic troops, has been granted the honour of laying this request before those standing in the resplendent court that the income of the bazaar attached to the mosque of the above mentioned (Malik Mishk), besides the annual rent of 80 pure *huns*, as detailed in the *farmān* in front of the wall of the shop of Muhammadnagar and staff on both sides of the bazaar of the mosque of Babeg, perfume seller and Narva aforesaid, by royal munificence be graciously awarded and endowed for the expenses to be incurred in connection with the feeding of the poor, the religious ceremonies of the first ten days of Moharrum, and the maintenance of *Alāwa*¹⁸⁸ and *Ābdār Khāna*¹⁸⁹

186 Abū Turāb, *Hadīqatū'l-'ālam*, Hyderabad, 1310/1892-93, p. 401; *Qutb-Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 651-52.

187 *Hadīqatū'l-'ālam*, p. 408.

188 A place reserved in front of 'Āshūr-khāna to burn fire and incense during Muharram.

189 Place for distributing cold water during the Muharram.

and the carpets and lights of the above mosque as also for other expenses. Accordingly, the request of the aforesaid (Miyān Mishk) having been granted, we have awarded and endowed the eighty *huns* referred to above, in addition to that which may be collected from the rents of the bazaar, for the expenses to be incurred in feeding the poor, the religious ceremonies of the first ten days of Moharrum and the maintenance of *Alāwa* and the mosque. The august command remains in force that the endowment should be continued without any deviation from year to year and should not be affected by any change, and whoever disobeys the high order of the *farmān* or appropriates the endowment for such purposes as are not indicated therein, shall be overtaken by the wrath of God and the imprecation of the Prophet of God and the Imāms of the path of righteousness. Written on the 1st of Moharrum. Inscribed by Husain son of Taqī, in 1085 (A.H.) (1674 A.D.).”¹⁹⁰

Abu'l-Hasan patronised painters, poets, scholars and musicians. In 1092/1681 'Alī bin Tayfūr Bistāmi completed the *Hadā'iqū's-salātin*. The author was a disciple of Peshwā Muhammad ibn-i Khātūn 'Āmili. The work is divided into three *hadīqas* (gardens, here meaning sections). The first *hadīqa* deals with the pre-Islamic Iranian dynasties; the second *hadīqa* contains a short account of the ruling Muslim dynasties of Iran, Turkey and the Deccan. It quotes verses written by the kings, viziers and noblemen. The third *hadīqa* deals with eminent ministers, scholars and poets. The biographical notes on Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shāh's *mīr jumla* Mirzā Muhammad Amin Isfahāni, on Mir Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādi, on ibn-i Khātūn and on Nekkām Khān are very valuable.

Abu'l-Hasan patronised the *Dakhini* poets also. His own spiritual guide Shāh Rājū wrote poetry in *Dakhini* as well as *marsiyas*. Abu'l-Hasan is said to have written a *marsiya* too. Taba'i, who flourished during his reign, was an outstanding poet. In 1086/1675-76 he wrote his famous *masnawi*, *Bahrām wa Gul-andām*, which he revised during Abu'l-Hasan's reign. About half a dozen *marsiya* writers flourished at that time. A poet, whose *nom de plume* was *Sewak*, wrote the *Jangnāma-i Muhammad Hanif*, a legendary account of the wars of Imām 'Alī's son Muhammad al-Hanafīyya, against Yazid.¹⁹¹ The legendary *masnawis* strengthened the popular belief in the triumph of truth and justice.

The Qutb-Shāhī rule was marked by the close friendship between all sections of the population. The Shī'i faith and its religious ceremonies, particularly the Muharram celebrations, aroused and intensified the spirit of amity and friendship. The extinction of the Qutb-Shāhī dynasty

190 *Landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 79-81.

191 *Qutb-Shāhī dynasty*, pp. 608-13.

caused a serious setback to Shi'ism, nevertheless it survived.

The Āsaf Jāhi rulers of the Deccan were Sunnis but Nawwāb Nizām 'Alī Khān Āsaf Jāh II (1175-1218/1761-1803) was devoted to the Ahl-i Bayt. He restored the grants to some of the 'Āshūr-khānas and appointed one of his ministers, Nawāzish 'Alī Shaydā, the Controller of these grants. Nawāzish 'Alī was a staunch Shi'a and the author of a *masnawi* on the tragedy of Karbalā, entitled *Rawzatul-āsār*. Nawwāb Sikandarjāh Āsaf Jāh III, was married to a grand-daughter of his father's Shi'i minister Aristū Jāh. Āsaf Jāh III frequently attended the mourning assemblies organised by his wife. During the reign of Nāsiru'd-Dawla Āsaf Jāh IV (1244-1273/1829-1857), the mourning ceremonies of Muharram gained considerable impetus. Nāsiru'd-Dawla also took important steps to preserve the Qutb-Shāhī tombs and to renovate the Chārminār. The description of Muharram in the *Gulzār-i Āsafiyā* by Khwāja Ghulām Husayn Khān, completed in 1260/1844, shows that aspects of the Qutb-Shāhī religious patronage were revived. We shall be giving more details about these celebrations in the second volume.

Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī

Qāzī Sayyid Nūru'llāh al-Husayni al-Mar'ashī al-Shustarī, known in India as the *Shahīd-i Sālis*¹ (the third martyr) was the greatest Shī'ī scholar in India. His ancestors came from Āmul the capital of Tabaristān, or Māzandarān as it was known under the 'Abbāsids. At one time Āmul was a very prosperous town but at the close of the 8th/14th century it was ravaged by Tīmūr. It would seem that about that time also, one of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's ancestors, Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn Mahmūd Husayni Mar'ashī, by name, left Āmul on a pilgrimage to the Shī'ī holy shrine of Iraq. From there he moved to Shustar, called Tustar by the Arabs, in the Khuzistān province of Iran. Sayyid Amīr 'Azudu'l-Millat Hasanī, who was the *naqīb* (leader) of the Sayyids of that region was so deeply impressed with the character and learning of Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn that he married his only daughter to him. As she was Hasanī's only child, upon his death, Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn inherited his father-in-law's *iqṭā'* and villages. At that time the population of Shustar was Shāfi'ī Sunnī, but Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn sowed the seeds of Shī'ism there. After Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn's death, Shustar was plunged into administrative chaos and his successors faced many great problems.

Around 820/1417 Sultan 'Abdu'llāh bin Ibrāhīm Mirzā bin Shāhrukh bin Tīmūr ruled over Shīrāz and Shaykh Abu'l-Khayr, son of Shaykh Muhammad Jawzī, was governor of Shustar. The Sayyid's involvement in the civil war which raged in Shustar at that time brought about a reduction in their status. Sayyid Nūru'llāh, one of Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn's descendants and the grandfather of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, set off for India via Shīrāz, with his brother Mīr Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī. Sayyid Nūru'llāh, however, settled down in Shīrāz and studied under the eminent Scholars of Shīrāz. Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh, the founder of the Nūr Bakhshiyya

1 According to Muhammad bin Sulaymān bin Muhammad Rafī' bin 'Abdu'l-Muttalib bin 'Alī al-Tunkabunī, the author of the *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, Hājji Mullā Muhammad Taqī Burghānī who was assassinated by a Bābī in 1848 was the *Shahīd-i Sālis* or the third great martyr. *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, Tehran 1304/1896, p. 19 seq. First martyr, *Supra*, pp. 131-32, second martyr, *Supra*, pp. 135-36.

order trained him in mystic *zīkr*. He also made friends with Shaykh Shamsu'd-Dīn Lāhijī, the author of a commentary on the *Gulshan-i Rāz*. Sayyid Nūru'llāh's brother did not stay in Shīrāz with him, but continued his journey to India.

By the middle of the ninth century A.D. the political conditions in Khuzistān had improved and its ruler, Sultan Muhsin had restored peace to the region. Sayyid Nūru'llāh, therefore, left Shīrāz and returned to Shustar where he married the daughter of an eminent Sayyid Khwāja Husayn Shustari. Sultan Muhsin appointed Nūru'llāh his counsellor and bestowed considerable property and riches upon him. Sultan Muhsin's son, Sayyid 'Alī, urged him to accept the position of *sadr*, but he refused; he preferred to lead a pious life given to meditation and teaching. Although the Khuzistān rulers known as the Masha'sha' sultans were Sunnis, Sayyid Nūru'llāh openly preached Shi'ism and vigorously converted the local population to the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'i faith.

In 914/1508-9 Shāh Ismā'il Safawi seized Khuzistān and slaughtered the Sunni rulers of the region and their dependants. Sayyid Nūru'llāh was about ninety years old by this time and could not move out of his house to pay his respects to the Shāh. Some mischief-mongers in Shustar complained to Shāh Ismā'il's *sadr*, Qāzi Muhammad Kāshī, that Sayyid Nūru'llāh had been closely associated with the Masha'sha' sultans and that was the reason he had refused to pay homage to the Shāh. His illness was a mere pretext. The Qāzi, who was known for his wickedness, decided to destroy Sayyid Nūru'llāh. However, luckily for the Sayyid, Shāh Ismā'il had ordered that the people in Shustar should not close their doors at night-time while he went round the city accompanied by two or three high-ranking officers in order to make personal enquiries regarding the faith of its inhabitants. All those whom the Shāh questioned answered that they followed the faith of Sayyid Nūru'llāh, none said that he was a Shi'i. The Shāh's subsequent enquiries concerning the Sayyid brought home to him that the Sayyid was a very pious and learned man whose illness was genuine. Accordingly the Shāh ordered he be brought to him in a palanquin. When the Shāh learnt more of the Sayyid's efforts to spread the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'i faith, he was delighted and conferred an *iqta'* and rewards on him.

Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari, who is the main authority for the above account regarding his grandfather, does not throw any light on the Sayyid's technique for spreading the Shi'i faith. Probably under the Masha'sha' sultans, his hermitage was known as a branch of Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh's *khānqāh*. Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh's devotion to Ahl-i Bayt was made the starting point in the process of conversion to Shi'ism.

Sayyid Nūru'llāh was a mathematician, a medical scholar and an

expert in the religious sciences. According to Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī, his grandfather's books *Sharh Zīj-jadīd* and *Sad bāb asturlāb* were very famous. Both works deal with the problems of spherical astronomy, the measuring of altitudes and the casting of horoscopes. They were based on Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūst's works. Sayyid Nūru'llāh wrote a book on medicine dealing mainly with herbs and the methods of treatment suited to the Khuzistān climate. He also wrote a commentary on the following verse of the Qur'ān:

“And when We said unto the angels: Prostrate yourselves before Adam, they fell prostrate, all save Iblīs. He demurred through pride, and so became a disbeliever.”²

This commentary was compiled at the instigation of one of Khuzistān's most influential citizens.³

The sons of Sayyid Nūru'llāh and of his brother, Sayyid Zaynu'd-Dīn, who had also returned to Iran, attained senior positions both as scholars and in the Iranian government. Sayyid Zaynu'd-Dīn's son, Shamsu'd-Dīn Asadu'llāh al-Husaynī, was a well-known academic. He was a disciple of Shyakh 'Alī 'Abdu'l-'Alī who considered Shamsu'd-Dīn proficient both in the rational and traditional sciences. Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī had appointed him his *sadr*. He was the author of several important works, including a treatise, the *Kashfī'l-hayrat*, which discusses the Divine mysteries relating to the occultation of the twelfth Imām. His *Tarjama-i Nafahāt-i Lāhūt* is a mystical treatise. He wrote a study on the utilisation of conquered lands entitled the *Risāla dar tahqīq-i ārazi 'anfāl*. In another treatise he refuted the Sunni allegations that Prophet Muhammad was the father of Zaynab and Ruqayya.⁴

After the death of Shamsu'd-Dīn Asadu'llāh al-Husaynī, his son, Sayyid Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī was appointed his successor. After some years Sayyid Zaynu'd-Dīn resigned the position of *sadr* and became the custodian of Imām-i Rizā's tomb at Mashhad where he stayed until his death. Of his works, *'Amal al-Sunna* on Prophet Muhammad's traditions is the most important from the Shī'ī point of view.⁵

His wealthy brother Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb bin Sayyid Asadu'llāh made substantial contributions towards both the improvement of the ancestral property in Khuzistān and the acquisition of new land. Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb brought fallow lands into cultivation by digging canals

2 Qur'ān, II: 34.

3 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, pp. 223-25; 'Alā'u'l-Mulk Husaynī Shustarī Mar'āshī, *Firdaws*, Qum, n. d., pp. 17-21.

4 *Firdaws*, pp. 21-22.

5 *Firdaws*, p. 22.

and persuading peasants from other places to migrate to his land and farm it. He also built forts, villages and caravanserais and planted flourishing gardens. The Iranian rulers converted these gardens into *suyūrgḥāl* or a revenue-free subsistence grant for him. For a long time he worked as the governor of Dizful. He also wrote a treatise on the management of conquered land (*Risāla-i ārāzi-i 'anfāl*). Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb left an indelible mark on Shustar's intellectual life by founding a library there. It was after the conquest of Barda' in Āzarbayjān that Shāh 'Abbās Safawī gave Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb all the books he had plundered during these campaigns. When peace was restored to that region the Sayyid returned as many books as possible to their original owners. He kept only those whose owners could not be found. Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb transferred these volumes from Barda' to Shustar and, together with all the books which his family owned, amassed a collection comprising 12,000 volumes. He built a large library to house them and bequeathed it to the public, writing the trust-deed himself. It included a catalogue of the books and the conditions for their use. The book catalogue consisted of notes on the book titles and special features such as calligraphy, paper, date of copying and colour of binding. He paid from his own resources the cost of extending and maintaining the building, repairing the books and the salaries of the library custodians and staff. Like many other libraries in the East, after some time it was neglected and the books were sold and dispersed. Some even found their way to the Mecca book-sellers.⁶

Sayyid Nūru'llāh, the grandfather of Qāzī Nūru'llāh had two sons, one was Sayyid Sharīf al-Husaynī and the other was Sayyid Habību'llāh. Sayyid Sharīf al-Husaynī, the father of Sayyid Nūru'llāh, was a disciple of Shaykh Ibrāhīm bin Sulaymān Qatīfī, an eminent *mujtahid* in his own time, who had gone to the Deccan and then returned with a party of disciples. Qatīfī was so deeply impressed with Sayyid Sharīf's abilities that in the certificate he gave him he wrote that the benefits he gained from the Sayyid far outweighed the benefits he gave him. Sayyid Sharīf's works also cover different aspects of knowledge. The *Risāla Isbāt-i Wājib* discusses the philosophy of the Necessary Being. The *Sharh Khutba Shiqshiqiyya* is a commentary on the *Shiqshiqiyya* sermon of Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. He also wrote a treatise on the rules of religious polemics, and a book on polemics entitled *Gul wa nargis* (The Rose and the narcissus), possibly a symbolic presentation of religious debates. A collection of epistles (*Risāla-i munsh'āt*) was also compiled by him. The Sayyid was a poet and three quatrains composed by him are quoted by his grandson in his *Firdaws*. The third quatrain beautifully mirrors the Shi'ī philosophy of martyrdom.

6 *Firdaws*, pp. 22-23.

“If your wicked enemy sheds your blood,
Your blood makes you honourable (*surkh-rū*) on the Day of Judgement,
The heart bleeds that you were killed and like a candle,
None but your enemy was at your head.”⁷

Sayyid Sharif had four sons, Sayyid Nūru'llāh, Sayyid Ismā'il, Sayyid Qutbu'd-Dīn and Sayyid Wajihu'd-Dīn Muhsin. The youngest son Wajihu'd-Dīn Muhsin was killed in one of the Uzbek raids over Mashhad where he and his brother, Sayyid Nūru'llāh were studying under Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-Wāhid 'Alā'u'l-Mulk. The author of *Firdaws* does not mention the date of his death but the Uzbek depredations over Khurāsān had assumed serious proportions during the reign of Muhammad Khudā Banda (985-996/1578-1588). It would seem, therefore, that Wajihu'd-Dīn Muhsin was killed around 990/1582. This tragedy prompted Sayyid Nūru'llāh to move to India.

Sayyid Nūru'llāh was born in 956/1549 and was educated by his father in the traditional and rational sciences. He studied medicine under Hakīm Mawlānā 'Imādu'd-Dīn. Mīr Safu'd-Dīn Muhammad and Mīr Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Sadr of Shustar too were his teachers. In Rabi' II 979/August-September 1571 he left Shustar for Mashhad on a pilgrimage to Imām Rizā's tomb and also to obtain further education. On 1 Ramazān 979/17 January 1572, he arrived in Mashhad and plunged himself into studying and attaining spiritual perfection. His most famous teacher in Mashhad was 'Abdu'l-Wahīd, who had travelled widely and had been educated by well-known scholars in both Iraq and Iran. Shāh Tahmāsp had originally chosen 'Abdu'l-Wahīd to educate Prince Sultan Haydar Mīrzā. It was only after his persistent refusal that Mīr Muhammad Mu'min of the Deccan fame was appointed the Prince's tutor.⁸ In Mashhad, however, 'Abdu'l-Wahīd became very famous and advanced scholars such as Nūru'llāh Shustarī studied under him. Like other contemporary scholars, 'Abdu'l-Wahīd wrote glosses on books of higher learning relating to *hadīs*, *fiqh* and the principles of *fiqh*. He also produced a book on mathematics.

On 1 Shawwāl 992/6 October 1584, Nūru'llāh Shustarī moved from Mashhad to India, mainly because of “persistent catastrophes, tragedies and repeated upheavals” in Mashhad.⁹ Shāh 'Abbās had not yet ascended the throne and naturally the political uncertainty influenced his move to a more peaceful region. Nūru'llāh Shustarī did not choose the Deccan which his father's teacher Sulaymān had left and where Mīr Muhammad

7 *Firdaws*, pp. 23-24.

8 *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, II, p. 9.

9 *Firdaws*, p. 25.

Mu'min had already made his mark. He went direct to Akbar's court at Fathpur-Sikri where Fathu'llāh Shīrāzi, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath and his brothers enjoyed the Emperor's patronage. Nūru'llāh seems to have arrived in Fathpur-Sikri in mid 993/1585. Hakīm Abu'l-Fath Gilānī introduced him to Akbar. A year earlier Nūru'llāh had completed a book containing nine chapters about Imām 'Alī. He dedicated this book to the Emperor and called it *Jalāliyya* after Akbar's name, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad. Akbar took a deep interest in Nūru'llāh and his works but possibly no position was offered to him at court. After Nūru'llāh reached Fathpur-Sikri, Bayram Khān Bahārlū's son, Khān-i Khānān 'Abdu'r-Rahīm also arrived. Both their ancestors came from the same region. Moreover 'Abdu'r-Rahīm was an open-minded scholar who seems to have been impressed with Nūru'llāh. They soon became fast friends. In 995/1586-87 Nūru'llāh wrote a treatise entitled *al-'Asharāt al-kāmilāt al-Khān-i Khāniyya* discussing ten subtle points from various sciences in the Khān-i Khānān's name.

Nūru'llāh did not stay in Fathpur-Sikri for more than a couple of months for, on 30 July 1585, Akbar's half brother Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm died. Although previously the Mīrzā had spearheaded a rebellion in the Panjab to overthrow Akbar in 1580, he had been forgiven and made governor again. His death necessitated Akbar's presence in the Panjab. The Emperor needed to carve out a strong North-West Frontier to prevent the ambitious 'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek from proceeding beyond Hindū-kush and also to embark upon further conquests. On 22 August 1585 Akbar left Fathpur-Sikri for the Panjab, moving leisurely in order to give the rebellious leaders there, and in the Afghān tribal regions, time to peacefully surrender. At the end of December 1585, Akbar reached Hasan Abdāl. The Khaybar route was cleared. One army was sent to conquer Kashmir and another, under Zayn Khān Koka, set out against the Yūsufzais to conquer Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. Later Hakīm Abu'l-Fath was ordered to re-inforce Zayn Khān's troops. On 27 January 1586, Mīr Sharif Āmuli went as an *amin* (revenue officer) and *sadr* (head of religious affairs) to Kābul. Qāsim Beg Tabrizī was raised to the post of *mīr 'adl*. Akbar gave him the following guidelines for the performance of his duties:

“Always implore God, and seek to do His will, and unite recognition (of God) with prayer, and keep free from cupidity and cowardice, which cause the wise to waver, for many pure souls are turned from the recognition of the truth by the deceitfulness of the world, and the prosperity of oppressors. Nor should you in the administration of justice (*dāwari*) decide matters by witnesses and oaths, but should make inquiry with profound discrimination, and study of lines of the forehead. If difficult

questions be too hard for you, report them to me. Regard self-indulgence as wrong, and attend to duty, in season and out of season.”¹⁰

On 24 April 1586 Akbar crossed Jhelam on his return journey to Lahore reaching there on 27 May 1586. It would seem that Nūru'llāh Shustari and Hakim Abu'l-Fath also accompanied Akbar's cavalcade and returned to Lahore with them. Shaykh Mu'in, the *qāzi* of Lahore came to pay his respects to the Emperor. He was now old and feeble. Akbar took pity on him and ordered that he should be retired. He appointed Nūru'llāh Shustari in his place. Nūru'llāh was faced with an uphill task. His predecessor was not only a grandson of Mawlānā Mu'in Wā'iz, the author of *Ma'ārijū'n-Nubūwwa*¹¹, but was a very pious and kind-hearted man. Mullā Badā'ūni says:

“Shaykh Mu'in (of whom I am writing) was an angel in human form. He was employed for some time, under the *farmān* of the *Khalifa* of the age, as *Qāzi* of Lahore. They say that he never decided a case, and that if a plaintiff pressed for the decision of his suit he would with much insistence and lamentation and with protestations of his own incompetence, say, 'For God's sake compromise the matter between you, so that I may avoid responsibility, and have no cause for repentance or shame.' He would also say, 'You both know all about the case, it is my misfortune that I, who know nothing of it, am left alone to decide between two who knew all about it. Do not, then, give me cause to be ashamed before the court of God, the Most High!' If a woman prayed for a separation from her husband on the ground of his absence from her he would provide her with means of livelihood to the extent of his ability, and would say, 'Take this much for your subsistence and await your husband's return; do not separate from him.'

“He devoted his subsistence allowance, over which he had exclusive rights, to the pay of scribes, whom he used to employ to copy valuable books, and he used to collate the copies and have them bound, and would then present them to students. This was his principal occupation and employment throughout his life, and he must have distributed thousands of such volumes to the people.”¹²

According to later Shi'i sources, before taking up his position as the *Qāzi-u'l-Quzāt*, Nūru'llāh had told Akbar that he possessed the ability to evaluate and examine problems at their very source. Consequently he would not

10 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 477; *Bev.* III, pp. 718-19.

11 A standard work on Prophet Muhammad's biography.

12 *Muntakhabū't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 96; Haig, p. 147.

adhere to one single school of *fiqh*. Nevertheless, in his own judgement (*ijtihād*), he would not go beyond the limits of Sunni *fiqh* and would deliver judgement on the basis of one of their schools, i. e. Shāfi'i, Hanafi, Hanbali or Mālik.¹³ Qāzi Nūru'llāh did not perform *taqiyya* but like Fathu'llāh Shīrāzi and Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, was a practising Shī'i. His knowledge of Sunni *fiqh* and *hadis* was, however, unrivalled, and Akbar appointed him because of his abilities and competence, despite his Shī'i faith. The Emperor believed that Qāzi Nūru'llāh would make an ideal judge and would ameliorate the condition of the people within the framework of the four schools of Sunni *fiqh*. The limitations of the Hanafi law had already been brought home to Akbar by Mullā Badā'ūni when he suggested that "should at any time a *qāzi* of the Māliki sect decide that *mut'a* marriage is legal then it must be regarded as legal, even for Shāfi'is and Hanafis." In the guidelines Akbar gave to Qāsim Beg Tabrizi he had already suggested to ignore in the public interest the existing law of evidence. He could not, however, change them. On the basis of his vast knowledge of the four schools of *fiqh* and their mutual conflicts and contradictions, Qāzi Nūru'llāh was able to choose the rulings which were in the best interest of the people and were also compatible with the Ja'fariyya *fiqh* of the Isnā 'Asharis. The Qāzi's judgements indirectly impressed the Sunni '*ulamā'* with the superiority of the Ja'fariyya *fiqh*.

Badā'ūni, who was a bigoted Sunni and a relentless enemy of Akbar's policies, did not consider the appointment of a Shī'i as *qāzi* sacrilegious. He pays glowing tributes to Qāzi Nūru'llāh's success as a judge. He says:

"In truth he has reduced the insolent *muftis* and the crafty and subtle *muh'tasibs* of Lahore, who venture to give lessons to the teacher of the angels, to order, and has closed to them the avenues of bribery, and restrained them within due bounds as closely as a nut is enclosed in its shell, and to such a degree that stricter discipline could not be imagined."

Commenting on Qāzi Nūru'llāh's scholarship and piety Badā'ūni says:

"Although he is by religion a Shī'a he is distinguished for his impartiality, justice, virtue, modesty, piety, continence, and such qualities as are possessed by noble men, and is well known for his learning, clemency, quickness of understanding, singleness of heart, clearness of perception, and acumen. He is the author of several able works, and he has written a monograph on the "undotted commentary"¹⁴ of Shaykh Fayzi which is beyond all praise. He also possesses the poetic faculty and writes impressive poetry."¹⁵

13 Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī, *Nujūmū's-samā'*, Lucknow 1303/1886 p. 15.

14 The *Sawāti'u'l-Ilhām* was completed by Fayzi in 1002/1595.

15 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, p. 137; Haig, pp. 193-94.

Akbar appointed Qāzī Nūru'llāh as the Commissioner to inquire into very complex disputes. The Qāzī acquitted himself successfully despite the intricacy of the problems. At the end of 1586, Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal empire. The Mughal revenue settlement process was introduced but mismanagement and embezzlement obstructed Akbar's reforms. In July 1591, Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī and Qāzī 'Alī were appointed to make enquiries and file a report on the situation. By the end of July 1592, Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī had returned and reported that the revenue administration in Srinagar had sparked off discontent and rebellion in the region. Prompt action was taken against the rebel leaders but Qāzī 'Alī, who had stayed in Kashmir, was killed.¹⁶ In Srinagar many Kashmirī Shī'is, such as Mullā Muhammad Amīn, became Qāzī Nūru'llāh's friends and helped to popularise his works there.

Dimensions of the Shī'ī Awakening

Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī's works ushered in a new era of Shī'ī awakening. Before coming to India he had already written a considerable number of books but the works he produced there helped the Shī'is assert their distinctive role in Islam. Of his writings the *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib* and the *Sawārim al-muhriqa* in Arabic and the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin* in Persian were the pioneering works. He wrote the *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib* to counter the influence of *al-Nawāqiz fi'l radd 'alā' al rawāfiz* by Mirzā Makhdūm Sharifī entitled Mu'īnu'd-Dīn bin Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Mir Sayyid Sharif Husaynī. The Mirzā, who had been appointed prime minister by Shāh Ismā'il Safawī II in 985/1577-78, later converted the Shāh to staunch Sunni beliefs. After his master's fall, the Mirzā fled to the Turkish territories. For a time he was a *qāzi* of Baghdād and taught in famous seminaries there. Later he went to Constantinople and acted as *Qāzi* there too. He then moved to Mecca where he died in 995/1587. He wrote the *al-Nawāqiz* in 987/1579-80 in Baghdād and dedicated it to the Ottoman Sultan, Murād III (982-1003/1574-1595). In the *muqaddima* (preface), the three *fasls* (chapters), the *khātima* (conclusion) and the supplementary sections, he relentlessly condemned the Shī'ī faith. Copies of his work reached India and naturally aroused a considerable furore. The orthodox Sunni noblemen and scholars who acquired these books plunged into hating the Indian Shī'ī communities with renewed vigour. Nūru'llāh Shustarī, who had arrived in India only two years earlier, wrote a rejoinder to Makhdūm Sharifī's works. It took him seventeen days to write and he completed it on Rajab 995/June 1587. So impatient was Abu'l-Fazl's father, Shaykh Mubārak Nāgorī, who had read all of Makhdūm Sharifī's books including the *Nawāqiz*, to see this rejoinder that he could not wait for the

16 *Akbar-nāma*, III, p. 713.

preparation of a fair copy of the draft. Each day he collected Qāzi Nūru'llāh's written draft and handed it over to his scribe to copy.¹⁷ It would seem that even when the Qāzi visited Kashmir, a fair copy of the book in its final form had not been made. Mullā Muhammad Amīn, an eminent Shī'i, asked the Qāzi to give him a copy but Qāzi Nūru'llāh told him that the final version was not yet available. Sunni-Shī'i polemics were at their height in Kashmir and Mullā Muhammad Amīn desperately needed the *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib*. After Qāzi Nūru'llāh's return to Lahore, the Mullā repeatedly wrote urging him to forward a copy to him. Qāzi Nūru'llāh reiterated that the final version was still not ready. In a desperate letter Mullā Amīn wrote that Mullā Ahmad Beg Kābulī an influential dignitary of Kashmir, had started very important polemical discussions there. Consequently if the Qāzi did not immediately send him his own manuscript of the rejoinder to the *Nawāqiz*, he would complain about him on Judgement Day to his great grand ancestor, Imām 'Alī. By that time a fair copy of the final version of the book was available and the Qāzi was able to comply with his demands.¹⁸ It would seem that the principal weapon in the Sunni Mullā's armoury against the Shī'is was the *Nawāqiz* and the Qāzi's *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib* was essential for Mullā Amīn to effectively assert the Shī'i point of view.

Qāzi Nūru'llāh's *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib* was the first Shī'i rejoinder written in India to the Sunni indictment of the Shī'is. Earlier, Makhdūmu'l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūrī, had written *Minhāj al-Dīn wa Mi'rāju'l-Muslimīn* which also condemned Shī'i beliefs. Copies of ibn Hajar al-Haysami's *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa fi'l radd'alā' al-rafz wa'l-zandaqa* had also been received in India. The Sunni-Shī'i polemics were, therefore, not initiated by Qāzi Nūru'llāh. His works were purely defensive and helped the Shī'is to remain steadfast in their faith.

Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī seems to have commenced writing the *Majālis-u'l-mu'minīn* in 990/1582 but the work was taken up in earnest in Rajab 998/April 1589 and completed on 23 Zu'lqā'da 1010/14 April 1602.¹⁹ It is divided into a *fātiha* (preface) and twelve *majālis* (literally assemblies, here meaning chapters). They were organised as follows:

- Fātiha* Definition of Isnā 'Asharī or Imāmiyya Shī'ism.
Majlis I Places specially associated with the Shī'is.
Majlis II Shī'i tribes and families.

17 Qāzi Nūru'llāh's letter to Mir Yūsuf Akbarābādī. Their correspondence was compiled into a book, its manuscript copies are available in the Āsafiyya Library (Archives) and Sir Sālār Jang Museum, Hyderabad. Important letters have been reproduced in the introduction of *al-Sawārim al-muhriqa* by Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī. The introduction was written by Jalālu'd-Dīn Husaynī, Tehran, n.d., pp. f, fa.

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 'az, 'ah.

19 *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, p. 4.

- Majlis* III Definition of the term *Sahāba* (companions of the Prophet Muhammad), biographical notes on eminent members of the Banī Hāshim and eminent members of Prophet Muhammad's *Sahāba* who were Imām 'Alī's Shi'as (partisans).
- Majlis* IV *Tābān* (personalities belonging to the second generation) who were Shi'as.
- Majlis* V *Taba' Tābi'in* (members of the generation succeeding the *tābi'in*) who were expert in *kalām*, Qur'ānic exegesis and *hadīs*; the leading *faqīhs* and *mujtahids*; and the Qur'ān reciters, grammarians and lexicographers.
- Majlis* VI *Sūfis*.
- Majlis* VII Shi'i *Hukamā'* (philosophers).
- Majlis* VIII Shi'i kings.
- Majlis* IX Eminent noblemen and commanders.
- Majlis* X Ministers and calligraphists.
- Majlis* XI Arab poets.
- Majlis* XII Persian poets.

According to the Qāzi the book was designed to discuss all those Shi'is who considered Imām 'Alī as the Prophet Muhammad's rightful immediate successor. It was not, therefore, confined to giving an account only of those Shi'is who believed in the twelve Imāms. Defining Shi'ism, the Qāzi wrote that the *shari'a* introduced by the Prophet Muhammad had abrogated the rules of earlier faiths. Those who held this belief were known as Muslims. The Muslims were then divided into two groups on the basis of their method for acquiring knowledge of the present world and the hereafter, the *sine qua non* of human perfection. Those who used their intelligence and analysed facts were known as *mutakallims* (scholars of *kalām* or scholastic theology). They were also known as '*ulamā'* and *hukamā'*. Those who attained this knowledge through ascetic exercises and inner purification, were known as *sūfis*. The Muslims were divided into Shi'i Isnā 'Ashari and Sunnis. The Sunnis were sub-divided into Ash'aris and Māturidis. A particular group of Sunni *Mutakallimīn* was known as Mu'tazila. The rest were Shi'is who, although previously divided into several groups, now formed one sect. The Shi'is believe that after Prophet Muhammad's death, his rightful successor (*khalīfa*) was Imām 'Alī, while the Sunnis recognise Abū Bakr as the Prophet Muhammad's first successor. The Isnā 'Asharis believe in the validity of the twelve Imāms. The Qāzi reiterates that 'Umar's opposition to the presentation of paper and pen at the Prophet Muhammad's death-bed was the beginning of splintering of Muslims into sects.

The Qāzi considered that a large number of eminent *sūfis* were actually Shi'as. He stated that next to the Prophets and the Imāms, it was the existence of pure-hearted *sūfis* that had prompted God to create the world

and the human race. According to the Divine orders the *sūfis* received inspiration from the angelic realm and were elevated from the common earthly human state to the Divinely approved one of the angels. They were also known as 'urafā' (gnostics, plural of 'arīf) and *hukamā'* (plural of *hakim*). In fact there was no difference between an 'arīf and *hakim*, as can be gleaned from the conclusion reached by the great 'arīf Shaykh Abū Sa'id bin Abi'l-Khayr (357-440/967-1048) and the philosopher Shaykh Abū 'Alī Sinā (370-428/980-1037) after prolonged discussions over several days. Shaykh Abū Sa'id bin Abi'l Khayr said, "What he (Abū 'Alī Sinā) knows I behold." Ibn Sinā said, "What he (Abū Sa'id bin Abi'l Khayr) beholds, I know."²⁰

These statements, the Qāzi claims, indicate that the differences were confined mainly to the method adopted to achieve Divine knowledge. The Qāzi goes on to say that the great scholar Haydar bin 'Alī Āmulī, the author of the *Jāmi' al-anwār*, divides the Imāmiya Shī'is into two groups. The first common group was known as *mu'min* (believer), the second was called "devoted *mu'min*", or Shī'i or *sūfi*. According to Haydar Āmulī, the Shī'is and *sūfis* were identical as they referred to the same group. Both were custodians of the Prophet's exoteric and esoteric *shari'a*. When it was objected that the *sūfis* could not be called Shī'is as *sūfis* adhered to the external and internal rules of Sunni-ism, Haydar Āmulī replied that, like the Shī'is, the *sūfis* were also divided into innumerable groups. The real *sūfis* were, however, the guardians of the secrets of Prophet Muhammad and the holy Imāms and were not different therefore from the Isnā 'Ashari Shī'is. Commenting on Haydar Āmulī's statement, the Qāzi remarked that according to him the Naqshbandiyya *sūfis*, founded by Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389) were the only bigoted Sunnis in that group. Consequently they had made Abū Bakr the founder of their order in order to deceive the Sunnis and out of self-interest. Moreover, Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh and Mir Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni had proved, the Qāzi continues, that all the *sūfi* orders originated from Imām 'Alī. Furthermore, the eminent *sūfis* themselves had formulated the doctrine that "*sūfis* did not adhere to a specific school of jurisprudence". They also claimed that they followed the most comprehensive school of jurisprudence. These statements confirmed that they did not wish to bind themselves to one of the schools of Sunni law. According to the eminent *sūfis*, those who declared their faith should be censored and taken to task. Since they could not openly declare themselves Shī'is, they practised *taqiyya*. Their claim to follow the most comprehensive school of jurisprudence also indicated that they were Shī'is, for Shī'ism alone offered the most comprehensive school of jurisprudence. Qāzi Nūru'llāh believed

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 255-58.

that the classical Shi'i leaders were not unanimous in condemning Hasan Basri as a fake *sūfi*. In fact some of them, such as Razi'u'd-Din 'Alī bin Tā'us respected him highly. The Qāzi himself, did not, however, attach much importance to him. He placed Kumayl ibn Ziyād al-Nakha'i an eminent devotee of Imām 'Alī, at the top of the list of *sūfi* masters. The Qāzi says that Kumayl was the perfect monotheist and the custodian of 'Alī ibn 'Abī Tālib's spiritual secrets. When Imām 'Alī wished to express a higher spiritual truth or mystery, he related it to Kumayl.²¹

The Qāzi's biographical notes of the early *sūfis* underline their relations with Ahl-i Bayt or their devotees. According to him, Bahlūl bin 'Amr, who was frequently found in an ecstatic state, was a great devotee of the sixth Imām, Ja'far as-Sādiq (d. 148/765). He continually defended the Imām in his polemical discussions with Abū Hanīfa (d. 150/767), the founder of the Hanafiyya school of jurisprudence. For instance, once Bahlūl heard Abū Hanīfa telling his disciples that he did not approve of three of Imām Ja'far's statements. Firstly, the Imām's statement that Satan would be punished with fire was not correct. Secondly, Imām Ja'far's statement that God could not be sighted was unacceptable to him. Thirdly, he did not agree that all adults were responsible for their actions. Abū Hanīfa submitted the following reasons: Firstly, Satan was born from fire so how could he be punished with it? Secondly, everything that existed could be seen so God was visible. Thirdly, the *shari'a* injunctions ran counter to adult responsibility for their actions. Abū Hanīfa's criticisms annoyed Bahlūl. He picked up an unburnt brick and hit him on the forehead. Abū Hanīfa's disciples captured him and took him to the caliph. Abū Hanīfa lodged a complaint. Bahlūl first asked Abū Hanīfa to show him the pain. Abū Hanīfa questioned how pain could be seen? Bahlūl responded by making three points. Why had Abū Hanīfa then criticised Imām Ja'far for stating that God Who was omni-present could not be seen. Secondly, how could the unburnt brick have hurt him when he (Abū Hanīfa) was also made of clay? Did not Abū Hanīfa assert that as Satan was made of fire he could not be punished with fire? Thirdly, if adults were not responsible for their deeds why had he (Bahlūl) been taken to the caliph? Abū Hanīfa could find no answers and left the court.²² This story is ascribed to many later *sūfis* but seems to have originated from Bahlūl.

The Qāzi comments that the eminent *sūfi* Bishr bin al-Hāris (d. 227/841), abandoned his former dissipated life-style under the influence of the seventh Imām, Mūsa al-Kāzim.²³ He, however, disputes the belief

21 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 260-62.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 260; *Supra*, pp. 59-61.

that Abū Yazid was Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq's disciple. He says that as Abū Yazid died in 261/874 and the Imām in 148/765 the story could not be historically correct. He suggests that Abū Yazid must have sat at the feet of the eighth Imām, 'Alī al-Rizā' (d. 203/818), the grandson of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. Later copyists only transcribed the last name. It was also possible that his devotion to the Ja'fariyya school of law had prompted subsequent scholars to call him Imām Ja'far's disciple.²⁴

The Qāzī's biographical notes on Shaqīq Balakhī (d. 194/810), Ibrāhīm bin Adham (d. about 161/777-778), Shaykh Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815-16) and his pupil Sari al-Saqti show that they also directly benefited from the teachings of Imām 'Alī's successors. Using the devotion shown to the Ahl-i Bayt by *sūfis* in later generations as a criterion, the following *sūfis* are also treated as Shi'is by the Qāzī: Junayd Baghdādi (d. 298/910), the nephew of Sari al-Saqti, Shibli, the disciple of Junayd Baghdādi, Sahl bin 'Abdu'llāh al-Tustarī, Husayn bin Mansūr al-Hallāj (d. 309/922), Shaykh Ahmad-i Jām Zanda Pīl (536/1141), Shaykh Safīu'd-Dīn Ishāq al-Ardabili (d. 735/1334), his successor Shaykh Sadru'd-Dīn, Qāsim-i Anwār (d. 837/1433-34), Qutbu'd-Dīn Haydar al-Tūnī, Haydar bin 'Alī al-Āmuli, al-Sayyid Murtazā (d. 632/1234-35), Shaykh 'Amīr bin 'Amīr al-Basrī, Shaykh Muhyi'u'd-Dīn ibn al-'Arabi (d. 638/1240), Sadru'd-Dīn Qūnawī (d. 672/1273), 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Kāshī (d. 730/1329), Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234-35), Shaykh Najmu'd-Dīn Kubra (d. 618/1221), Sa'du'd-Dīn Hamawī (d. 620/1223), Majdu'd-Dīn Sanā'i Ghaznawī (d. 525/1130-31), Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār (d. 617/1220), Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), Shaykh Muslihu'd-Dīn Sa'dī Shirāzi (d. 691/1292), Hāfiz Shirāzi (d. 792/1390), Shaykh Awhadu'd-Dīn Kirmānī (d. 692/1292), Shaykh Nūru'd-Dīn Āzari (866/1461-62), Raziu'd-Dīn Lāla (d. 669/1270-71), Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnāni (d. 736/1336), Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni (d. 786/1385), Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh (d. 889/1484), his son Sayyid Qāsim Fayz Bakhsh (d. 981/1573-74), Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad Khuttalāni Nūr Bakhshī, Hājjī Muhammad al-Junūshāni, a successor to Mīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadāni, al-Junūshāni's disciple Shaykh Fazlu'llāh al-Mashhadī, Shaykh Husayn al-Khwārazmī.²⁵

The *hukamā'* whose biographical notes the Qāzī gave in his seventh *majlis* are as follows:

Fārābi (d. 339/950), ibn Sinā (d. 428/1037), Abū 'Alī Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), al-Mahārib al-Qummi Ghazālī Tūsi (d. 505/1111), Khwāja Nasiru'd-Dīn Tūsi (d. 672/1274), Mufīdu'd-Dīn Misam al-

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 263-64.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 266-329.

Bahrānī, Qutbu'd-Dīn Rāzī, Shamsu'd-Dīn Muhammad Āmulī, 'Alī al-Qāshī, 'Alī al-Jūzjānī, Sharīf Jūzjānī, Amīr Sadru'd-Dīn Muhammad, Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī and Shāh Tāhir.²⁶

The Qāzī says that *sūfis*, *hakīms* and other intellectuals mentioned by him performed *taqiyya* because of the atrocities perpetrated by the Sunnī rulers against the Shi'is during their reign. These rulers allowed infidels, who did not even believe in the prophethood of Muhammad, to live peacefully but, if they found a Shi'i saying that 'Alī was Allāh's *walī* (friend), he was condemned as a Rāfizi and was either killed or burnt alive.²⁷ The Qāzī, however, was inundated with questions as to how *sūfis* such as Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Attār could be considered Shi'i when in his books, the Shaykh wrote verses praising Prophet Muhammad's first three successors. The Qāzī replied that they did so because they feared Sunnī persecution. In those cases where an author or poet both praised and condemned the Prophet's first three successors, logically he would be deemed a Shi'i for he condemned them as Shi'i and praised them by way of *taqiyya*. The Sunnis, who basked in the sunshine of their monarch's protection, invariably praised the first three caliphs freely. They had no need to revile them. It was only the Shi'is who condemned them. Sometimes the wise Shi'is ridiculed the first three caliphs in such enigmatic language that the Sunnis thought they were praising them. For example, 'Attār's verses in the *Mantiqut-Tayr*, describing Abū Bakr's distress in the cave where he and the Prophet Muhammad had taken shelter during their *hijra* (emigration) from Mecca to Medina, are regarded as praise by the Sunnis and blame by the Shi'is.²⁸

Nevertheless, Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī did not endorse *sūfism* without qualification. His devotion to the group emanated from the love and respect the eminent *sūfis* showed for Ahl-i Bayt. On the other hand, he bitterly criticised the *sūfi* impostors and charlatans who were far from the true spirit of "reality" and "truth" and used *sūfism* to promote their mundane interests. The Qāzī, therefore, strongly condemned those *sūfis* who performed miracles and foretold future events after obtaining training in geomancy, astrology and the art of prognostication. According to him no real miracle could be performed by those *sūfis* who were not devoted to Imām 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib and his heirs. He claimed that miracles by people wearing *sūfi* robes should be considered as black magic. The later Shi'i books such as *ar-Risāla al-Isnā 'Ashariyya fi'l-radd 'alā'l-sūfiyya* by Muhammad bin Hasan al-Hurr al-Āmulī (d. 1099/1688) are

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 329-53.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 282.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 298-99.

also designed mainly to castigate fake *sūfi* ideas and practices. In this category he includes, ideas of God's infusion in a creature, showing miracles, the renunciation of obligatory religious duties and warring against the Shi'is. These condemnations are not irreconcilable with Qāzi Nūru'llāh's respect for the leading *sūfis*.²⁹

The Qāzi was also called upon to explain how the writings of Ghazālī and similar Sunnis, whom he in fact called Shi'is, could be used against the Sunnis in polemical discussions. He replied that the books which Ghazālī and other Shi'i authors compiled either before their conversion to Shi'ism or subsequently under *taqiyya*, were designed to assert Sunni tenets and beliefs. These books neither presented Shi'i beliefs nor criticised Sunni beliefs. Consequently, they were now, and would in the future, be used by the Shi'is to refute the Sunni viewpoint.³⁰

The nineteenth and twentieth century Shi'i scholars gloss over the Qāzi's admiration for *sūfis* and their beliefs. Some Shi'i scholars call him *Shi'a tarāsh* (the manufacturer of Shi'as) but the Qāzi had carved out a new line for Shi'i survival in India. He pleaded that the Qur'ān and the Prophet Muhammad had permitted *taqiyya* but it was meant to be practised only in exceptional circumstances. He contended that in Akbar's India *taqiyya* was not imperative. Nevertheless, although the Shi'is should not hesitate to assert their separate identity, they should also be friendly with all the devotees of Ahl-i Bayt and consider them as Shi'as. To him this was the best way of living peacefully amongst the Sunni devotees of Ahl-i Bayt. In a letter in Arabic to the great Irāni 'ālim, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Ā'mili, he wrote:

“After traversing long distances and undergoing considerable pains and agony, I reached the Indian capital. There luck favoured me and I obtained an opportunity to benefit from the luminous sun (Akbar) and found repose under the shadow of the great Sultan, Akbar. My eyes were filled with tears of joy and I composed the following verses:

‘Allāh is Great ! In the dawn of farewell (from the motherland),
 what lightning has flashed through the mountain valley,
 Whose light has enveloped me. I now realise that the darkness of
 the night has not extended its arms, sun is shining and it is daylight.’

Divine assistance bestowed on me great success. Through Divine grace and blessings I obtained a very high position and the honour of the (Emperor's) companionship. The cheering gale of my success blows faster

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 258-59.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 337.

each day. The Emperor's patronage and favours increase daily. In fact my success is due to Divine munificence and the benevolence of the Prophet and that of Allāh's *Walī* (friend), 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib. The high position and nearness to the Emperor did not, however, make me forgetful of myself. I was always conscious of the hereafter and of the ultimate and of mortal beings. In refuting the arguments and reasoning of the Nāsibīs, I was guided by the holy traditions of my ancestors. In these circumstances I came to the conclusion that in India, *taqiyya* was a great calamity. It would expel our children from the Imāmiyya faith and make them embrace the false Ash'ari or Māturidī faiths. Reinforced by the kindness and bounty of the Sultan, I threw away the scarf of *taqiyya* from my shoulders and, taking with me an army of arguments, I plunged myself into *jihād* (a holy war) against the (Sunni) 'ulamā' of this country. I was convinced that active religious polemics and discussions against the Sunni 'ulamā' was the *jihād* which would make the best provision for the world hereafter. First of all I wrote the *Masā'ibū'n-Nawāsib* which refutes the *Nawāqiz al-Rawāfiz*. My arguments in that book smeared the beard of the author of the *Nawāqiz* with filth. Then I wrote *al-Sawārim al-muhriqa*. Because of my book the bitter attacks by the author of the *Sawā'iq* on the Shī'is rebounded upon him and reduced the *Sawā'iq*, which claimed to be lightning, to ashes. God also gave me the strength to perform other deeds."³¹

Qāzī Nūru'llāh's decision to abandon *taqiyya* and to write polemical works upset some Indian Shī'is. One of them Mīr Yūsuf 'Alī 'Astarābādī Akhbārī wrote to him as follows:

"In my own writings I always take care that they should neither harm me nor those who read my writings. Your (the Qāzī's) writings are harmful to yourself and to those who read them. Obviously you have abandoned *taqiyya* in an alien country in violation of an imperative Shī'i injunction. Perhaps you know that 'Uyūn Akhbār al-Rizā' (by Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Alī ibn Bābuwayh al-Qummi) says that when someone asked Imām Rizā' if the Prophet had performed *taqiyya*, he replied that after the following verse was revealed he abandoned it:

"O Messenger ! Make known that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord, for if thou do it not, thou will not have conveyed His message. Allāh will protect thee from mankind. Lo ! Allāh guideth not the disbelieving folk."³²

31 Nawwāb 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh son of Nawwāb Lutfu'llāh Khān Sādiq, *Bayāz*, Habīb Ganj Collections, Aligarh Muslim University, ff. 95a-96a.

32 Qur'ān, V, 67.

“This shows that before the above revelation came he performed *taqiyya*. Accordingly, someone who forsakes *taqiyya* violates the Prophet Muhammad’s mandates. Your writings have already caused great harm to a Kashmiri Shi’a to whom you sent the work the *Masā’ibu’-n-Nawāsib*.³³ When Ahmad Beg, learned of this book he became the enemy of the man who had borrowed it. He would have done him great harm had not some other people intervened and taken a false oath to save him. Consequently only such works should be written as are acceptable to both friends and enemies and there would then be no fear of persecution from any source. Have you forgotten the end of Mullā Ahmad of Thatta?³⁴ Don’t you know what price he had to pay for his open Shi’i beliefs? The writing of polemical works is a useless exercise. Since the Shi’is are aware of the truth and there is no way of convincing our enemies, it was not advisable to write a rejoinder to Makhdūmzāda Sharifi’s writings. Moreover all writings should be original, for these are universally appreciated. There is no use in writing histories and books on traditions for they have already repeatedly reached people’s ears.”³⁵

The Qāzi wrote in reply:

“I have deliberately not mentioned my own name in my polemical writings for they have been written to please Allāh. I do not tell our enemies that I am the author of those books but give them to understand that they were written by Īrāqī and Īrānī scholars. Consequently I don’t know how they can harm me. All sincere Shi’is are busy transcribing polemical literature. How can my writings therefore be singled out for persecution? Before my arrival in this city, Mullā Maqsūd ‘Alī Tabrīzī³⁶ obtained a copy of the *Kitāb Anwār*, written in refutation to some Sunnī authors, which he read before Mullā Ghiyās ‘Alī Badakhshī and others. My book is not even as fierce as the *La’niyya* by Shaykh ‘Alī. Nevertheless it is essential for you to give counsel to Tabrīzī. Perhaps it is better for you to search the Shi’i houses in Agra and take away any books on the Shi’i faith and burn them. While you were in Khurāsān, Mir (Hakim) Abu’l-Fath³⁷ wrote a commentary on the *Bāb Hādī ‘Ashr* and sent a copy to the late Shaykh Zaynu’d-Dīn of Syria.

33 *Supra*, p. 351.

34 *Supra*, p. 333.

35 Introduction to the *Sawārim*, ff. ‘aj, ‘ah., Andhra Pradesh Archives.

36 *Ibid.*

37 *Supra*, pp. 215-216, 218-219.

When the Ottoman Turks discovered this book in the Shaykh's library they killed him. Out of sympathy for the Shaykh, therefore, you should ask Abu'l-Fath not to write such books. You should have told Shaykh Zaynu'd-Din that he risked his life by having such a book in his library.

"You are incorrect in your belief that *taqiyya* is imperative without qualification and that the Imāmiyya 'ulamā' should not have written polemical works. I believe that, as there is a just ruler in India, there is no justification for performing *taqiyya*. In any case it is not imperative for men like me who believe that death glorifies the faith of the martyr. The *shari'a* has indeed forbidden such persons to perform *taqiyya*. Only those who are not steadfast in their faith and do not care to strengthen it, should have recourse to it."³⁸

Referring to the story of the persecution of the Kashmiri Shi'i at the hands of Ahmad Beg, the Qāzī wrote that the Shi'i in question was Mullā Muhammad Amin. The Mullā was an eminent mystic in Kashmir where he was highly respected by the local people. He was also known for his loyalty to the Emperor. It was impossible for Ahmad Beg to persecute Mullā Muhammad Amin, for, the Mullā's disciples, Hamza Beg and Muhammad Sultān Qizilbāsh, both held high positions in Kashmir. Ahmad Beg was simply a novice in religious polemics as was the case with his associates, Mullā Muhammad Lāhawri and Minhāj Bukhāri. They knew that Mullā Muhammad Amin was a Shi'i as the Kashmiri Shi'as did not perform *taqiyya*. Consequently they often discussed the *imāma* with him. During his (the Qāzī's) visit to Kashmir, Mullā Muhammad Amin had become his friend, so he had sent *Masā'ibū'n-Nawāsib* to him.

Criticising Mir Yūsuf's contention that all books should be acceptable to both friends and foes, the Qāzī wrote that this view did not make sense for most Shi'i works were unacceptable to the Sunnis and vice versa. Books on the *imāma* were particularly controversial. Consequently the *La'niyya* by Shaykh 'Alī was rejected by the Sunnis and *Nawāqiz* by Mirzā Makh-dūm Sharifi was repudiated by the Shi'is. Of all the Shi'i works, *Tajrid*³⁹ by Khwāja Nasru'd-Din Tūsī, was most hated by the Sunnis. They called it *shūm* (inauspicious) and neither taught it nor discussed it. Did this mean, the Qāzī asks, that Khwāja Nasru'd-Din did not know the rules for writing books discussing the *imāma* and criticising the first three caliphs without inhibition? Perhaps the Khwāja was in need of his (Yūsuf's) advice on the correct line of action? In short, all writings which possessed any substance, life and dignity were generally acceptable although,

38 Introduction to the *Sawārim*, pp. 'ah, 'aw, 'az., Andhra Pradesh Archives.

39 *Supra*, p. 122.

for various reasons, some people might not like them. Those who loved justice appreciated subtle thinking; often they committed to memory verses satirizing themselves. For example the *Amālī*⁴⁰ by Shaykh Abū Ja'far Tūsi reports that after Imām Rizā's martyrdom, Di'bil bin 'Alī bin Khuzā'i (d. 246/860), the panegyrist on the Imām, wrote an elegy condemning Caliph Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833) and the entire 'Abbāsīd dynasty. He did not publicise it but Ma'mūn heard of it and was anxious to listen to it. He summoned Di'bil and, assuring him of his safety, urged him to recite the elegy. Its elegant verses depicted the 'Abbāsīds as being more atrocious rulers than the Umayyads. Ma'mūn was, however, so deeply impressed, that he threw his turban on the ground and handsomely rewarded Di'bil.

Criticising Mir Yūsuf's objection that there was no point in refuting Mirzā Makhdūm Sharifi's arguments, the Qāzi wrote that for the last one thousand years the 'ulamā' had written books answering each other's arguments. To Yūsuf this might be a futile exercise for he claimed that the truth was known to truth-loving people. This would mean, the Qāzi remarked satirically, that books in the same vein, such as Shaykh Jamālu-'d-Dīn ibn Mutahhar's *Kashf al-Haqq*, *Minhāj al-karāma* and *Alfayn*, as well as the *Kitāb Tarā'if* by ibn Tā'us and *La'niyya* by Shaykh 'Alī, were useless. Certainly there was no doubt, the Qāzi adds, that the problems of Divine existence, were very well-known. Nevertheless, scholars of *kalām* in all ages kept writing books on that subject.

Referring to Mir Yūsuf's criticisms of historical works the Qāzi wrote that all books could not be original creations. Knowledge was attained by the assimilation of ideas. Authors propounded important theories and made points according to their own judgement; a large number of Sunni works such as *Sharh Mullā Jāmi* on *Kāfiya* and other historical and traditional works belonged to that category. The Qāzi goes on to assert that Mir Yūsuf was wrong in believing that his (the Qāzi's) works were confined to history and traditions which learned men had repeatedly heard. Criticising Yūsuf's vanity in presuming himself to be a learned man, the Qāzi reminded him that rational arguments were based on historical evidence.⁴¹

In a letter to another critic, Mullā Qawsi of Shustar, the Qāzi quoted a *qasida* written by him which strongly reiterates his decision to forsake *taqiyya*. He wrote:

“Blessed be the Emperor whose patronage in India, has not made my faith dependent on *taqiyya*,

40 *Supra*, p. 150.

41 Introduction to the *Sawārim*, ff. ab, 'aw, 'az, 'af, 'at, f. fa.

Blessed be the Emperor, for my tongue is like a sword, because of his support,

It is like Zu'lfqa'r in refuting the arguments of enemies."⁴²

The Qāzi wrote another letter to Mir Yūsuf asserting that the traditions ascribed to the Prophets and the Imāms should be subjected to scrutiny despite their perspicuity and lucidity. He attributed the differences and confusions in the Shi'i faith to the inclusion of spurious traditions concocted by the Khārijīs and the Ghulāts. The Shi'i *rijāl* works specifically warned against accepting the narrations fabricated by the Ghulāt. Some Muslims, by which the Qāzi meant the Ghulāts had compiled a chapter of the Qur'ān and asserted that it had been excluded by 'Usmān. The authors of the Qur'ānic exegesis and works of *kalām* devoted to Ahl-i Bayt had stated that all heavenly matters related to faith were made known to the Prophet and his associates as and when the need arose.

The Qāzi's warnings were timely for the growing Shi'i community in India and elsewhere. They tended to dispel gullibility and strengthen rationality in his contemporaries and their posterity. In no way were the communities encouraged to lose sight of the importance of the Qur'ānic injunctions and the true traditions of the Prophet Muhammad and the Imāms. The Qāzi also warned the Shi'is against the incorrect Sunni allegations which were deliberately circulated to dupe the uneducated sections of the Shi'i community. The clever Sunnis did not discuss their fabrications with the Shi'i 'ulamā' but made them historical truths by constant repetition. Ultimately, when they found a suitable opportunity, they quoted these statements in their own books on the authority of these illiterate Shi'i dupes.⁴³

The Qāzi discussed the sensitive issue of the *Ashāb* (Companions of the Prophet Muhammad) in his books. In the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin* he says that the *Ashāb* were those people who had met the Prophet Muhammad after embracing Islam and had been Muslims when they died. According to the great *mujtahid*, Shaykh 'Āmilī, the Prophet's companions numbered 14,100 after his death. Their importance depended upon their priority in accepting Islam, *hijra* (immigration), services to the Prophet, fighting under his banner and dying for Islam. Their superiority depended on their visits to the Prophet, conversations with him and compliance with his orders. According to the Shi'is, *Ashāb* referred only to those companions who were endowed with both faith and justice. The Shi'is believed that merely seeing or visiting the Prophet was not sufficient for inclusion in this group. *La'n* (cursing), *ta'n* (reproaching) and *tashnī'* (taunting) of

42 Nawwāb 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh, *Bayāz*, f. 92b.

43 Introduction to the *Sawārim*, Andhra Pradesh Archives.

the *Ashāb* was not permissible. The Shi'is, however, did not consider that those who reproached them had forsaken the *shari'a*. They remained Muslims. The Qāzi goes on to say that the Sunnī view of the group was incorrect, for faith and justice were acquired and were not innate. The faith and justice of the *Ashāb* therefore could not be taken for granted. Each member had to be consistently firm on those paths. Both conditions were imperative for qualification as an *Ashāb*. In the Prophet's time there were a considerable number of people who were known as *Ashāb* but who were in fact impostors. They were condemned by the Qur'ān in the following verse:

“And if We would, We could show them unto thee (Muhammad) so that thou shouldst know them surely by their marks. And thou shalt know them by the burden of their talk. And Allāh knoweth your deeds.”⁴⁴

The scope of *la'n* (cursing) is discussed by the Qāzi in a number of books. The *Masā'ibu'n-Nawāsib* says that *la'n* was equivalent to prayers for banishment from Divine mercy and vulnerability to punishment. God in the Qur'ān and the Prophet had both cursed people who deserved *la'n*. The Shi'is, the Qāzi, reiterated, did not curse all the *Ashāb* but only the enemies of the Prophet's family (Ahl-i Bayt). It was only the later Sunnī authorities who fiercely opposed the cursing of the *Ashāb*. For example Ghazālī in the *Kitāb al-Mustazhir* writes that those who believed that, although Abū Bakr, 'Umar and a section of the *ashāb* were sinners, they were not infidels, could themselves be called misguided and wrongdoers. The Qāzi also wrote that some Shi'a authorities believed that the Shi'i faith was not dependent on cursing but many Shi'as thought it perfected their faith. According to them it did not matter if the cursing was done in a subtle manner. The Qāzi, however, asserted that abusing the parents of offenders was forbidden by the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'as.⁴⁵

The *Majālisu'l-mu'minin* contends that the Shi'is were baselessly accused of calling Abū Bakr and 'Umar infidels. Their works on the principles of Shi'i law did not mention that accusation at all. Although the Shi'is believed that 'Ali's enemies were wicked (*fāsiq*), only those who fought against him were infidels. The Prophet had said:

“O Ali ! Those who fight against you fight against me; your friends are my friends.”

It is evident that Abū Bakr and 'Umar did not wage a war against 'Ali. However, they deprived him of his rights and usurped the caliphate on

44 Qur'ān, XLVII, 31; *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 56-58.

45 *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib*.

the strength of the support from their tribesmen and followers.⁴⁶

The Qāzi commences his third *majlis* in the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin* on the *Ashāb* and famous Hāshimites, with a discussion of Imām 'Alī's father, Abū Tālib whose father, 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, was the Prophet Muhammad's grandfather. He says that according to ibn Abi'l-Hadid (d. 656/1258), the author of *Sharh Nahj al-balāgha*, the majority of the Zaydiyya, a large number of the Mu'tazila such as Abi'l-Qāsim Balakhī and Abū Ja'far Iskāfi, and the entire Imāmiyya, considered Abū Tālib as *mu'min* (a true Muslim). Only the Sunnis, because of their enmity towards 'Alī and devotion to Mu'āwiya, claimed he was an infidel. The Qāzi marshalls evidence to prove that Abū Tālib was a true Muslim and that those prophetic traditions depicting him as an infidel were concocted by Mu'āwiya's supporters. After a long discussion on Abū Tālib's devotion to Islam,⁴⁷ the Qāzi gives biographical notes on other members of the Hāshimite clan. Of the non-Hāshimites he provides biographical details on the companions of the Prophet Muhammad who were devoted to Imām 'Alī.

Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari's presence in Lahore had stepped up polemical discussions there. A galaxy of intellectuals such as Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, Hakīm Fathu'llāh Shirāzi, Qāsim Beg Mir 'Adl, Mir Sharif Āmulī, Khwāja Husayn Sanā'i, Hayātī, 'Urfī, Mazharī, Abu'l-Fazl, Fayzī, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī and Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari assembled together. They comprised both Shi'is and Sunnis. Animated discussions took place. The commentaries on important verses of the Qur'ān were also debated. Once in Fayzī's house, the following verse in Nishāpūri's exegesis, which to the Sunni writers praised the first Caliph, Abū Bakr Siddiq, was under discussion. The verse reads:

"If ye help him not, still Allāh helped him when those who disbelieve drove him forth, the second of two; when they two [The Prophet and Abū Bakr during the flight from Mecca to al-Madīnah] were in the cave when he said unto his "comrade": Grieve not. Lo ! Allāh is with us. Then Allāh caused His peace of reassurance to descend upon him and supported him with hosts ye cannot see, and made the word of those who disbelieved the nethermost, while Allāh's word it was that became the uppermost. Allāh is Mighty, Wise."⁴⁸

Qāzi Nūru'llāh said that if the comradeship referred to in the verse was taken in the literal sense, the expression did not convey admiration,

46 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, pp. 68-69, 76-77.

47 *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

48 Qur'ān, IX, 40.

but if it was interpreted in the technical sense which the traditionists attributed to it, the point was disputed and the comradeship was deemed unacceptable. Badā'ūnī said that even a child who spoke elementary Arabic would say that the verse praised and not blamed the comrade. Likewise, he added, an African infidel, or a Jew or a Hindu who knew Arabic would give the same reply. The debate was prolonged. Shaykh Fayzī supported the Qāzī. Badā'ūnī attributed this to his usual vile custom, for, according to Badā'ūnī, Fayzī was, in any case, totally ignorant of either side.⁴⁹ Badā'ūnī goes on to say that in the *Tafsīr Nishāpūri* a passage corroborating his (Badā'ūnī's) point of view was found. It went to the extent of saying that had the Prophet died at that moment only Abū Bakr was a suitable successor.⁵⁰

The Qāzī wrote a separate treatise entitled the *Kashf al-a'wār fī tafsīr āya al-ghār* on this subject. In the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin* he also quoted some verses on the controversy. In the *Masā'ibu'n-Nawāsib* he marshalled evidence, both from historical works such as *Tārīkh Tabari*, and Sunni *hadīs* works proving that the verse relating to the cave story was not flattering to Abū Bakr.⁵¹

Qāzī Nūru'llāh regularly wrote letters to the Shī'i 'ulamā' and scholars in order to help them counter the Sunni objections to the Shī'i faith. One of his correspondents was Sayyid Rājū's grandson, Hasan. The following letter sent to him from Lahore is quoted in the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*. It contains Hasan's questions and the Qāzī's answers:

Question: What is the justification for calling the Isnā 'Ashari Shī'i *mazhab* (school of law) the *mazhab* of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq ?

Answer: The basis is the same as with the Shāfi'i and Hanafi *mazāhib* (pl. of *mazhab*). Those 'ulamā' who followed Abū Hanīfa and Shāfi'i transmitted their master's traditions and their *mazhab* (school of law) was consequently known respectively as Hanafi and Shāfi'i. Similarly the traditions transmitted by Imām Ja'far's companions and the *mujtahids* and 'ulamā' associated with him form the basis of Imām Ja'far's *mazhab*. The Shī'is do not care if the Sunnis have no knowledge of Imām Ja'far's *mazhab* and are ignorant of the fact that the Isnā 'Ashari Shī'i faith belongs to his *mazhab*. Similarly the Hanafis are not worried if the Shāfi'is are unaware of their *mazhab*. In connection with the discussion on the differences between the *Sahāba*, Mullā Sa'du'd-Dīn Taftāzānī, an eminent Sunni 'ālim, has

49 The criticism is sweeping, for Fayzī was the author of Qur'ānic exegesis using all undotted words. He was not totally ignorant.

50 *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh*, III, pp. 137-38.

51 *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, p. 268.

admitted in his *Hāshiya Mukhtasar 'Usūl 'Azudī* that the Shi'i faith originated from 'Alī as it advances firm arguments concerning his right to be the Prophet's immediate successor. It was only out of stubbornness and hostility to 'Alī that the Sunnis denied the fact that the Isnā 'Ashari faith originated from 'Alī.

Question 2: The Sunnis also claim to follow Imām Ja'far's *mazhab*, for Abū Hanifa was one of Imām Ja'far's disciples too. What is then the difference between the two faiths ?

Answer: The Sunnis do not make such a claim. Some of their works state that in such and such a year Abū'l-Hasan Ash'ari founded the Sunni faith and in another year Imām 'Alī bin Musī al-Rizā' founded the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'i faith. It is evident, therefore, that the Shi'i faith is different from the Sunni faith. How then can the Sunni faith emanate from Imām Musī ar-Rizā' and his grandfather Imām Ja'far? In that case the Sunnis would have to demonstrate that in such and such a year 'Alī bin Musī ar-Rizā' invented the Sunni faith. Only the ignorant Sunnis claim that the founder of the *mazhab* was Imām Ja'far. Disciples do not necessarily follow the *mazhab* of their masters. For example Abū Hanifa was also Imām Mālik's disciple and Ahmad bin Hanbal was Shāfi'i's disciple but both of them founded their own respective schools of jurisprudence. Abū'l-Hasan Ash'ari was the disciple of the celebrated mu'tazila Abū 'Alī Muhammad al-Jubba'i (d. 303/1915-16) but he founded the independent Ash'ari school. Abū Hanifa's discipleship to Imām Ja'far was confined merely to listening to some *ahādīs* from him. Imām Ja'far considered Abū Hanifa as misguided and did not reveal the true faith to him. Imām Ja'far repeatedly condemned him for making *qiyās* (analogical deductions) the basis of religious law but Abū Hanifa did not listen to the Imām's warnings. The *Hayātu'l-haywān* written by an eminent Sunni may be consulted for this fact.

Question 3: Are there any *mujtahids* in the Shi'i *mazhab*? If so the Shi'i faith should be ascribed to the *mujtahid* concerned and not to Imām Ja'far. *Mujtahids*, however, are sometimes right and sometimes wrong. If a *mazhab* is impregnated with doubts, it cannot be correct.

Answer: There are a large number of *mujtahids* in the Shi'i faith but it does not necessarily mean that the *mazhab* should be ascribed to *mujtahids*. The *mazhab* originated from the Imām and the *mujtahids* make *ijtihād* according to their own knowledge and understanding. The Sunnis also call Shāfi'i, Abū Hanifa, Mālik and Ahmad bin Hanbal the founders of their *mazhab* and give them the title Imām or *mujtahid fi'l-mazhab*.⁵² The Sunnis call *mujtahids* such as Qāzi

52 E. I.², III, pp. 1026-27.

Abū Yūsuf, Muhammad bin al-Hasan al-Shaybānī as *mujtahid fi'l-mazhab*. They do not call them the founders. Had they done so there would not have been only four but more than four thousand *mazāhib* among the Sunnis. It does not necessarily follow from the rules of *ijtihād* that the Shī'ī *mujtahid* cannot commit mistakes in understanding the rulings of their Imām. Nevertheless there is no possibility of mistakes in the original *mazhab*. As the discussions in *kalām* have established, the Shī'ī Imāms were *ma'sūm* (impeccable) and could not err in their rulings, actions and sayings. Conversely, each of the four Imāms of the Sunni faith contradicted and rejected the rulings of the others. A large number of their followers have made *ijtihād* in the four *mazāhib* (schools of law) and have opposed their Imāms and even issued *fatwas* (rulings) rejecting their Imāms' judgement. Consequently the Sunnis ascribe innumerable *fatwas* to the followers of their four Imāms and not to the *Imāms* themselves. The Shī'ī *mujtahids*, who draw upon the knowledge of the Prophet Muhammad and Imām 'Alī and are inspired by their Imāms when forming *ijmā'*, can differ only in their respective understanding of the Imāms' rulings. They cannot go astray, like the Sunnis whose *mazāhib*, are based on the unanimity and *ijmā'* of ignorant people and on the principles of *qiyās*, *istihsān*, *zann* and *takhmīn*.⁵³

Question 4: On what basis do the Shī'īs claim their faith as true and that of others as false?

Answer: The Shī'īs follow the faith of Ahl-i Bayt and the Prophet's *'itrat*. The Shī'ī works have established, on the basis of the rational arguments and traditions, that the Imāms of Ahl-i Bayt were *ma'sūm* (impeccable). There is, therefore, no possibility of error in their faith. A *hadīs* of the Prophet says, "I leave to you people two weighty (objects). If you hold them fast you will never go astray afterwards: Allāh's book and my *'itrat* or Ahl-i Bayt." There is no proof for the presumption that the Shī'īs follow men like Abū Hanīfa, Mālik, Shāfi'i or ibn Hanbal. Inevitably by accepting the guidance of the *'itrat*, Shī'īs cannot go astray.

Question 5: Did each of the twelve Imāms follow a separate *mazhab* or the same *mazhab*? What is the justification for ascribing the Shī'ī *mazhab* to Imām Ja'far?

Answer: All the Imāms followed the same *mazhab*. Because of the atmosphere of terror created by the persecution of the perdition-

53 Methods of reasoning and arriving at a decision in the Sunni *fiqh*. *Qiyās* is analogical deduction, *istihsān* is contrasted with *qiyās* and is a method of finding the legal justification which for any reason is contradictory to the usual *qiyās*. Sunnis give rulings even on the basis of *zann* (opining) and *takhmīn* (guessing).

damned Umayyads and others, the Imāms out of fear of their enemies, could not teach their *mazhab* in detail and openly to the people. They could only hint at some principal aspects of the fundamentals and intimate a little from details. Consequently their *ahādīs* could not be known. Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq flourished under the later Umayyads and the early 'Abbāsids. The terror that had prevailed under the early Umayyads had diminished. In fact the original founders of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty were Shi'is in their heart. These political changes enabled Imām Ja'far to openly teach the people and transmit *ahādīs*. His companions noted down the details of the laws and principles he taught. According to histories, more than 70,000 scholars in Kūfa and Baghdād related *hadīs* from Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq. Naturally the Shi'i *mazhab* became known by his name.⁵⁴

Qāzi Nūru'llāh was an outstanding poet. All the biographical dictionaries of poets give a note on him and reproduce some of his verses. The most well known is his *qasīda* that refutes a *qasīda* by a Sunnī, Sayyid Hasan Ghasnawī (d. 565/1169-70). Sayyid Hasan wrote:

“The world knows that I am the coolness (i. e. lustre and brightness)
of the eyes of the Prophet of God,
I am an exquisite fruit of 'Alī and Zahra's heart.”

Qāzi Nūru'llāh did not approve of a Sunnī Sayyid boasting of his ancestry. He wrote in reply:

“The world knows that he produced a false witness,
When he said that 'I am the coolness of the eyes of the Prophet of God',
It was not proper for someone of illegitimate birth,
To say 'I am an exquisite fruit of 'Alī and Zahra's heart'.”⁵⁵

Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari's letters show that he took a keen interest in his friends. This concern was reciprocated.⁵⁶ During his stay in Lahore, however, the Qāzi's important friends died one by one. In 997/1589 Shāh Fathu'llāh Shīrāzi died. Hakīm 'Abu'l-Fath breathed his last in August 1589. In October 1595 Fayzī died. Soon Abu'l-Fath's brother Hakīm Humām was dead too. The assembly of intellectuals was filled with gloom. In September 1596 Qāzi Nūru'llāh was sent to make enquiries

54 *Majālisul-mu'minīn*, pp. 230-31.

55 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāzu'sh-Shu'arā'*, Aligarh University Ms.

56 Letters to Khān-i Khānān, Shaykh Fayzī, Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Hāziq, Mullā Qawsī Shustari, Mīrzā Sharīf, Nawwāb 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh, *Bayāz*, Aligarh University, Habīb Ganj collections.

into the *sayūrghāl* (religious and charitable tenures) in Agra province.⁵⁷ At the end of October 1598 Akbar left the Panjab for Agra arriving there early in January 1599. He was deeply concerned at the news that his second son Prince Murād was dying of dissipation and that the Deccan campaign was a failure. This information prompted Akbar to commission his loyal adviser, Abu'l-Fazl, to use diplomacy to resolve the tangled affairs of the Deccan and to bring Prince Murād back to Agra. In May 1599 Prince Murād died. In July Akbar himself left Agra to direct the Deccan campaigns. It would seem Akbar did not make Nūru'llāh the *qāzi* of Agra; instead he was appointed *qāzi* to the army. In May 1601 Akbar returned to Agra because of the rebellion by his eldest son Prince Salīm. He summoned Shaykh Abu'l-Fazl from the Deccan to help him but on 1 Rabi' I 1011/19 August 1602, the Shaykh was killed on his way to Agra near Antari. The Bundela chief Bīr Singh Deva had been commissioned by Prince Salīm to commit this heinous crime.

Abu'l-Fazl's death was a severe blow to Akbar but it was a great loss to Qāzi Nūru'llāh too. His enquiries concerning the *sayūrghāls* in Agra province must have led to the confiscation of land belonging to a large number of Sunni *sayūrghāl* holders who had occupied land illegally during Akbar's absence in the Panjab. After Abu'l-Fazl's death none was left to convince Akbar of Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī's loyalty to the Mughal throne. His orthodox Sunni enemies, particularly the followers of the Naqshbandiyya order, whom the Qāzi unceasingly condemned in the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*, seem to have united with the dispossessed *sayūrghāl* holders. Mirān Sadr-i Jahān who had succeeded Mir Fathu'llāh Shirāzī as Akbar's *sadr-i-sudūr* was devoted to Akbar's policy of peace and co-existence with all religious communities. Nevertheless, the orthodox Sunni leaders, such as Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haq Muhaddis Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642) and Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh (d. 1012/1603), left no stone unturned in encouraging him to reverse Akbar's policy.⁵⁸ Sadr-i Jahān's classmate, Prince Salīm was now openly in rebellion. Salīm's victory, however, was not a foregone conclusion and, in any case, it was beyond the Sadr-i Jahān's power to reverse Akbar's policy of peace and concord. Nevertheless, he could not be expected to befriend Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī who had recently submitted a report condemning those who had received *sayūrghāl* on Sadr-i Jahān's recommendation. Moreover, 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān, who would have supported Qāzi Nūru'llāh, was in the Deccan and out of favour with Akbar. Hakim 'Alī Gilānī seems to have been the Qāzi's sole friend but his support did not have the same force as had that

57 *Akbar-nāma*, III.

58 S. A. A. Rizvi; *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, Agra, 1965.

of the deceased Mir Fathu'llāh Shirāzi, Hakīm Abu'l-Fath or Abu'l-Fazl or Fayzī.

After his return to Āgra, Akbar ignored Qāzī Nūru'llāh, whose earlier letters were full of gratitude for the Emperor's patronage and encouragement. The Qāzī decided to return to Iran and made persistent efforts to gain permission but he was not allowed to leave India. Instead, early in 1012/1603, he was assigned some official duty, possibly concerning land grants in Kābul. By Rabi' I 1012/August 1603, he was ready to go there but it seems that the assignment was cancelled as it was feared he might move to Iran.⁵⁹ In a letter to Mawlānā Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmili, the Qāzī wrote:

“For some time luck has deprived me of its favours. The mean and wretched India has caused me unbearable pain and shock. Not only has the Sultan (Akbar) ended his patronage and benevolence towards me but he has closed the doors of my departure to Khurāsān and Iraq. When the tyranny and oppressions against me began to mount and the sufferings and anguish stepped up I began to imagine that Hind (India) was the same Hind (bint 'Utba the wife of Abū Sufyān and the mother of Mu'āwiya) who ate the liver of my great grand uncle (Hamza bin Muttalib).”⁵⁹

Adversity and suffering did not, however, deter Qāzī Nūru'llāh from following his scholarly pursuits and religious mission. Surrounded by deadly Sunni enemies and with no political support, the Qāzī completed his *magnum opus*, the *Ihqāq al-Haqq* at the end of Rabi' I 1014/August 1605. In its conclusion the Qāzī again wrote:

“I was thrown by the unfortunate times towards wretched India. This doomed and accursed old woman (Akbar's India) has been increasing my anguish and pain; so much so that I began to believe that she is Hind (bint 'Utba) who ate the liver of my great grand uncle Hamza's heart but the blessing of the love for Ahl-i Bayt has filled my heart with life.”

The Qāzī described Āgra as the most accursed town and the abode of Satan and prayed for the protection of the *mu'minin* [Shi'is] from the frauds and obscurantism of the people [Sunnīs] of Āgra.⁶⁰

The *Ihqāq al-Haqq* refutes the *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil wa ihmāl kashf al-'ātil* by Fazlu'llāh surnamed al-Amīn bin Ruzbihān al-Khunji (by lineage),

59 *Bayāz*, ff. 94a, 97a-b.

60 Colophon in the *Ihqāq al-Haqq*, Aligarh University Ms., dated Rajab 1088/September 1677, ff. 4-5.

al-Shirāzi (by birth), al-Isfahāni by residence known as Khojah Mullā or Khwāja Mawlānā Isfahāni. The Khwāja was born at Shirāz in 860/1456 and grew up to become an orthodox Shāfi'i. He was one of the leading supporter of Ya'qūb (884-896/1479-1490), the Bayandāri ruler of Western Iran who introduced Sunni orthodox reforms in his reign. After the rise of Shāh Ismā'il Safawī to power he moved from Isfahān to Kāshān. From there he went to the court of Shaybāni Khān of Transoxiana where he spent eight rewarding years until the Khān was killed in Sha'bān 915/December 1509 whilst fighting in the battle of Merv against Shāh Ismā'il Safawī. Bābur, who had conquered Samarqand with the Shāh's help, was pro-Shi'a. Consequently Fazlu'llāh's life during the two years of his reign was absolutely miserable as he was forced to mix with the new ruler's Shi'i supporters whom he hated from the bottom of his heart. Bābur's overthrow by Shaybāni Khān's nephew 'Ubaydu'llāh in 918/1512 was a great relief to Fazlu'llāh, particularly as 'Ubaydu'llāh was his pupil. In 920/1514 Fazlu'llāh wrote for him a "Mirror to the Prince", entitled *Sulūku'l-mulūk*. He died seven years later in Jumāda 927/August 1521. Fazlu'llāh wrote about two dozen books.⁶¹

In his *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil*, completed at Kāshān in Jumāda II 909/December 1503, Fazlu'llāh writes that during his age a body of innovators had appeared who propagated *rafz* (Shi'ism) among people. Their dominance over his homeland had compelled him to leave it to undergo the hardships of travels and pain of separation from his relations and friends. He had taken a vow that he would not end his travels until he reached a region where no trace of the Shi'i innovations and heresy could be found. There he would peacefully practise the Prophet's *sunna* and the Prophet's companions' traditions. At Kāshān he read the *Nahj al-Haqq wa Kashf al-Sidq* by Jamālu'd-Dīn Mutahhar al-Hilli written during the reign of Sultan Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Uljāytū Khudā Banda (703-717/1314-1317). It was from the reign of Khudā Banda over Iran that the Shi'a Imāmiyya sect gained predominance, for the people followed their ruler's faith. Only virtuous and honest people did not copy the Sultan. Hilli's book was designed to expose the alleged shortcomings of the "liberated Sunni sect" in order to persuade Sunnis to renounce their faith and adopt Shi'ism. Fazlu'llāh added that his own motive was to preserve the signs of the true faith and to earn benefits in the hereafter. Hilli's work, Fazlu'llāh goes on to say, was full of condemnations of the first three successors to the Prophet and of the distinguished Sunni Imāms and 'ulamā'. The book was a net of fraud and deception. Like Hilli, other Shi'is had also written innumerable books to entice the pious Sunnis into their false faith. They

61 Minūchihir Sutūda ed., *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā* by Fazlu'llāh bin Ruzbihān, Tehran, 2535, Iranian Imperial era, Introduction of the author, pp. 8-34.

wrongly attributed their religion to the twelve Imāms who were pious descendants of Fātima Zahra (Prophet Muhammad's daughter) and were leaders of both the faith and the world. Previously they had admired and praised the Prophet's companions. The famous Shī'i book, the *Kashfū'l-Ghumma fī ma'rifat al-a'imma* by 'Alī bin 'Īsa quoted *ahādīs* from Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq praising Abū Bakr. Fazlu'llāh goes on to say that the works of Hilli and his followers, who were steeped in bigotry and fanaticism, deserved no attention. Because of this, the Sunnī 'ulamā', who always wrote pious books, had not bothered to produce a refutation. Times, however, had changed. Possibly the Shī'is might destroy all the Sunnī books and, on the basis of the unfounded statement of Ashā'ira, might even distort the image of Sunnī-ism. He (Fazlu'llāh) consequently had decided to demonstrate the falseness of ibn Mutahhar Hilli's *Minhāj al-karāma*. First he would copy Hilli's statements in order to expose his fanaticism and then refute them so that the truth might be revealed.⁶²

By the time Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari arrived in India, the *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil* had been brought over in India by the Transoxianian visitors but the Qāzi was not interested in refuting it. He believed that Fazl bin Ruzbihān was nowhere near Hilli in scholarly stature. The doubts and confusion the *Ibtāl* raised in the minds of common men and ignorant people, however, prompted Qāzi Nūru'llāh to change his mind.⁶³ The Qāzi's rejoinder to the *Ibtāl* was intended to help both the Iranian and Indian Shī'is.

A study of the Qāzi's *Ihqāq al-Haqq* shows that the Qāzi's library had been extended and that his continuous discussions with the Sunnis had sharpened his debating techniques. Qāzi Nūru'llāh first quoted verbatim passages from the *Minhāj al-karāma* with the words, "The author said, May God elevate his dignity." Then followed the refutation by Fazlu'llāh bin Ruzbihān, prefaced by the remark, "The member of the Nāsibiyya sect said, May God thrust him downwards."

The *Ihqāq al-Haqq* is a compendium of Shī'i-Sunnī controversies over the Ash'arite theories of Godhead, prophethood and *Imāma*, as well as on the problems of Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadīs* and *fiqh*. Both Fazlu'llāh and Qāzi Nūru'llāh had read the controversial works themselves but the Qāzi had not only written commentaries on some important Sunnī and Shī'i books as we shall soon mention, but was fully trained in the schools of the Mu'tazilite and *falāsifa*. Possibly Fazlu'llāh, an orthodox follower of Ghazālī, had not fully mastered these disciplines. In his arguments Qāzi Nūru'llāh also brings his training in analysing facts in chronological and logical perspective to bear on the refutation of Fazlu'llāh's proposi-

62 *Ihqāqu'l-haqq*, f. 4b.

63 *Ibid.*, f. 7a.

tions and emerges as a successful debater. By the time he wrote the *Ihqāq al-Haqq*, the Qāzī had already produced some one hundred books but nowhere, even for arguments sake, is he inconsistent. For example, 'Allāma Hillī wrote: "it is an accepted fact that God cannot be identified with anything and the fact is so well-known that it does not call for any discussion. A group of *sūfis*, nevertheless, believe in the unification of the human nature of the 'arifs (gnostics) with the Divine and do not distinguish between the Creator and the created. Some *sūfis* have crossed the limits of propriety and assert that whatever exists in the world is Being. It is unnecessary to mention that this belief is stark infidelity and heresy. Thank God for guiding the Shi'is to follow Ahl-i Bayt and saving them from accepting a false religion and ridiculous beliefs."

Fazlu'llāh replied, "Ash'aris believe that the Divine cannot be identified with anything else and the idea of such an identification is impossible. To attribute to eminent *sūfis* such as Abū Yazīd Bistāmī, Sahl bin 'Abdu'llāh Tustarī, Abū'l-Qāsim Junayd Baghdādī and Shaykh Suhrawardī the belief of the identification of the Divine and human natures is preposterous and falsehood. They are followers of Divine monotheism and the interpreters of true Islam. Their beliefs and acts manifest the real Islam. Their technical terms, however, are beyond the comprehension of common men. Two of these terms are *baqā'* (subsistence) and *fanā'* (evanescence). *Fanā'* means the extinction of the personality and attributes of the individual through persistent ascetic exercises. *Baqā'* means the attainment of Divine theophany through ascetic exercises and following the *sūfic* path. These states cannot be generally comprehended. Only those who are blessed with such a theophany understand it. In that state human nature is identified with God. Those who are not aware of reality accuse the *sūfis* of believing in *ittihād* and *hulūl* (the infusion of God in a creature). May God protect us from suspecting the intentions of Allāh's friends. The Shi'i aggressiveness is based on ignorance. According to an authentic *Hadīs Qudsi* 'God is at war with those who fight against His enemies'.

"The *sūfi* theory of God as Pure Being is so subtle that it is beyond the comprehension of men like the author of the *Kashfū'l-Haqq*. The *sūfis* maintain that nothing but Allāh exists. According to them true and real Being is Allāh and all other beings are derived from Him. Through their own essence possible beings are neither existant nor non-existant. All possible beings are equally related to Real Being and not Being ('adam). Consequently all possible beings exist only through Being. Existing beings are the *zill* (adumbration) of Real Being which is identified with Allāh. In fact the Divine Unity and the Divine Uniqueness in their perfect form can only be understood by the *sūfis*. Those who consider them heretics are themselves heretics."

Refuting Fazlu'llāh's arguments Qāzī Nūr'ullāh wrote, "The author

has mentioned only the distinguished *sūfis* in his answer to ('Allāma Hilli's) criticisms. He has ignored the belief of the *sūfi* majority who are stark heretics and has quoted only pious *sūfis* such as Abū Yazīd Bistāmi and the like. The target of 'Allāma Hilli's attack is the *sūfi* majority and not Abū Yazīd Bistāmi and Junayd who were true Shi'as, as mentioned in the *Majālisu'l-mu'minin*."

Qāzi Nūru'llāh quotes the *Jāmi' al-asrār wa manba' al-anwār* by the great *sūfi*, Haydar Āmulī, saying that those who perceived Reality in their own theophany or perceived their own self in Divine theophany were the followers of *ittihād*. Such people were accursed and unclean. The Christians and some accursed *sūfis* also held similar beliefs. True *sūfis*, however, did not believe in *ittihād*. Their statements emanated from ecstasy for they asserted that as they had totally rejected all ideas relating to the non-Divine, they believed in nothing but Being. In these circumstances how could they believe in *ittihād* and *hulūl* for these ideas themselves presupposed a belief in duality and plurality? When, as according to them, duality and plurality did not exist at all, the question of belief in them could not arise.

Commenting on Haydar Āmulī's statement, the Qāzi says that "Some *sūfis* certainly believe in *ittihād* and *hulūl*. The *Sharh Mawāqif* also confirms Haydar Āmulī". Then the Qāzi quotes from the *Sharh Mawāqif* and concludes, "This shows that 'Allāma Hilli's criticisms are not based on ignorance. In his other works he has endorsed the views of Godly *hukamā'* (philosophers) who identify Being with Reality and ascribe the existence of the 'world of phenomena and of the senses' to Allāh. As the water heated by the sun is called 'water of the sun', so the world of phenomena is known to exist because of God. Qāzi Nūru'llāh then explains the real significance of the Unity of Being and approvingly relates the *sūfi* theory that the phenomenal is the outward expression of Reality. He considers Fazlu'llāh's explanation of the relationship of Real Being to not-being as superficial and based on the theories of the scholastic theologians."

Fazlu'llāh takes Hilli to task for identifying *sūfi* worship with music and dancing. He says, "The author (Hilli) had tried to humiliate the *sūfis* but in turn, he has himself been humiliated. Who else other than the *sūfis* can be Divine worshippers when they devote most of their time to prayers and worship. They have renounced sensual pleasures and lead an ascetic life." He also defends *sūfi samā'* (literally audition but actually music and dancing), and accuses Hilli of ignorance.

Refuting Fazlu'llāh's comments, Qāzi Nūru'llāh says that Hilli's target were the *sūfis* like those in the Naqshbandiyya order, and not the earlier ones who were on the right path. The *samā'* and ecstasy of earlier *sūfis* was different from the music and dancing of the later *sūfis*. Some statements by more contemporary *sūfis* wrongly suggested that the previous

sūfis were, like them, engrossed in music and dancing. It would seem that the later *sūfis* accused the earlier ones in their own self-defence. The Qāzi asserts that the impostors were not interested in prayer, worship and asceticism for their own sake. They practised them merely to impress the common people with their piety and asceticism in order to attract followers. The Qāzi then quotes the following verses from a *qasida* by 'Amir Basri whom he considers a great gnostic. 'Amir writes:

“To the group of *sūfis* belong even those wicked people who deceive people by their silence and retirement,
They claim that through *kashf* (revelation), ecstasy and without uttering a single word, they had obtained knowledge of Divine mysteries,
They are rogues and fakes; who deceive people by putting on *khirqā* (dervish's patched cloak) and by sitting on prayer carpets with rosary in hand.”

The Qāzi goes on to relate statements from the Imāms warning their followers to protect themselves from the fraudulent practices of fake *sūfis*. He adds that Fazlu'llāh's *ahādīs* saying that the Prophet had allowed sport and amusement on occasions such as circumcision ceremonies, 'id festivals and weddings were invented during the reign of the Umayyad caliphs. The Qāzi asserts that the Mu'tazila and Shi'i *fatwas* did not approve of music and dancing in any case; only the *sūfi fatwas* made them permissible. The *Tafsīr Kashshāf* unequivocally condemns the *sūfi* practices of Divine love, music, dancing and poetry in praise of young boys in connection with the exegesis on the following verse:

“A people whom He will love
As they will love Him!”

The Qāzi contends that the Prophet's *ahādīs* urging Muslims to follow his companions did not imply the blind acceptance of all the members of the *Ashāb*. The Prophet had asked Muslims to follow only those members of the *Ashāb* who were perfect examples of nobility, learning and virtue. This applied only to 'Ali and the Imāms of his house who were completely immune from sin. Some of the Prophet's *Ashāb*, however, who were devoted to 'Ali's family, were included in the class to whom the Prophet had urged obedience. The Qāzi argued at great length that the Qur'ān did not contain a single verse praising the *Sahāba* which could be interpreted to mean that God had forgiven their earlier transgressions. Those who after the Prophet's death committed sins such as causing his daughter distress and violating his injunctions had forsaken their *bay'a* with the Prophet, they belonged to the class to whom the following verse applied,

“Lo ! those who believe, then disbelieve and then (again) believe, then disbelieve, and then increase in disbelief, Allāh will never pardon them, nor will He guide them unto a way.”⁶⁴

The Shi'is cursed (*la'n*) the usurpers and the tyrants but neither did they abuse, nor revile, nor find fault with their parents. The Shi'is did not approve of condemning even the infidels or polytheists let alone reviling Muslims or those who claimed to be Muslims. The Sunnis, on the other hand, who falsely claimed to follow the Prophet's *sunna*, in order to arouse hatred against the Shi'is, had invented the story that the Shi'is abused the *Ashāb* like vulgar rabble. The Shi'is cursed only those *Ashāb* who were enemies of Ahl-i Bayt and they did so to gain favour from Allāh, the Prophet and those who were the Prophet's “near of kin”. This is based on the Divine command in the Qur'ān to love those who were the Prophet's “near of kin”, as the fee which the Muslims paid for the Prophet's efforts in transmitting God's commands to the people. An Arab poet says:

“Despite your claim that you are my friend,
You love my enemies. Have you gone insane ?”

The Shi'is believe that loving the enemies of the Prophet's “near of kin” amounted to hating his “near of kin”. Love and hate of the Prophet's “near of kin” could not co-exist.⁶⁵

Qāzi Nūru'llāh's Martyrdom

The *Ihqāq al-Haqq* would have raised a storm of opposition against Qāzi Nūru'llāh even if Akbar had lived. He died on 13 Jumāda II 1014/26 October 1605. Prince Salīm, who had openly rebelled against his father during the last five years, now ascended the throne. His accession awakened hope in the Sunni puritan and revivalist leaders, such as the redoubtable Naqshbandiyya *sūfi*, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624) and the Qādiriyya Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī (d. 1052/1624) that Akbar's policy of peaceful co-existence with all religions would be reversed with the help of Jahāngir's leading nobles. Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī wrote to this effect to important nobles such as Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī, Lāla Beg Kābulī, Sadr-i Jahān, Mirzā 'Azīz Koka, Muhammad Qulj Khān and 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khān-i Khānān.⁶⁶ Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Haqq also sent similar letters but the most forceful were those from Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī. He demanded that the law abolishing cow-sacrifices should be revoked,

64 Qur'ān.

65 *Ibid.*, 21b-24a.

66 *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India*, pp. 218-45.

that *jizya* should be re-imposed on Hindus, that infidels should be deemed unclean like dogs and should not be placed in positions of trust.⁶⁷ The company of innovators (Shī'is) should be avoided for they were worse than infidels and to show them respect amounted to destroying Islam.⁶⁸ Neither the nobles nor Jahāngir, however, had any misgivings about the importance of maintaining Akbar's policy. In his *Tuzuk*, Jahāngir wrote:

"The professors of various faiths had room in the broad expanse of his incomparable sway. This was different from the practice in other realms, for in Persia there is room for Shī'as only, and in Turkey, India, and Tūrān there is room for Sunnis only.

"As in the wide expanse of the Divine compassion there is room for all classes and the followers of all creeds, so on the principle that the shadow must have the same properties as the Light, in his dominions, which on all sides were limited only by the salt sea, there was room for the professors of opposite religions, and for beliefs good and bad, and the road to altercation was closed. Sunnī and Shī'as met in one mosque, and Franks and Jews in one church, and observed their own forms of worship."⁶⁹

On the whole the Emperor pursued a policy of peace and concord with all religious communities but he was not consistent in its implementation. The pressure from the orthodox Sunnī puritanical leaders on Jahāngir's senior nobles made life difficult for Qāzi Nūru'llāh. His only supporter in the last years of Akbar's reign had been Hakīm 'Alī Gilānī but on 5 Muharram 1018/10 April 1609, he also died. There was now no support for the Qāzi at Jahāngir's court. Arabic passages from the *Ihqāq al-Haqq* criticising the first three caliphs seem to have been translated into Persian and read to the Emperor by his Sunnī favourites in order to alienate him from the Qāzi. On 18 Jumāda II 1019/7 September 1610, he was flogged to death in the middle of the night.

Jahāngir's *Tuzuk* does not mention the event and we have no official version of the martyrdom. The earliest account is given in the '*Arafātū'l-ārifīn*, a voluminous poetical dictionary by Taqī Awhadī (Taqī bin Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin Sa'du'd-Dīn Muhammad al-Husaynī al-Daqqāqī al-Balyānī al-Isfahānī), begun at Agra in 1022/1613 and completed there in 1024/1615. Taqī Awhadī was born at Isfahān in 973/1565 and enjoyed Shāh 'Abbās' favour in the early years of his reign. In 1003/1594-5 he went on a pilgrimage to Najaf and other holy places,

67 *Ibid.*, pp. 246-54.

68 *Ibid.*, pp. 255-60.

69 Rogers and Beveridge, *The Tuzuk-i Jahāngirī*, London, 1909-14, I, pp. 37-38.

returning home in 1009/1600-1. In Rajab 1015/November 1606, he left for India via Shirāz, Kirmān and Qandahār. After staying for eighteen months in Lahore and more than a year in Agra, he went to Gujarat and lived there for three years, returning to Agra in 1020/1611-12.⁷⁰ At the time of the Qāzi's martyrdom he was possibly in Agra or else he arrived there shortly afterwards. He did not have access to Jahāngir's court but seems to have obtained his information from noblemen and public rumours. These may not necessarily have been correct but that the Qāzi was flogged to death is certain. He commenced his '*Arafātū'l-'arifin*' about two years after the Qāzi's martyrdom. He says, "Qāzi Nūru'llāh was executed in the early part of Jahāngir's reign because he was famous as a Shi'i. The Emperor was at peace with both Sunnis and Shi'is and kept each of these sects within proper limits. He questioned Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari as to his religion. The Qāzi, observing *taqiyya*, said that he was a Shāfi'i. The Emperor did not like this reply and shaking with anger asked why he had not told him the truth. Then he ordered the Qāzi be given five stripes of the *durra-i khārdār*'.⁷¹ He died during the course of the flogging."⁷²

Khayru'l-bayān begun in 1017/1608-9, completed in 1019/1610, revised and enlarged in 1036/1626-27, and dedicated to Shāh 'Abbās Safawī, was also written after the Qāzi's martyrdom. Its author, Shāh Husayn bīn Malik Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Mahmūd bin Shāh Abū Sa'id, was a member of the Safawid family in the princely line of Sistān. In 1008/1599-1600 he accompanied Shāh 'Abbās on his Khurāsān campaign and on other subsequent expeditions. In 1019/1610, he returned from a journey to Hijāz. In 1027/1618 he was presented to Shāh 'Abbās at Qazwīn and in Shawwāl 1028/September 1619, he was in the Shāh's suite at Isfahān. The *Khayru'l-bayān* says that the Emperor Jahāngir had asked the Mīr (Nūru'llāh Shustari) "what religion do you follow?" The Mīr did not disclose his faith. As his religion was known to everyone, the Emperor grew angry. Because of this the Mīr suffered many insults until he met Divine mercy.⁷³

Muhammad Sādiq Hamadāni, who wrote the *Tabaqāt-i Shāhjahāni* in Shāhjahān's reign, does not mention Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari's death, although he gives his biographical notice.⁷⁴ Mirzā Muhammad Sādiq "Sādiqi" bin Muhammad Sālih Zubayri (d. 1061/1651), who was an intimate friend of Qāzi Nūru'llāh's sons, also gives a biographical note on the Qāzi in his *Subh-i Sādiq* but does not mention the circumstances of

70 Storey, I, pp. 808-11.

71 A particular kind of whip with metal knots.

72 '*Arafātū'l-'arifin*, Bankipore, VII, no. 605, f. 776b.

73 *Khayru'l-bayān*, British Museum Ms., Rieu Supp. 109, Or, 4510.

74 *Tabaqāt-i Shāhjahāni*, Aligarh Muslim University, Habībganj Ms., p. 346.

his death. The *Zakhīratul-khawānīn*, completed by Shaykh Farid bin Shaykh Ma'rūf Bhakkari says that Qāzi Nūru'llāh was the army *qāzi* and that the followers of the Imāmiyya faith were deeply devoted to him. He was killed because of Jahāngīr's wrath for some reason.⁷⁵ Shaykh Muhammad Baqā' and Muhammad Bakhtāwar Khān, the authors of *Mir'ātu'l-'ālam* written in 1078/1667, say that Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari belonged to the Imāmiyya faith and practised *taqiyya*. One day he made some statement which the Emperor did not like. He was punished with the *durra-i khārdār* and died.⁷⁶

These historians blame the Qāzi for provoking Jahāngīr's anger by observing *taqiyya*. Even Taqī Awhadī does not question why the Emperor enquired about the Qāzi's religion when he was a known Shī'i. Why was he summoned to the court at all? Obviously Jahāngīr wished to find some pretext to persecute the Qāzi in order to please his puritanical Sunnī 'ulamā' and noblemen. The Shī'is survived under the Sunnī rulers by observing *taqiyya*. It was only Akbar's liberality that prompted some Shī'is to abandon this practice. Qāzi Nūru'llāh, not being scared of martyrdom, gave it up during Akbar's reign, but, if he declared himself a Shāfi'i before Jahāngīr he must have taken up *taqiyya* again in order to save his life. Jahāngīr had no right to question the Qāzi's statement on the basis of personal knowledge for even conversion to Islam calls for only a confession of faith. The change from one Sunnī school to another school or from one Islamic sect to another does not require any formality. A Muslim's oral statement about his faith is final; a *qāzi* is not entitled to dissect the heart. No *qāzi* in India was more competent in all the four schools of Sunnī law than Qāzi Nūru'llāh, therefore he could not be disproved even under cross-examination. Among Jahāngīr's noblemen there were innumerable Shī'is who observed *taqiyya* and gave him the impression that they were Sunnīs.⁷⁷ None of them was persecuted. Qāzi Nūru'llāh was martyred for writing *Ihqāq al-Haqq* and other polemical works and not for observing *taqiyya*. The Sunnīs were naturally very pleased.

Muhammad bin al-Hasan bin 'Alī bin al-Amīnī, better known by his title al-Hurr al-'Āmīlī (d. 1101/1689-90), who wrote the '*Amal al-'āmil fī 'ulamā' Jabal al-'Āmil* in Jumāda II 1097/ April-May 1686, was better informed because of his contacts with Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmīlī (d. 1030/1621). Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari had corresponded with 'Āmīlī even during Jahāngīr's reign. Although the Qāzi's son 'Alā'u'l-Mulk could not, for fear of reprisals, explain the circumstances surrounding his father's death in his

75 *Zakhīratul-khawānīn*, II, p. 373.

76 *Mir'ātu'l-'ālam*, Lahore, 1979, II, p. 439.

77 *Ibid.*, Vol. II.

Firdaws, which tells the Qāzī's story, he must have informed his father's friend Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Āmilī of the true facts. Hurr al-'Āmilī says that Qāzī Nūru'llāh was sentenced to death for writing the *Ihqāq al-Haqq*,⁷⁸ and this is correct. The story of *taqiyya* seems to have been concocted by Jahāngīr's courtiers in order to justify the Emperor's heinous crime.

The eighteenth century scholars were also misled by the seventeenth century legends about the Qāzī's martyrdom. 'Alī Qulī Khān Walīh Dāghistānī, who was born at Isfahān in 1124/1712 into a family of scholars and administrators highly connected with the Iranian rulers, left for India in 1147/1734-5. He obtained high *mansabs* in the reigns of Muhammad Shāh (1131-1161/1719-1748) and Ahmad Shāh (1161-1167/1748-1753). He wrote his voluminous dictionary of 2500 poets entitled the *Riyāzu'sh-Shu'arā'* in 1160-61/1741-48. In it he greatly extolled the learning and fame of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī both as a scholar of religious works and a poet. He wrote that in the reign of Jahāngīr, the Qāzī was martyred by *durra-i khārdār* for writing the *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*.⁷⁹ This was obviously mistaken for the *Ihqāq al-Haqq*. The most famous book in eighteenth century India was the Qāzī's *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*.

Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū did not enjoy a high *mansab* at the Mughal court of Delhi or at Awadh where he obtained a monthly stipend of Rs. 300. Nevertheless he was greatly admired for his learning. In his biographical dictionary of more than 1500 poets entitled the *Majma'u'n-nafā'is*, completed in 1164/1750-51, he gives an account of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī from the Sunnī point of view. He writes:

"Since he was a fanatic Shi'a, he used to revile the 'Azizān. He was, on account of that crime, put to death in the reign of Jahāngīr. Sunnis dishonoured his body to their heartfelt. The reason of his execution lay in his frank avowal of being a Shāfi'i. The Emperor did not differentiate between Sunnis and Shi'as nor did he try to touch off their religious susceptibilities. He enquired of the Qāzī the religion he professed. The Qāzī practising *taqiyya* said that he was a Shāfi'i. It was a most unpleasant knowledge to the Emperor and so in a fit of rage he sentenced him to death."⁸⁰

Curiously enough Qāzī Nūru'llāh's martyrdom is not mentioned in Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī's letters. It must have been reported to him in Sirhind and the Naqshbandiyyas must have deemed it a great triumph for the cause of Sunni revivalism. It is, however, mentioned by Kamālu-

78 Hurr al-'Āmilī, *al-'Amal al-'Āmil*, Nāsiriya Library Lucknow.

79 *Riyāzu'sh-Shu'arā'*, Aligarh University Ms., 630/51, f. 470a.

80 *Mujma'u'n-nafā'is*, Bankipore, VIII, no. 695, f. 475a.

'd-Dīn Muhammad Ihsān bin Hasan Ahmad (d. 1149/1736) in his *Rawzātu'l-qayyūmiyya*, which gives an account of the Indian *qayyūms* (the eternal spiritual guides) of the Naqshbandiyya order. According to this belief, perpetrated by Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, no event in the world occurred without the permission of the *qayyūms*. The following *qayyūms* are discussed in the book:

First: Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni (d. 1034/1624).

Second: His son, Muhammad Ma'sūm called 'Urwatu'l-wusqa (d. 1079/1638).

Third: Muhammad Naqshband Hujjatu'llāh, the son of the preceding (d. 1114/1702).

Fourth: Muhammad Zubayr (d. 1152/1740).

The Qāzi's martyrdom is placed in the eighteenth year of *tajdid* (the mission of the renewal of Islam by the Mujaddid, i. e. 1030/1620-21).

The Author says:

“When after the release of Mujaddid (1618) Islam was perfectly restored and more than twenty thousand people began to assemble to listen to his sermons every morning and evening, the Iblis like *Wazir* (Āsaf Khān) called Nūru'llāh Shustarī, the leader of the Shī'a 'ulamā', from Iran by paying huge sums of money to him. The Emperor on the request of Āsaf Khān went to receive him with his entire retinue and extended the highest respect and courtesies to him; but the Qāzi would not attend the meetings where Mujaddid used to be present with the Emperor. The Emperor on the persuasions of the *Wazir* became highly devoted to the Qāzi and lent a credulous heart to his utterances in regard to religion. The *Wazir* having seen Qāzi's influence over the Emperor made a plan to obtain an order from him for getting Shī'ism recognised as an official religion of the State. A disciple of Mujaddid was present on that occasion. He apprised his *pir* of the conspiracy to overthrow Sunni-ism. Mujaddid asked one of his disciples who supervised the Emperor's wardrobe, that he should convey the message on his behalf to the Emperor that the latter should not go to the hall of audience without meeting him. It is said that it was customary with the Emperor that he in pleasanter moods would don white garments but if he was off the mood or was to inflict severe punishments to the people he would dress himself in red garments. On that particular day the Emperor was in a cheerful mood, so he asked for white garments. The disciple at this order heaved a sigh of grief which immediately caught the attention of the Emperor. He enquired why he was out of sorts on a day of

rejoicing. The disciple replied, 'There cannot be a greater occasion of mourning than the present one; for our Emperor is going to renounce the true faith and embrace the false one. Your Majesty has decided to give up the faith of Sāhib Qirān Amīr Timūr and to accept the faith of Shāh 'Abbās.' The Emperor couldn't make head or tail of this statement, so he asked him to explain himself. He divulged to the Emperor the plot set afoot by the *Wazir* with the assistance of Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari and conveyed the message of Mujaddid. The Emperor at once summoned Mujaddid and enquired the reason of his seeking a private audience. Mujaddid told him, 'The *Wazir* has deliberately invited Nūru'llāh from Iran with a view to leading you astray from the true faith and making you embrace his false faith.' The disclosure threw the Emperor into a violent rage, and, immediately donning the red garment he sat in the public hall of audience. Nūru'llāh Shustari was summoned and trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Those who had accompanied Nūru'llāh from Iran were also beheaded. The *Wazir* was greatly mortified at this incident and for revenge, he summoned Christian priests to humiliate the Muslims."⁸¹

This fantastic story is obviously unhistorical but its appearance in a work completed in 1154/1741 shows the Naqshbandiyya *sūfis*' pride in the Qāzi's martyrdom.

Other legends, although none as incredible as the one mentioned above, are found even in later Shi'i books. Maulawi Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī Kashmiri who began his *Nujūmū's-samā' fī tarājim al-'ulamā'* in 1286/1869-70, which contains the biographies of the Shi'i '*ulamā'* of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, says :

"When Jahāngir succeeded Akbar, Qāzi Nūru'llāh continued to work in his old post. Ultimately some '*ulamā'* who were hostile to him but favourites of Jahāngir were able to discover that the Qāzi professed the Imāmiyya faith. They complained to the Emperor that he followed the Shi'a Imāmiyya faith, for he did not adhere to anyone of the four schools of jurisprudence and issued decrees only in accordance with that particular school of jurisprudence which suited Imāmiyya faith. The Emperor getting displeased at this conversation said, "This is no proof of his Shi'ism for he was appointed subject to the condition that he would issue decrees in accordance with all the four schools of jurisprudence." Consequently the '*ulamā'*, hostile to him, began to wait for an opportunity to prove him a Shi'a and then to obtain orders for his execution from the Emperor. In pursuance of their objective they

81 *Rawzātū'l-Qayyūmiyya*, Asiatic Society Bengal, Calcutta Ms., *Rukn*, I, ff. 81a-b.

devised a trap and sent to the Qāzi one of their own men who posed as a Shi'a and became the Qāzi's disciple. He lived for a long time with the Qāzi and became his favourite. He got scent of *Majālisu'l-mu'minin* and after great efforts and entreaties took the book to his own house, copied it out and secretly passed it on to the 'ulamā'. Making that work as their instrument, they conclusively proved before the Emperor that the Qāzi was a Shi'a and added that he deserved nothing short of death sentence for having written such and such objectionable things in it. The Emperor enquired as to what punishment be inflicted on him. They advised him to flog the Qāzi with the *durra-i-khārdār*. The Emperor allowed them to do as they pleased. They brooked no delay in inflicting the punishment of their desire on the Qāzi. They had him flogged with such cruelty and severity that he fell dead and attained martyrdom."⁸²

The modern Sunnī scholars try to be more subtle and add an anachronistic colour to the event. For example Bazmee Ansāri in his article on Jahāngir in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2nd edition) gives a fantastic turn to the *Nujūmū's-Samā'* legend. He says :

“The Shi'i scholar Nūr-Allāh al-Shūstari, who had been appointed *kādī* of Lahore by Akbar and who had so far practised *takiyya*, successfully concealing his faith from the people, emboldened by the meteoric rise to power of Nurdjahān, herself an orthodox Shi'i, began to pronounce judgements which created doubts in the minds of the Sunnī majority. This led to a court conspiracy against the *kādī*, then in the queen's favour. He was accused of professing the Shi'i faith while boldly acting as a Sunnī *kādī*. This revelation resulted in his execution by order of the Emperor, who punished him for practising a fraud (*Nudjūm as-samā'* 15-16). This act of bigotry on the part of a latitudinarian and eclectic like Djahāngir, whose own consort Nurdjahān was a Shi'i is rather surprising but it shows, at the same time, the measure of influence that the disgraced theologians and 'ulamā' had again come to exercise in state affairs, after their calculated downfall during the reign of Akbar.”⁸³

82 *Nujūmū's-samā'*, pp. 15-16. Āghā Mahdī, a modern Shi'i 'ālim says that when Jahāngir was going to sign the *mahzar* (document) regarding Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustari's execution, Nūr Jahān caught hold of Jahāngir's hands. Jahāngir placed the burning charcoal of his hubble-bubble on her hand and the Empress fainted. When she recovered a white scar was left on her wrist after treatment. Jahāngir ordered the gold-smiths to manufacture special bangle called Jahāngiri for her wrist. *Tārikh-i Shi'a ke khūnchakān waraq*.

83 E.I.², II, p. 280.

In giving vent to his own imagination, Bazmee Ansārī paid no attention to the fact that Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī was martyred in September 1610 while Jahāngīr married Mihru'n-Nisā' (later Nūr Jahān), the widow of Sher Afgan Khān in May 1611. We shall be discussing Nūr Jahān's alleged Shī'i orthodoxy in the second volume. For the time being it is sufficient to say that before her marriage to Jahāngīr, the question of her influence over the Emperor did not arise at all.

Qāzī Nūru'llāh's Works

Abu'l-Fazl includes Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī in the list of the scholars of Akbar's reign who had mastered the traditional sciences (*naqlī maqāl*). In fact Qāzī Nūru'llāh was expert both in *manqūl* (the traditional) and *ma'qūl* (the rational) sciences. In Islamic literary and scientific traditions works in *ma'qūl* enjoyed great prestige. The Qāzī also wrote on mathematics, grammar, rhetoric and theories of poetic style. A large number of his books, particularly the short treatises, are no longer available but some important ones have survived. Many of his works are glosses and commentaries on the text books of higher studies for the Sunni 'ulamā'. As they were studied by Shī'is the Qāzī's commentaries and glosses on them went a long way to strengthening the Shī'i intellectual traditions.

Qur'ānic Exegesis

1 & 2. The Qāzī wrote two glosses on the *Anwār al-tanzīl wa asrār al-ta'wīl* by 'Abdu'llāh bin 'Umar al-Bayzāwī (died c. 674/1275). The *Anwār al-tanzīl* is itself a condensed and amended edition of *al-Kashshāf 'an haqā'iq al-tanzīl* by Mahmūd bin 'Umar Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) written from the Mu'tazilite point of view. Bayzāwī omitted and sometimes amended the Mu'tazilite perspective. Brockelmann lists 83 commentaries written on Bayzāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*. Bayzāwī's omissions and amendments of the Mu'tazilite viewpoint gave Qāzī Nūru'llāh an opportunity to inject the Shī'i perspective. He, therefore, wrote two glosses on the *Anwār al-tanzīl* asserting the Shī'i interpretations of the verses in place of the Mu'tazila standpoint making it an entirely original work.

3. *Tafsīr Āya tathīr*. The treatise is on the exegesis of the *tathīr*-verse⁸⁴;

The Qāzī asserts that from the grammatical point of view and taking other arguments into consideration, only Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn are included in the list of Ahl al-Bayt (folk of the household). Muhammad's wives are not included in this category. The treatise refutes all Sunni authorities including Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī (d-606/1209), the author of the famous Qur'ānic exegesis, the *Mafātih al-*

84 *Supra*, p. 8.

ghayb. The Qāzi maintained that Muhammad's wives were also "cleansed" of all sins. Refuting Rāzi, the Qāzi asserts that only Muhammad, 'Alī, Fātima, Hasan and Husayn were impeccable.

4. *Kashf al a'war fī tafsīr āya al-ghār*. The verse relating to the presence of Abū Bakr with Muhammad in the cave, mentioned earlier.

5. The commentary on the following verse:

"O ye who believe! The idolaters only are unclean."⁸⁵

The Shi'i interpretation is that the verse means that the polytheists are totally unclean. Nothing touched by them should be eaten or drunk. The Sunnis on the other hand understand the verse to state that they are unclean from the religious point of view and food or drinks touched by them or prepared by them need not be avoided. Even the puritanical Sunnis such as the Mujaddid adhered to this interpretation⁸⁶ but the Qāzi contended that the Shi'i position was correct in all circumstances and no exception could be envisaged.

6. The exegesis of the following verse:

"And whomsoever it is Allāh's will to guide, He expandeth his bosom unto the Surrender (al-Islam) and whomsoever it is His will to send astray, He maketh his bosom close and narrow as if he were engaged in sheer ascent. Thus Allāh layeth ignominy upon those who believe not."⁸⁷

7. The exegesis of the following verse in the Joseph chapter:

"And the king said: Lo! I saw in a dream seven fat kine which seven lean were eating, and seven green ears of corn and other (seven) dry. O notables Expound for me my vision, if ye can interpret dreams."⁸⁸

This exegesis is in Persian.

8. Exegesis on the verse on vision.

9. Exegesis on the verses relating to 'adl (justice) and Divine monotheism.

Other subjects

Of his two works on invocations, the Persian translation of the *Du'ā Sabāh* (morning invocations) by Imām 'Alī is a very important contribution.

Of his three known works on *hadīs*, the commentary on the famous Sunnī *hadīs* entitled the *Misbāh as-Sunna* by Mas'ūd al Farrā' al-Baghwi (d. 516/1122) is an important work. Its enlarged recension, entitled the

85 Qur'ān, IX, 28.

86 *A history of Sūfism in India*, II, pp. 405, 409.

87 Qur'ān, VI, 126.

88 Qur'ān, XII, 43.

Mishkāt al-masābih was compiled by Waliu'd-Dīn Muhammad bin 'Abdu'llāh al-Khatib al-Tabrizī in 737/1336.

The Qāzi wrote two important works on the *usūl* (principles) of *fiqh*. One of these is a gloss on the *Sharh Tahzīb al-wusūl* by Jamālu'd-Dīn Hasan ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Alī ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hillī (d. 726/1326). The second work comprises *ta'liqāt* (notes) on the *Sharh Mukhtasar al-usūl* by 'Azud al-Dīn Abd al-Rahmān bin Ahmad al-Īji (d. 756/1355).

The Qāzi wrote commentaries both on the works of Sunni and Shi'i *fiqh*. Of the Sunni works of *fiqh*, the Qāzi chose the famous Hanafi compendiums of *fiqh* entitled *al-Hidāya* by 'Alī bin Abī Bakr bin 'Abdu'l-Jalīl al-Farghānī al-Marghinānī (d. 593/1197) and *al-Wiqāyau'r-riwāya fī masā'il-hidāya* by Burhānu'd-Dīn Mahmūd bin Sadri'sh Shari'at 'Ubaydu'llāh bin Mahmud (ca 680/1281). The latter is a guide to the elucidation of the *Hidāya*. The Qāzi also wrote a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Muhalla* by poet, historian, jurist, philosopher and theologian Abū Muhammad 'Alī bin Ahmad known as ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064). The Qāzi drew upon ibn Hazm's *Mulakkhas ibtāl al-qiyās wa'l-ra'y wa'l-istihsān wa'l taqlīd wa'l-ta'līl* which violently assails the fundamental bases of the Hanafi *fiqh* to criticise the defects in the four schools of Sunni *fiqh*, particularly the discrepancies in the Hanafi *fiqh*.

The Qāzi also wrote commentaries on the Shi'i classics of *fiqh*. Of these the most important is the *Tahzīb al-akmām fī sharh Tahzīb al-ahkām*. It is a commentary on the *Tahzīb al-ahkām* by Abū Ja'far Muhammad bin al-Hasan at-Tūsī. A different commentary on the *Tahzīb al-ahkām* by the Qāzi is entitled the *Ghāyat al-marām*. The Qāzi's commentary on Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn al-Mutahhar al-Hillī's *Qawā'id al-ahkām* is also an important work. The Qāzi also wrote a commentary on a detailed work on Shi'i *fiqh*, the *Mukhtalafu'sh Shi'a fī ahkāmī'sh-shari'a* by Hillī. About half a dozen treatises of the Qāzi on the problems such as Friday prayers, illegality of intoxicants, *kaffāra* (atonement), silk garments are important guide books of Shi'i *fiqh*.

Of the Qāzi's works on *kalām*, *al-sawārim al-muhriqa fī dafa' al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, *Masā'ibu'n-Nawāsib*, and *Ihqāqu'l-haqq* have been mentioned in previous pages. The Qāzi was the author of the glosses on the Dawwānī's treatise proving the existence of God, such as the *Risāla fī isbāt al-Wājib*. Fifteen more works on *kalām* and the refutations of Sunni-ism were written by the Qāzi.

The Qāzi was the author of a gloss on the *Mutawwal* by Taftāzānī and glosses on works of Arabic grammar. The *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn* by the Qāzi has already been discussed. He was the author of some biographical works. One of these is designed to prove that Sayyid Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh was a Shi'i. A treatise deals with the Sunni scholars of *ahādīs* who in the Qāzi's opinion were past masters in fabricating *ahādīs*. The

gloss on the *Khulāsat al-rijāl* by Hilli makes valuable additions to Hilli's work.

The Qāzi did not ignore even the mathematics. He wrote a commentary on the *Tahrir-i Uqlidis* by Nasiru'd-Dīn Tūsi. He was also the author of a gloss on *al-Mulakkhas fi'l hay'a* by Mahmūd bin Muhammad bin 'Umar Chaghminī completed in 618/1221.

Conclusion

The Prophet is said to have remarked that Jews were divided into seventy-one sects, the Christians into seventy-two sects and his community (Muslims) would be divided into seventy-three sects. Of the latter all but one were perdition damned.¹

Early heresiographers such as Abu'l Hasan 'Alī b. Ismā'il al-Ash'ari (d. 330/941-42), 'Abdu'l-Qāhir Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064) and ash-Shahrastānī (d. 456/1064) wrote books describing the varying beliefs and practices of different Islamic sects which they considered as heretical on the basis of the hostile Sunnī literature. They over-emphasized the differences between Shi'ī sects but could not ignore the multitude of Sunnī sects that emerged despite the government efforts to maintain the facade of unity.

In fact, during the life time of the Prophet the Arab tribal and clan rivalries had not totally vanished. Although Ansārs and Muhājirs were made brothers to each other, towards the end of the Prophet's life, the Ansārs were alienated with Muhājirs. The Quraysh had very reluctantly accepted the prophethood of Muhammad. Before the Prophet's death the number of *munāfiqs* (hypocrites) had become astronomically large. On the basis of Divine injunctions from the beginning of his mission to his death, the Prophet went on declaring both publicly and privately that 'Alī was his vizier and successor. He was not influenced by family considerations; 'Alī's chivalry, sacrifices and scholarship had justified the Divine selection. The leading members of Quraysh, however, dreamt the dreams of seizing the worldly glory that God had bestowed on the Prophet and did not miss a single opportunity to assert their importance. 'Umar bin Khattāb propounded the thesis that God's Book was more than enough for them and prevented the Prophet from dictating his testament. Ansārs' bid to forestall 'Umar and his supporters in choosing the Prophet's successor failed. The clever manoeuvring by Abū Bakr and 'Umar cut the ground from under the feet of the Ansārs who were torn with tribal jealousies. Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Ubayda bin al Jarrāh won the Saqifa battle on the ground that *imāmate* was the birth right of

1 *al Mu'jam al-mufahras li-alfāzī'l-hadīs al-Nabawī*, Cairo n. d., V, p. 134.

the Quraysh. The Hāshimites alone were excluded. The mob in the Medina mosque surrendered to what it considered as the *fait accompli*. Nevertheless, the Hāshimites and more than a dozen leading companions of the Prophet did not give up active opposition.

The political dominance of the Quraysh weakened 'Alī's support. The political interests of the community began to override the religious and spiritual interests. Mu'āwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, founded the practice of public cursing of 'Alī and Ahl-i Bayt. The state 'Ulamā' interpreted the Qur'ān and the *sunna* (traditions of the Prophet, supplementing the Qur'ān) on the authority of the Prophet's companions who enjoyed power and positions in previous governments. They did not pay much attention to the Ahl-i Bayt and even the political decrees and administrative regulations were incorporated into the body politic of Islam. The ruling party and their devotees came to be called *Ahl al Sunna wa'l Jamā'a* (the people of the *Sunna* and the community) or simply the Sunnis.

A small number of the Prophet's companions drew inspiration from 'Alī during the Prophet's life time. They were known as his Shi'is. They believed that according to the Prophet's teachings the *imāmate* was not a political office but a continuation of the prophetic mission although Imāms did not receive Divine revelations. Imām was the *hujja* (proof of God) and the world could not survive without a *hujja*, living or in occultation. According to them the Qur'ānic verses clearly mentioned the *wilāya* or the *imāmate* of 'Alī and its continuity in his direct descendants. They were *mansūs* (Divinely designated), *ma'sūm* (sinless) and *afzalu'n-nās* (most superior among the mankind). The authentic facts of the lives of 'Alī and his eleven successors vindicate the beliefs held by his Shi'is. Some devotees of 'Alī and Imāms were so deeply impressed with his charismatic personality that they grossly exaggerated his achievements and gave rise to the *Ghulāt* (extremist) movements. Their claims were embarrassing to 'Alī and Imāms and they disowned and rejected them but the *Ghulāt* ideas could not be completely weeded out. Even the eminent Sunni scholars such as Imām Shāfi'i in their encomiums on 'Alī wrote:

This alone is sufficient to prove his resemblance to God.
That it has been doubted that he himself was God.²

Orthodox Sunni scholars such as Makhdūmū'l Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūrī thought that the author of the above verse believed in *hulūl* (incarnation) but the Sunni admirers of 'Alī were not discouraged. No

2 *Supra*, p. 209.

wonder that the Islamized Jāts of Sind came to believe that 'Alī was an incarnation of God.

'Alī led a life of a quietist throughout the reign of the first three Caliphs. He rejected Abū Sufyān's offer of military assistance against Abū Bakr. He always pressed for his rightful claims of succession but never took any military action. The Sunnī authorities try to prove that 'Alī actively co-operated with the Caliphs, but the available Sunnī evidences do not confirm this theory. They tend to show that 'Alī did not hesitate to fight against injustice. In their own political interest Abū Bakr and 'Umar respected 'Alī's advice and judgement but 'Usmān ignored them.

According to the objective Sunnī scholars the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha and some leading companions of the Prophet such as Talha and Zubayr did not have patience with 'Alī. They fought against 'Alī on the flimsy pretext of delaying action against 'Usmān's assassins. After their defeat Mu'āwiya, the son of Abū Sufyān, marched upon 'Alī with full force. A large number of the Prophet's companions and pious Muslims were slaughtered in wars against 'Alī. His enemies gave 'Alī no respite. Nevertheless 'Alī did not fail to restore and maintain equity and justice in the body politic of his shortlived government. No good government in the world can ignore 'Alī's directives and measures.

After 'Alī's assassination, Imām Hasan made a treaty with Mu'āwiya in order to restore peace among Muslims but Mu'āwiya violated its terms and after Hasan's death made his son Yazīd as his own successor. Imām Husayn refused to accept Mu'āwiya's decision. The latter adopted threatening postures towards Imām Husayn but took no violent steps to force his decision. After his accession to the Umayyad throne, Yazīd made the life for Imām Husayn and his friends hellish. The Imām and his seventy-two followers, including a small baby, were martyred at Karbalā and his family members were ruthlessly persecuted. The latter's determination to fight against the evil and their sacrifices, however, reorientated Islam and reinvigorated its spiritual values. Both the Sunnīs and Shi'is were disgusted with the Umayyads. Both the Sunnī and Shi'i spiritual leaders adopted a quietist attitude but the Umayyads terribly persecuted both of them. Imāms of the house of Ahl-i Bayt were martyred by being administered poison; the Sunnī spiritual leaders known as *sūfis* could protect their lives only with great difficulty. In A.D. 705 the *sūfi* leader Hasan Basrī was forced to go into hiding. Until the death of the Umayyad governor Hajjāj in 714 his whereabouts could not be known. Neither did the Imāms nor the leading *sūfis* encourage rebellion against the state. The *sūfis* incorporated some of the spiritual teachings of Imāms into their own system. To the Shi'is only Imāms were *hujja*; the *sūfis* transformed both living and imaginary saints into *hujja*. They were recognized as a

medium by which the 'truth and the proof of Muhammad's veracity' could be known. Hujwiri says,

"(God) has made the saints the governors of the universe, they have become entirely devoted to His business, and have ceased to follow their sensual affections. Through the blessing of their advent the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth, and through their spiritual influence the Muslims gain victories over the unbelievers. Among them there are four thousand who are concealed and do not know one another and are not aware of the excellence of their state, but in all circumstances are hidden from themselves and from mankind. Traditions have come down to this effect, and the sayings of the saints proclaim the truth thereof, and I myself—God be praised—have had ocular experience (*Khabar-i 'iyān*) of this matter. But of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred, called *Akhyār*, the forty, called *Abdāl*, and seven called *Abrār*, and four called *Awtād*, and three called *Nuqabā'* and one called *Qutb* or *Ghaws*. All these know one another and cannot act save by mutual consent³."

The Sunnī scholars are relentlessly hostile to the Shi'ī belief of the occultation of the twelfth Imām Mahdī but do not frown at the army of concealed and known saints, such as *akhyār*, *abdāl*, *abrār*, *nuqabā'* and *qutb* or *ghaws*. Only the modern Wahhābīs could question Hujwiri's statement but for that matter the Prophet's authority is also not acceptable to the Wahhābīs.

The messianic expectations are as deeply rooted in the Sunnī belief as they are in the Shi'ī traditions. Analysing the traditions on Mahdī (the guided one) in the Sunnī *ahādīs*, the famous Sunnī scholar Ibn Khaldūn says,

"It has been well known (and generally accepted) by all Muslims in every epoch, that at the end of time a man from the family (of the prophet) will without fail make his appearance, one who will strengthen the religion and make justice triumph. The Muslims will follow him, and he will gain domination over the Muslim realm. He will be called the Mahdī. Following him, the Antichrist will appear, together with all the subsequent signs of Hour (the Day of Judgement), as established in (the sound traditions of) the *Sahih*. After (the Mahdī), 'Īsa (Jesus) will descend and kill the Antichrist. Or, Jesus will descend together with the Mahdī, and help him kill (the Antichrist), and have him as the leader in his prayers."⁴ The Shi'ī and Sunnī *ahādīs* recount almost identical tra-

3 Nicholson, *The Kashf al-mahjūb*, pp. 213-14.

4 Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, English translation by F. Rosenthal, New York, 1958, pp. 156-200.

ditions from the Prophet about the Mahdī and ascribe the similar supernatural role to him. From time to time a number of Sunnī adventurers in different parts of the world, including India, declared themselves as Mahdī. Among the Shi'is the messianic expectations led a number of adventurers to deny the death of a particular Imām. Some Imāms were also declared as the Mahdī. The Bāqiriyyas propounded the theory that the *Imāmate* ended after Imām Muhammad Bāqir. After Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq the devotees of his son Ismā'il founded an independent Ismā'ili Shi'i sect. The Wāqifiyyas believed that Imām as-Sādiq had not died but would return as the Mahdī. The Fatahiyyas believed that as-Sādiq's son 'Abdu'llāh al Aftāh was father's successor. The followers of Muhammad, the fourth son of Imām as-Sādiq founded the Shumaytiyya sect. On the basis of the messianic expectations three important sects splintered after Mūsa al-Kāzim's death, three sects emerged after Imām Alī ar-Rizā's death, three sects were formed after Imām 'Alī al-Hādī's death and five sects came into being after Imām Hasan al-'Askari's death. For some years considerable confusion prevailed about Imām 'Askari's successor Imām Muhammad and his occultation. Gradually all the ephemeral groups vanished and a large number of Shi'is settled down to the belief in twelve Imāms. The Sunnī traditions also strengthened the Shi'i beliefs. Among the Sunnī narrators are the leading companions of the Prophet such as 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, 'Abdu'llāh bin Mas'ūd and Jābir bin Sāmūra although some narrators used the term *amīr* or *khalīfa* instead of *Imām* in their narrations. Among the Shi'i sources are personalities such as 'Abdu'llāh b. Ja'far at-Tayyār, Salmān al-Fārsī, Abū al-Haysam b. al-Tayhān and Khuzayma b. Sābit, 'Ammār b. Yāsir, Abū Zarr, Miqdād and Abū Ayyūb Ansārī. A Shi'i hadīth reads,

“O people, the legal power (*al-Wilāya*) is granted only to 'Alī b. Abi-Tālib and the trustees from my progeny, the descendants of my brother 'Alī. He will be the first, and his two sons, al-Hasan and al-Husayn, will succeed him consecutively. They will not separate themselves from the Qur'ān until they return to Allāh.” The Shi'i traditions categorically assert that 'Alī and his eleven descendants were designated as Imām. For example the following tradition was narrated by 'Abdu'llāh ibn 'Abbās, who in Sunnī traditions too occupies a distinguished position.

“I am the master of the Prophets and 'Alī the master of my trustees, of whom there will be twelve; the first one is 'Alī, and the last is al-Qā'im, he who will rise or rise in arms.”

The inability to identify al-Mahdī with al-Qā'im was responsible for the splintering of groups among the Shi'is. The adventurers from the Imāms' sons were also tempted to rise in arms against the 'Abbāsīd

Caliphs in order to seize the usurped authority of the house of 'Alī. Their claims were readily believed and they obtained the title *al-Mahdī*. The threat to their own lives and the 'Abbāsīd repressions prevented Imāms to communicate freely with their devotees and to explain the correct implications of the *ahādīs*. There were only two alternatives before the Imāms, either to organise an armed uprising against the worldly powers and to overthrow them by force, or to patiently lead the spiritual revolution in Islam dedicating themselves to prayers and dissemination of knowledge. In the interest of Islam they preferred the second course, for a war against beliefs in anthropomorphism with respect to God held both by the *Ghulāt* and the Sunnīs was more important than the war against the 'Abbāsīds. Their quietism re-invigorated the Islamic spiritual values. It was a revolution in its own right. They preached a middle of the road policy between the Sunnī theories of the pre-destination and free-will which had emerged as a reaction to the growing ruthlessness of the ruling powers. The intellectual legacy of the Imāms was not confined only to their own devotees but deeply penetrated into all the Sunnī spiritual movements. The intellectual contributions of the devotees of Imāms too was of far-reaching importance. They wrote scholarly works on the doctrines preached by the Imāms and produced an enormous corpus of historical, biographical, philosophical and scientific literature. They also wrote works in refutation of the misguided Sunnī and *Ghulāt* doctrines. The Shi'ī scholars trained under the Imāms fostered the development of *Kalām* (scholastic theology). Some of the works written by them have been mentioned in previous pages.

After the occultation of the twelfth Imām, the Shi'ī scholars in the successive centuries plunged themselves into the arduous task of preserving the traditions and teachings of Imāms. They tried to weed out the growth of *Ghulāt* elements from the existing Shi'ī literature. The destruction of the Shi'ī libraries by the ruling dynasties has deprived the world of the enormous Shi'ī literature of early centuries. The researches of Kulaynī, ibn Bābuya, Shaykh Mufīd, ash-sharīf al Murtaẓā ('Alamu'l-Hudā), Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn al Hasan at-Tūsī (Shaykhu't-Tā'ifa), Khwāja Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūs, ibn Tā'ūs, Hillī, and their disciples went a long way to interpreting the Shi'ī doctrines and beliefs. The indelible mark was, however, left by Sayyid Sharīf ar-Razī who reproduced some 240 sermons of Imām 'Alī in the *Nahju'l-balāgha* and saved them from further destruction. Although several commentaries on the *Nahju'l-balāgha* were written, the declining taste in literary beauty and elegance made some scholars question the authenticity of 'Alī's sermons. Earlier Sunnī sages frequently quoted the sayings of 'Alī and his descendants in their works. The later *sūfī* hagiologists attributed a considerable number of sayings of Imāms to eminent *sūfīs* themselves.

While the bigoted Sunni governments burnt and destroyed the Shi'i libraries, the orthodox Sunni scholars distorted the Shi'i image on the basis of legendary and controversial material in early Shi'i works. Shi'is were declared heretical mainly because of asserting the importance of *tabarra* (dissociation) from tyrants and usurpers of the rights of Ahl-i Bayt in order to inculcate love and friendship in the Prophet's 'itra (near relations).

The Sunnis considered the entire body of the Prophet's companions as just but the Shi'is admired only those companions who remained consistently steadfast to all the teachings of Allāh and the Prophet as interpreted by the Imāms. The Shi'i beliefs in the sinlessness and infallibility of Imāms, the necessity of the presence of God's *hujja* (proof) in all times and the necessity of recognizing the Imām of the age were grossly distorted. They were accused of denying the finality of the Prophet Muhammad by the later Sunni thinkers⁵. The early Shi'i theories saying that the present text of the Qur'ān was garbled, and some verses and chapters were suppressed was rejected by ibn Bābuya, Shaykh Mufid and other scholars but the Sunni polemical works condemned Shi'is lock, stock and barrel. Some Sunnis exhibit reservations in condemning the first eleven Imāms but do not hesitate to minimise their spiritual and scholarly services to Islam and the mankind. No inhibitions are shown by them in condemning the twelfth Imām, his occultation and his political role as the Qā'im (one who will rise in arms). Although some Sunnis did not agree with ibn Taymiyya's hostility to Ahl-i Bayt, his polemical works refuting 'Allāma Hillī's works were heavily drawn upon by the later Sunni scholars. In India Makhdūmū'l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūri was first to produce Sunni polemical literature in Arabic. He was followed by the Mujaddid, Shāh Walī'llāh, Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Sanā'u'llāh Pānīpatī and Muhammad Qāsim Nānawtawī. They were stimulated to write polemical works in order to stem the tide of the popularity of Shi'ism. Their modern successors are Mawlānā Muhammad Manzūr Nu'mānī, Mawlānā Sayyid Abu'l Hasan 'Alī Nadwī, Mawlānā Sa'id Ahmad Akbarābādī and the 'ulamā' from Deoband, Azamgarh and Nadwa (Lucknow). Although the modern Iranian revolution is a threat only to the zionists, western colonialists and their Arab supporters, the above section of the Sunni 'Ulamā' has become fiercely opposed to Shi'ism itself. In order to destroy the sectarian unity invoked by the Iranian revolution, not only do they support the reactionary Arab kingdoms and emirates, but they also are sympathetic to Western imperialism. They

5 Shāh Walī'llāh, *Wasīyat-nāma*, Lucknow, 1894, pp. 5-6, *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, Hyderabad Sind, 1970, II, pp. 244, 256; Abu'l Hasan 'Alī Nadwī, *Do Mutazād taswīren*, Lucknow, 1984, pp. 71-73.

have made the Shi'i beliefs particularly in *Imāmate* and the occultation of the twelfth Imām targets of their attack. Although the theories of *Imāmate* do not belong to the Sunni articles of faith and Sunni scholars of *kalām* have discussed in thousands of standard works and the polemical literature is also enormous, the Indian enemies of the Sunni-Shi'i amity have plunged themselves into attacking the Shi'i beliefs ruthlessly. To meet the above objective Mawlānā Muhammad Manzūr Nu'mānī and Mawlānā Sayyid Abu'l Hasan 'Alī Nadwī have published two books in Urdu. They tend to emphasize that Sunnis could easily tolerate non-Muslim beliefs but the Sunni toleration to Shi'i beliefs would destroy Sunni-ism which they identify with Islam.

Mawlānā Muhammad Manzūr Nu'mānī invites us to believe that the Sunni '*ulamā'* were and still are ignorant of Shi'i beliefs. He says, "I for one, in the course of my academic career, and later as a teacher, did not know about Shiaism more than what a common man knew. In fact, I knew next to nothing about it. A time, however, came when I happened to study books of some Sunni scholars on the subject who had studied the Shi'ite religion. I may mention, in particular, the book of Maulana Qazi Ehtishamuddin of Moradabad, which was the first I had read on the subject. I had, also, read some books of Maulana Abdul Shakoor of Lucknow on the subject. I, then, began to feel that I had acquired enough knowledge about the Shia religion and knew fully about it. However, when I learnt of the relentless propaganda being done for the Iranian Revolution and the way it was perverting the minds of the people, I considered it a religious duty to write about it, and for that purpose, I thought it necessary to acquire an adequate knowledge of the Shi'ite religion through a study of its basic and standard books and the writing of Khomeini himself. I am over eighty years of age and ailments and handicaps peculiar to it had started setting in for some time. I am, also, a victim of high blood pressure and a serious and sustained literary effort is not easy for me. In spite of all this, I read thousands of pages of such books during a period of one year."⁶ The Mawlānā is a member of the standing Committee of the Rābta-i 'Ālam-i Islāmī (Muslim World League) and a member of a large number of orthodox Sunni institutions. Mawlānā Nu'mānī's confessions suggest that the authors of the plethora of Sunni polemical literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth century India such as the Mujaddid and Shāh Waliu'llāh had not read the basic Shi'i *hadīs* work, the *Usūl min al-Kāfi*. In twelve months the old and sickly Mawlānā acquired miraculous perception of Shi'ism. In fact he could

6 Nomānī, Mohammad Manzoor, *Khomeini Iranian revolution and the Shi'ite faith*, Lucknow 1985, English translation of the Urdu original, *Irānī inqilāb, Imām Khomeini and Shi'ism*, Lucknow, 1874, p. 13.

do no more than turn the pages of *Faslū'l-Khitāb fī asbāt takhīf kitāb Rabbū'l-Arbāh* by Nūrī Tabarsī (d. 1320/1902), *Kashfū'l-asrār* and *al-Hukūmat al-Ilāhiyya* by Imām Khomeini. He also seems to have read passages from the *Usūl min al-Kāfi* frequently quoted in the Sunnī polemical works. The polemical works of Mawlānā 'Abdu'sh Shakūr in Urdu were his principal source.⁷

A foreword to the work was contributed by Mawlānā Sayyid Abu'l Hasan 'Alī Nadwī. He awards the following certificate to Mawlānā Nu'mānī. "He (Mawlānā Nu'mānī) made a thorough study of the history of Shiaism, the authoritative sources of which had for long remained hidden from the Sunnī scholars due to the doctrines of *Taqiyya*⁸ and concealment, and had only lately come to the public view. . . . With great patience and forbearance he studied these works and collected material for his book, analysed it in an objective manner and wrote the present volume. . . . Very few books contain so much material on the subject of Imamate and the tampering with and transposition of words in the Quran. . . . In this way, this book has become a most comprehensive, thought-provoking and informative volume. Any person gifted with a sense of justice can find herein the reality of Shiaism, the dangerous consequences of the theories of Imamate and alteration (in the Quran) and the degree of unreliability and distrust it all can produce with regard to Islam and the earliest Muslims among the followers of Islam themselves whose study is not deep enough, and the non-Muslims."⁹

Later on Mawlānā Abu'l Hasan transformed his foreword into an Urdu book of ninety-six pages. It is entitled *Dīn Islām awr awwālīn Musalmānon kī do mutazād taswīren*¹⁰ (Two contradictory pictures of Islam and early Muslims). Its Arabic, English and Persian translations are under print. Although the old and sickly Mawlānā Nu'mānī accuses Mujaddid and Shāh Walī'ullāh¹¹ of ignorance to the basic source material of Shi'ism and claims to have read most of them, possibly neither his books nor that of Mawlānā Abu'l-Hasan's tract can in any way be compared to the *Tuhfa-i-Isnā 'Ashariyya* by Shāh 'Abdu'l 'Aziz. Since the summary of the *Tuhfa* and its Shi'i rejoinders and Sunnī and Shi'i counter refutations

7 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

8 Translated as fraud, subterfuge and deception by the English translator, *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

10 Lucknow, 1984.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

As Nadwī says, Nu'mānī's journal *al-Furqān* published special numbers on the *Mujaddid Alf-i Sāni* and *Shāh Walī'ullāh* glorifying their contributions to Islam. Does he mean to say that all its contributors who at different places attacked Shi'ism were ignorant of the basic Shi'i works. The remarks suggest that in India Shi'ism had been and is attacked by ignorant Sunnis.

have already been published by the author in his book *Shāh Abd al-'Aziz, puritanism, sectarian polemics and Jihād*, the refutation of the observations of Mawlānā Nu'mānī and Mawlānā Abu'l Hasan can be read in it. Some Shi'i rejoinders have also been referred to in the second volume of the present work. The nineteenth century Sunni polemical works have also been discussed in the second volume. Here it may be mentioned in passing that both Mawlānās are wrong in claiming that the authoritative Shi'i sources had for long remained hidden from the Sunni scholars due to the doctrines of *Taqiyya* and concealment. Mawlānā Nu'mānī contradicts himself by saying, "Somehow, a few Ulema of the Ahle Sunnat managed to obtain these books through extra-ordinary efforts. Among them was Shāh Abdu'l Aziz, son of Shāh Waliu'llāh, and author of *Tuhfa-e-Isnā Ashariyya*¹²." Perhaps the two Mawlānās are not aware of the fact that in the second half of the nineteenth century and in early twentieth century a large number of standard Shi'i works were published in Lucknow, Ludhiana, Lahore and Bombay. All Shi'i works are available in the libraries of Europe, America and Canada, let alone the Indian public libraries. Had the Sunnis wished, they could have acquired them without any difficulty.

In India basic Shi'i works were transcribed and made available in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Deccan. Some of these were translated into Persian and original works were compiled on all aspects of

12 See the refutation of topics mentioned by the Mawlānās in the present author's *Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*:

- (a) The refutation of the fourth chapter of the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* comprising attacks on the Shi'i beliefs in the Qur'ān was made by Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad Kāmil in the *Nuzha-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, vol. IV. The Hakīm says that the traditions about the interpolation in the Qur'ān are also found in the *Sahīhs* by Bukhārī and Muslim. *Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, pp. 382-83.
- (b) Refutation of the fifth chapter on *Ilāhiyāt* (belief in Divinity) in the *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* was also written by the Hakīm but Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī's *Sawārim-i Ilāhiyāt* has been summarised by the present author (pp. 388-392).
- (c) Refutation of the sixth chapter on the *Nubūwwa* in the *Tuhfa* was made by Mawlānā Dildār 'Alī in the *Husāmū'l-Islām (Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz)*, pp. 392-397.
- (d) Refutation of the seventh chapter on the *Imām* in the *Tuhfa* was written by many authors. The *Jawāhir-i 'Abqariyya fī radd-i Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* by Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās and the *Burhān-i Sa'ādat* by 'Allāma Mufti Muhammad Qulī have been summarised by the present author (pp. 396-410).
- (e) Shi'i scholars have written several books contradicting the Sunni account of the marriage of 'Alī's daughter Umm-Kulsūm with 'Umar. The *Nuzha-i Isnā 'Ashariyya* refers to Hāfiz 'Abdu'l-Barr and ibn Hajar's remarks in his refutation (*Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, pp. 384-85).
- (f) Rejoinders to the defence of Shi'i *matā'in* (libels or indictments) against the first three successors of the Prophet and 'Ā'isha in the *Tuhfa* were also written by several Shi'i scholars. The present author has summarized the *Tashyidū'l-matā'in* by Mufti Sayyid Muhammad Qulī (*Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz*, pp. 414-450).

Shi'ism under the Qutb Shāhīs. In northern India besides polemical works, Qāzi Nūru'llāh Shustarī wrote books on the Qur'ānic exegesis, *hadis*, *fiqh* and philosophy. In his Qur'ānic exegesis he seems to have heavily drawn upon both the Sunnī and Shi'i exegetes. Of the early Shi'i scholars, the Qāzi's exegesis reflect the awareness to the works of 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī and Muhammad al 'Ayyāshī. Of the later works *al-Tibiyān* by Shaykhu't-Tā'ifa Abū Ja'far Muhammad at-Tūsi and the *Majmau'l-bayān* by al Fazl bin al-Hasan Tabarsī were thoroughly studied by the Qāzi. Only the bigoted Sunnī 'Ulamā' believe into Shi'i indifference to Qur'ānic sciences. Among the modern scholars Murtazā Mutahhari, 'Allāma Muhammad Husayn Tabātabā'i and 'Allāma Khū'i have published Qur'ānic exegesis in several volumes. *Al-Mizān* by 'Allāma Tabātabā'i has also been published in English. In his sermons Imām Khomeini frequently presents exegesis to the different chapters of the Qur'an. The exegesis of some chapters by Imām Khomeini has already been published. Indian Shi'i 'ulamā' also wrote the Qur'ānic exegesis. The Urdu *Tafsīr al-Qur'an* by Mawlānā Zafar Hasan Amrohawī, published in five volumes at Karachi is a monumental work. It answers a number of problems which apparently militate against modern science. The *tafsīr* in Urdu by Mawlānā 'Alī Naqī of Lucknow is likely to be published in several volumes. Four volumes have already seen the light of the day. From the time the third Caliph 'Usmān published the Qur'an, no Shi'i has superseded the same. Undoubtedly the Sunnīs encourage the memorization of Qur'an for its recitation in Ramazān after night prayers called *tarāwih* and made imperative by the second Caliph 'Umar. Nevertheless from the first century Islam to the present day the number of the Shi'i scholars who memorized the Qur'an and delivered sermons on the Qur'ānic exegesis was by no means insignificant. Sunnī puritanists such as the Mujaddid, however, were deeply concerned with the impairment of orthodoxy caused by the popularity of Qur'ānic exegesis based on the Mu'tazilī, philosophers and Shi'i points of view. The Shi'i exegetes drew heavily upon the teaching of the Imāms and highlighted the reference to *imāmate* in the Qur'ānic verses which the Sunnī exegetes glossed over or suppressed. Shāh Waliu'llāh and his successors encouraged the study of the Persian and Urdu translation of the Qur'an and not the exegesis.

It was not the *taqiyya* and scarcity of Shi'i books that kept the Sunnīs ignorant of Shi'i works but they did not study them mainly because of the fact that a comparative study and research of *tafsīr*, *hadis*, *fiqh* and history might have broadened the Sunnī outlook and toppled the basis of fantastic stories that they retailed. After all, if Mawlānā Nu'mānī could obtain Shi'i books from a Sunnī centre at Lucknow why not others? Mawlānā Nadwī wants his readers to believe that the Isnā 'Ashari Shi'i

libraries were devoid of "such monuments of the service to the Qur'ān," as were found in the general Islamic libraries.¹³ Perhaps the Mawlānā did not visit the libraries of the seminaries at Qum or Mashhad or visited them casually. No Sunnī library except the Azhar University Library of Cairo can beat them in their number of books on Qur'ānic sciences. In no case the stock of Sa'ūdī libraries and his own Nadwa and Deoband libraries on the Qur'ānic sciences can compete with the stacks of the libraries at Qum and Mashhad on the above subjects. One might question Mawlānā Nadwī about Shi'ī book-shops in Iran and their publications. Was there no book trade in medieval Iran or is there no book trade in modern Iran? Why did not the Mawlānā who is the director of a very prosperous Sunnī academy of Lucknow acquire critical editions of *Usūl al-Kāfī* and other basic Shi'ī books for the benefit of Sunnī scholars? Perhaps they would have made Mawlānā Nu'mānī's studies in his old age much easier and he would have blessed him at least as much as he blessed Mawlānā 'Abdu'sh-Shakūr's descendant Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-'Alīm Farūqī.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Shi'īs who settled in India made strenuous efforts to promote better understanding among the two sects. They succeeded in promoting the love for Ahl-i Bayt among the Sunnīs but the growing number of the Tafzīliyyas or the Sunnīs who considered 'Alī as superior to the first three caliphs alarmed the Sunnī puritanists such as Mujaddid Alf-i Sānī who banned even the social relations with the Shi'īs. The political and economic interests of the Mughal government, however, frustrated his efforts. His successors too could not evoke popular Sunnī enthusiasm, even under Awrangzīb who banned the study of Mujaddid's letters.

Not only did the Shi'ī intellectuals make significant contributions to the strengthening of the Shi'ī states of Deccan but also made themselves indispensable to the Mughal empire from the reign of Akbar to the end of the Mughal rule. In the sixteenth century northern India they laid the foundation of philosophical and scientific researches and their impact on the Sunnī intellectuals was of far reaching importance. The martyrdom of Qāzī Nūru'llāh Shustarī was a serious set back to the Shi'īs but their intellectual superiority and military talents could not be ignored. Their influence far exceeded their number and led to the steady growth of Shi'ism in India. These topics have been discussed at greater length in the second volume of the present book.

13 *Dīn-i Islām aur awalīn Musalmānon kī do mutazād taswīren*, Lucknow, 1984, pp. 69-71.

Bibliography

ARABIC

- 'Abdu'l-Barr, Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abdu'llāh, *Kitāb al-isti'āb fī ma'rifat al-ashāb*, Hyderabad 1318/1900-1.
- 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Sāmānī and others, *al-Bayāz al-Ibrāhīmī*, Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow, Bankipur, Ivanow Arabic 887.
- 'Abdu'l-Hayy, *Nuzhatu'l-khawātir*, Hyderabad 1947-48.
- 'Abdu'l-Hayy b. al-'Imād, *Shazarātu'z-zahab*, Cairo 1350/1931.
- 'Abdu'llāh al-Makkī, *Zafaru'l-wālih bi Muzaffar wālih*, London 1910.
- 'Abdu'l-Jabbār b. Ahmad b. 'Abdu'l-Jabbār al-Hamadānī, *al-Mughni*, Cairo 1961-65.
- , *al-Mukht bi'l-taklif*, Cairo 1965.
- , *Mutashābih al-Qur'an*, Cairo 1969.
- , *Tanzīh al-Qur'an 'an-matā'in*, Cairo 1929.
- , *Tasbīṭ dalā'il nubūwwat Sayyidina Muhammad*, Beirut 1966.
- 'Abdu'llāh Sultānpūrī, *Minhāju'd-Dīn*, Rampur Ms.
- 'Abdu'l-Qādir al-Jilānī, *Al-Fath ar-rabbānī*, Cairo 1302/1884-85.
- , *Futūhu'l-ghayb*, text on margin of Shattanawfi's *Bahya*.
- , *Ghunyatu't-tālibīn*, Persian tr. by Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hakīm Siyālkotī, Delhi 1883.
- 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb al-Najdī, *Kitāb al-Tawhīd*, Delhi 1308/1890-91.
- 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jabartī, *'Ajā'ibu'l-āsār fī't-tarājim wa'l-akhbār*, 4 vols., Cairo 1958.
- Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, Lucknow 1900.
- Abu'l-Fidā, Ismā'il, *Al-Mukhtasar fī akhbāru'l-bashar*, 4 vols., Cairo 1325/1907.
- Abū Ishāq b. Nizām b. Mansūr, *Faysal al-tafriqa bayn at-tawhīdāt al-sadiqa wa'l-ihādāt al-zanādiqa*, I. O., Arabic Ms., Delhi 925.
- Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī, 'Alī b. Muhammad, *Akhlaq al-wazīrayn*, Damascus 1965.
- , *Masālib al-wazīrayn*, Damascus 1962.
- Abu'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī, *Maqātili't-Tālibiyyīn*, Cairo 1949, Persian tr. by Sayyid Hashim Rasūli Mahallāti, Tehran n.d.
- , *Aghānī*, Cairo n.d.
- Abū Muqātil as-Samarqandī, *al-'Alim wa'l-muta'llim, riwāyat Abī Muqātil 'an Abī Hanīfa*, also containing : *Risālat Abī Hanīfa ilā 'Usmān al-Battī*, and *al-Fiqh al-absat, riwāyat Abī Mutī' 'an Abī Hanīfa*, Cairo 1368/1948-49.
- Abū Nu'aym al-Isfahānī, *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, 10 vols., Cairo 1351-57/1932-38.
- Abū Rashīd Sa'id b. Muhammad an-Nishāpūrī, *al-Masā'il fil'-khalāf bayn al-Basriyyin wa'l-Baghdādiyyīn*, Berlin 12, Ahlwardt 5125.
- Abū Tālib al-Makkī, *Qūtū'l-qulūb*, Cairo 1933.
- Āfandī al-Isfahānī, al-Mīrzā 'Abd'ullāh, *Riyāz al-'ulamā'*, Qumm 1404/1984.
- 'Affī, Abu'l-'Alā', *Al-Malāmātiyya wa's-sūfiyya wa ash al-futūwwa*, Cairo 1364/1945.
- , *At-tasawwuf : as-sawrat ar-rūhiyya fi'l-Islām*, Cairo 1963.
- Āghā Buzurg al-Tehrānī, Muhammad Muhsin, *al-Zari'a ilā tasāntif al-shī'a*, Tehran 1936.
- Ahmad bin 'Abdu'l-Karīm, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iya*, Cairo n.d.

- Ahmad ibn-Hanbal, *al-Musnad*, Cairo 1313/1895.
- Ahmad ibn Idrīs al-Fāsi, *Majmū'a ahzāb wa awrād wa rasā'il*, Cairo 1359-1940.
- Ahmad Ashkūrī, Sayyid, *al-Imām al-Hakīm*, Najaf 1384/1964-65.
- al-'Āmilī, Bahā'u'd-Dīn M. b. Husayn, *'Aqā'id al-Shi'a al-Isnā 'Ashariyya*, Tehran n.d.
- al-'Āmilī, Muhsin al-Amīn, *A'yān a'sh-shi'a*, Damascus 1944.
- al-Amīnī, Muhammad Hādī, *Mu'jam al-matbū'āt al-Najafīyya munzu dukhūl al-tibā'a ilā'l-Najaf battā l-ān*, Najaf 1966.
- Ansārī al-Harawī, *Kitāb ilā'l-maqāmāt*, ed. and trans. by S. Laugier de Bearecueil, Mel. L. Massignon, I (1956), 153-171.
- al-Ash'arī, Abū'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ismā'il, *al-Ibāna 'an usūl ad-diyāna*, Cairo 1348/1929-30.
- , *Kitāb al-luma' fi'l-radd 'alā' ahl al-zaygh wa'l-bida'*, in R. McCarthy: *The Theology of al-Ash'arī*, Beirut 1953.
- , *Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 2 vols., ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30.
- , *Kitāb al-ibāna 'an usūl ad-diyāna*, Hyderabad 1321/1903; Eng. tr. W. C. Klein, *The Elucidation of Islam's foundation*, New Haven 1940.
- Āzād Bilgarāmī, Ghulām 'Alī, *Subhatul-Marjān*.
- 'Azudu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Ahmad b. 'Abdu'l-Ghaffār al-Ijī, *Sharh Mukhtasar al-muntahā'*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. 136.
- , *al-'Aqā'id*, Lucknow 1895.
- Badawī, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *Rasā'il ibn Sab'in*, Cairo 1956.
- , *Shathāt as-Sūfiyya : Abū Yazīd*, Cairo 1949.
- al-Baghdādī, 'Abdu'l-Qāhir b. Tāhir, *al-Farq bayn al-firāq*, Cairo 1948.
- , *Usūlul-d-dīn*, Istanbul 1928.
- al-Balāzurī, *Futūhul-buldān*, Leiden 1863-66; Eng. tr. Philip K. Hitti and F. C. Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic State*, New York 1916-24.
- , *Ansābul-ashraf*, Cairo 1955.
- Balba', 'Abdu'l-Hakīm, *Adābul-mu'tazila ilā nihāyat al-qarn al-rabi' al-hijri*, Cairo 1959.
- Bannānī, Abū Bakr, *Kitāb Ittihāf ahl al-'ināya ar-rabbāniyya fī ittihād tariq ahl-Allāh*, Cairo 1324/1908.
- , *Kitāb Madārij al-sulūk ilā mālik al-mulūk*, Cairo 1330/1912.
- al-Bāqillānī, Abū Bakr Muhammad (also called ibn al-Bāqillānī), *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1963.
- , *Kitāb al-tamhīd*, Beirut 1957.
- Board of 'Ulamā', *Fatāwā al-'Ālamgiriyya*, Deoband n.d.
- Bukhārī (al-), *Sharh Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, commentary by Muhammad b. Sa'id al-Kirmānī; 25 vols., Cairo 1351-56/1932-37.
- ad-Damirī, Kamālu'd-Dīn Muhammad, *Hayāt al-haywān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1950.
- Dawwānī, Jalālu'd-Dīn M. b. As'ad, *Sharh al-'Aqā'id al-'Azudiyya*, Cairo 1296/1879.
- , *al-Risāla al-qadīma fī isbāt al-wājib*, Rampur Ms., Sir Sālār Jang Ms.
- , *al-Hāshiya al-jadīda al-Jalāliyya*, I. O., Delhi, Arabic Ms. 844, Sir Sālār Jang Ms.
- Dayār Bakrī, Hasan, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, Egypt n.d.
- Dildār 'Alī b. Muhammad Mu'in (Ghufṛān Ma'āb), *'Imād al-Islām*, Lucknow n.d.
- , *Asāsu'l-usūl*, Aligarh University Ms.
- , *Shihāb-sāqib*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Dināwarī, Abū Hanīfa Ahmad, *Kitāb al-akhbār al-tiwāl*, Cairo 1960.
- Fazl b. Rūzbihān Isfahānī, *Ibtāl nahj al-bātil wa ihmāl kashf al-'ātil*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 792.
- al-Fārābī, Abū Nasr, *Al fārābī's philosophische Abhandlungen*, ed. F. Dieterici, Leiden : Brill 1890.
- , *Al fārābī's Book of Religion and Related Texts*, ed. Muhsin Mahdī, Beirut 1968.
- , *Ihsā'al-'ulūm*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1948.
- , *Ārā' ahl al-madīna al-fāzilā*, Beirut 1959.

- Farazdaq, *Dīwān* ed. 'Abdu'llāh Ismā'il al-Sāwī, Cairo 1936.
- Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī (attributed to), *Hāshiya 'alā' sharh al-Tajrīd*, I. O. Delhi Ms. 961a.
- Fayyāz 'Abdu'llāh, *Tārīkh al-Imāmiyya wa aslāfihim min al-Shī'a*, Beirut 1975.
- Fidā Husayn, *al-P'tizār*, Aligarh 1366/1947-48.
- Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid M. *Al-munqiz min az-zadāl*, Damascus 1358/1939.
- , *Ihyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn*, Cairo 1272/1855-56.
- , *Kitāb al-Iqtisād fī'l-i'tiqād*, Cairo n.d.
- , (ascribed to), *Sirr al-'ālamayn*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. 118.
- Hā'irī, M. b. Ismā'il, *Muntahā al-maqāl*, Tehran 1880.
- Hājji Khalifa, *Kashf az-zunūn*, Arabic text and Lat. tr. G. Flugel, 7 vols., Leipzig-London 1835-58.
- Hakīm at-Tirmizī (al-), *Bayān al-farq bayna's-sadr wa'l-qalb wa'l-fu'ād wa'l-lubb*, Cairo 1958.
- Hallāj, Mansūr (al-), *Akhbār al-Hallāj*, Paris 1957.
- al-Halabī, *al-Sīra al-halabiyya*, Alexandria 1280/1863-64.
- Hasan b. M. b. 'Alī al-Sahmī al-Muhallabī al-Hillī, *al-Anwār al-Badriya li kashf 'an shubah al-Qadriyya*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 960c.
- Al-Hillī, Jamālu'd-Dīn, Hasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Mutahhar, *al-Bāb al-hādī 'ashar*, Tehran 1370/1950-51; tr. W. Miller, 2nd ed. London 1958.
- , *Anwār al-malākūt fī sharh al-Yāqūt*, Tehran 1338/1960.
- , *Rijāl al-'Allāma al-Hillī*, Najaf 1961.
- , *Alfayn*, Tehran n.d.
- al-Hurr al-'Āmilī, Muhammad b. Hasan, *al-Īqāz min al-hay'a bi'l-burhān*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 737c.
- , *al-Risāla al-Isnā 'Ashariyya fī'l radd 'alā'l sūfiyya*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 719j.
- , *al-'Amalū'l 'āmil*, Baghdād 1385/1965-66.
- Ibn Abī'l-Hadīd, 'Izzu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Hāmid b. Hibatī'llāh al-Madanī, *Sharh Nahj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1950.
- Ibn-Abī Ya'lā (also called Abu'l-Husayn ibn-al-Farrā'), *Tabaqāt al-Hanābila*, Cairo 1952.
- Ibn al-'Arabī, Muhyiddīn, *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, Beirut 1386/1966.
- , *Al-asfār 'an risālat al-anwār fī mā yatajallā lī ahl az-zīkr min al-anwār*, with commentary by 'Abdu'l-Karīm al-Jilī, Damascus 1347/1966.
- , *Al-amr al-muhkam al-marbūl fī mā yalzām ahl tarīq Allāh min ash-shurūt*, Istanbul, Beirut 1330/1912.
- , *Fusūs al-hikam*, Cairo 1946.
- , *Kunh mā lā budda minhu li murīd*, Cairo 1328/1910-11.
- , *al-Futūhāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911.
- , *At-tadbīrāt al-ilāhiyya fī islāh al-mamlaka al-insāniyya*, Leiden 1919.
- Ibn-'Asākir, *Tabyīn kāzīm al-muftarī*, Damascus 1347/1928.
- Ibn al-Asīr, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī, *al-Kāmil fī't-tārīkh*, Beirut 1965.
- Ibn Bābūya, Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Abdu'llāh al-Qummī, *Amālī-yi Shaykh-i Sadūq bā tarjime-i fārsī*, Tehran 1380/1960.
- , *'Ilā'l al-sharā'ī' wa'l-ahkām wa'l-asbāb*, Najaf 1966.
- , *Kitāb kamāl al-dīn*, Tehran 1959.
- , *Ma'ānī l-akhbār*, Tehran 1379/1967.
- , *Man lā yahzuruhū'l-faqīh*, Tehran 1392/1972.
- , *Al-Muqni'a wa'l-Hidāya*, Tehran 1377/1957-78.
- , *Risālat al-i'tiqādāt*, in al-'Allāma al-Hillī's, *al-Bāb al-hādī 'ashar*, Tehran 1370/1950.
- , *Sifat al-Shī'a wa fazā'il al-Shī'a*, Tehran n.d.
- , *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riza'*, Qum 1377/1957-58.
- , *Al-āmālī wa'l-majālis*, Qum 1373/1953.
- Ibn Batta, Abū 'Abdu'llāh 'Ubaydu'llāh al-'Ukbarī, *Usūl al-sunna wa'l-diyāna*, in H.

- Laoust, *La Profession de foi d'Ibn Batta*, Damascus 1958.
- Ibn Battūta, *Rihla*, Beirut 1389/1960. ed. C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti, tr. H. A. R. Gibb for the Hakluyt Soc., University Press Cambridge 1958.
- Ibn Dāwūd, Taqīu'd-Dīn Hasan b. 'Alī, *Kitābu'r-rijāl*, Tehran 1342/1964.
- Ibn al-Fakhr, Bahā'u'd-Dīn 'Alī b. 'Īsa, *Kashf al-ghumma fī ma'rifat al-A'imma*, Tehran 1294/1877.
- Ibn Hajar al-Asqalānī, Shihābu'd-Dīn, *Tahzīb al-kamāl fī ma'rifat al-rijāl*, Hyderabad 1327/1909-10.
- , *al-durar al-kāmina fī i'yān al mi'at al sāmīna*, Hyderabad 1348/1929-30.
- Ibn Hajar al-Haysamī al-Makkī, *As-sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, Egypt 1890-91.
- , *Fath al-mubīn-Sharh Arba'in*, Cairo 1317/1899-1900.
- Ibn Hanbal, Ahmad, *al-Musnad*, Cairo 1895.
- Ibn Hawqal, Abu'l Qāsim Muhammad, *Kitāb-sūrat al-arz*, tr. Kramers, Leiden 1938-39.
- Ibn Hazm, Abū Muhammad 'Alī b. Ahmad, *al-Fisal fi'l-mīlal wal-ahwā' wa'l-nihal*, Cairo 1317-20/1899-1902.
- , *Tawq al-hamāna*, Petersburg/Leiden 1914.
- Ibn Hishām, Abū Muhammad, 'Abdu'l-Malik, *Sīrat Rasūl-Allāh*, Cairo 1937, Eng. tr. by A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, London 1955.
- Ibn al-'Imād al-Hanbalī, *Shazarāt az-zahab fī akhbār man zahab*, Cairo 1350-51/1931-32.
- Ibn 'Iyāz, Ahmad, *Al-Mafākhīr al-'aliyya*, Cairo 1381/1961.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *Naqd al-'ilm wa'l-'ulamā' aw Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo 1928; tr. D. S. Margoliouth, 'The Devil's Delusion' in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, ix (1935)-xxii (1948)
- , *al-Muntazam fī tārikh al-mulūk wa'l-umam*, Hyderabad 1358/1939.
- , *Kitāb al-qussās wa'l-muzakkirīn*, Beirut 1970.
- Ibn Jubayr, Abu'l-Husayn M., *Rihla, The travels of Ibn Jubayr*, London 1952; tr. M. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, 3 vols., Paris 1949-56.
- Ibn Kasīr, Abu'l-Fidā' Ismā'il b. 'Umar, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1929.
- Ibn Khaldūn, Abū Zayd 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Muhammad, *al-Muqaddīma*, 2nd ed., Cairo 1964, Eng. tr. R. Rosenthal, New York 1958.
- , *Ibar*, Beirut 1956-59.
- Ibn Khallikān, Ahmad, *Wafāyāt al-a'yān wa anbā' az-zamān*, Cairo 1948; Eng. tr. Baron MacGuckin de Slane, 4 vols., Paris 1842/71, repr. 1961.
- Ibn Māja, Abū 'Alī Muhammad b. Yazīd, *Kitāb al-sunan*, Cairo 1313/1895-96.
- Ibn Miskawayh, *al-Fawz al-asghar*, Beirut 1940.
- , *Tahzīb al-akhlāq*, Cairo 1950.
- Ibn al-Mubārak, Ahmad, *Kitāb al-Ibrīz*, Cairo 1317/1899-1900.
- Ibn al-Muqaffā', *Al-adab al-saghīr wa'l adab al-kabīr*, Beirut 1961.
- Ibn al-Murtazā, Ahmad b. Yahya, *Kitāb Tabaqāt al-Mu'tazila*, Wiesbaden 1961.
- Ibn al-Nadīm, Abu'l-Faraj Muhammad b. Ya'qūb, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, Cairo n.d.
- , *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm, A tenth-century survey of Muslim culture*, ed. and tr. D. Dodge, New York, Columbia 1970.
- Ibn Nujayam al-Misrī, Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn b. Ibrāhīm, *al-Ashbāh wa'n-nazā'ir*, Calcutta 1826.
- Ibn al-Qaysarānī, Abu'l-Fazl M. b. Tāhīr b. 'Alī al -Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-jama' bayn rijāl as-Sahāhīn*, Hyderabad, n.d.
- Ibn Qudāma, *Tahrīm an-nazar fī kutub ahl al-kalām*, ed. and trans. George Makdisi : *Ibn Qudāma's Censure of Speculative Theology*, London 1962.
- Ibn-Qutayba, *Ta'wīl mīkhtalīf al-hadīs*, Cairo 1326/1908.
- Ibn as-Sabbāgh, *Durratū'l-asrār tuhfatū'l-abrār fī manāqib; Sayyidī 'Alī Abi'l-Hasan ash-Shāzīlī*, Tunis 1304/1886.
- Ibn as-Sābūnī, *Takmilat ikmāl al-ikmāl*, Baghdād 1377/1957.

- Ibn Sa'd, Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad, *Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kabīr*, Leiden 1333/1914-15.
- Ibn al-Sarrāj, *Tazkira al-mazāhib*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 1951.
- Ibn Shahrāshūb, Muhammad, b. 'Alī al-Māzandarānī, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, Najaf 1961.
- Ibn Sīnā, *Kitāb al-ishārāt*, Leiden 1892, commentary by Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsī, Cairo 1950.
- , *al-Shīfā'*.
- , *Qānūn fi't-tibb*.
- Ibn Taghry Bardy, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhira*, Leiden 1851.
- , *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, Moscow 1967.
- , *al-'Uyūn wa Hadā'iq akhbār al-haqā'iq*, Leiden 1869.
- Ibn Tāwūs, 'Alī b. Mūsā, *al-Malāhīm wa'l-fitān*, Najaf 1961.
- Ibn Taymiyya, *Bayān muwāfaqat sarīh al-ma'qūl li-sahīh al-manqūl*. On the margin of Ibn Taymiyya; *Minhāj as-sunna an-nabawiyya*, 4 vols., Bulaq 1321-22/1903-4.
- , *Minhāj as-sunna an-nabawiyya fi naqd kalām ash-Shi'a wa'l-Qadariyya*, 4 vols., Bulaq 1321-1322/1903-5.
- , *Kitāb an-Nubūwwat*, Damascus 1346/1927-28.
- , *Majmū'at fatāwā Taqī'd-Dīn b. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1326-29/1908-11.
- , *Majmū'at ar-rasā'il al-kubrā*, 2 vols., Cairo 1323/1905-6.
- , *Majmū'at ar-rasā'il wa'l-masā'il*, Cairo 1341-49/1922-29.
- Ibn at-Tiqtaqā, *al-Fakhrī fi'l-ādāb al-sultāniyya*, Cairo 1921.
- I'jāz Husayn al-Kintūrī, *Kashf al-hujub wa'l-astār*, Calcutta 1330/1911-12.
- Irbīlī, 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Abī'l-Fath, *Kashfu'l-ghamma fi ma'rīfatu'l-a'imma*, Najaf 1965.
- al-Isfarāyīnī Abū'l-Muzaffar 'Imādu'd-Dīn Shāfur Tāhir b. Muhammad, *Al-tabstīr fi'd-dīn*, Cairo 1955.
- Ismā'il, M. Shāh, *'Abaqāt*, Karachi 1380/1960-61.
- Ismā'il Pāshā Baghdādī, *Hadyat al-'arīfīn, Asmā' al-mu'ā'lifīn wa āshār al-musannifīn*, Istanbul 1951.
- al-Jāhiz, Abū 'Usmān 'Amr b. Bahr, *Kitāb al-tarīb*, Damascus 1955.
- al-Jahshiyārī, Muhammad, *Kitābu'l-wazarā' wa'l-kuttāb*, Cairo 1938.
- Jāru'llāh, Zuhdī, *al-Mu'tazila*, Cairo 1947.
- Al-Jūrijānī, 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Sayyid al-Sharīf, *Sharh al-Mawāfiq li'l-'Allāma 'Azudu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Ahmad al-Ījī*, Istanbul 1929.
- , *Hāshiyā 'alā Sharh al-tajrīd*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 789, Sir Sālār Jang Ms.
- , *al-Hāshiyā al-qadīma al-Jalāliyya*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 826b, Sir Sālār Jang Ms.
- Al-Juwānī, Abū'l-Ma'ālī 'Abdu'l-Mālik Imāmu'l-Haramayn, *Kitāb al-irshād*, Cairo 1950.
- Kābulī, Nasru'llāh, *al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa li ikhwān al-Shayātīn wa'l zalāl wa'l-zandaqah*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 9161, alternative title, *Sawāqi' al-muhriqa*, Rampur Ms. *Sawāqi'*, Āsafiyya Hyderabad Ms.
- Kalābazī, Abū Bakr, *Kitāb at-ta'arruf li mazhab ahl at-tawawwuf*, Cairo 1934 and tr. by Arberry, A. J. Cambridge 1935.
- Kanjī ash-Shāfi'ī, Muhammad b. Yūsuf. b. Muhammad, *Kifāyatū't-tālib fi manāqib, 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, Najaf 1970.
- Al-Karājakī, Abū'l-Fath Muhammad b. 'Alī, *Kanzu'l-fawā'id*, Tehran 1323/1906-6.
- Al-Kāshif al-Ghitā', Muhammad Husayn, *Asl al-Shi'a wa usūluhā*, 14th ed., Najaf 1965.
- Al-Kashshī, Muhammad b. 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l 'Azīz, *Ma'rifa akhbār ar-rijāl*, Bombay n.d.
- Al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931.
- Al-Khayyāt, Abū'l-Husayn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. 'Usmān, *Kitābu'l-intisār*, Cairo 1925.
- Khwanṣārī, Mīr Sayyid Muhammad Bāqir, *Rawzātū'l-jannāt fi ahwāl al-'ulamā' wa's sādāt*, Tehran 1391/1971, 2nd ed. Persian tr. Shaykh M. Bāqir Sā'idī Khurāsānī, Tehran 2534 Imperial era.
- Al-Khwārizmī, Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Mafātihu'l-'ulūm*, Cairo 1342/1923-24.
- Khayālī, Ahmad b. Mūsā, *Hāshiyā al-khayālī 'alā sharh 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, Lucknow 1876.

- Kubrā, Najmu'd-Dīn, *Die Fawā'ih al-jamāl wa fawā'ih al-jalāl des Najm ad-dīn al-Kubrā*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957.
- al-Kūfī, Ibn A'sam, Abū Muhammad Ahmad, *Kitāb al-futūh*, Urdu translation, Delhi n.d.
- al-Kulaynī, Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. Ya'qūb, *Al-Uṣūl min al-Kāfī*, Tehran 1392/1972, 4th edn.
- al-Kurkī al-Āmulī, al-Shaykh Hasan b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu'l 'Alī, *Atā'ib al-kilām fī bayān silat al-rahm*, Qumm 1394/1974.
- Lāhawri, Khwāja Kamālu'd-Dīn, *Hāshiyā Khwāja Kamālu'd-Dīn (Tajrid)*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 85.
- Lane, E.W., *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863-93.
- Madanī, Muhammad Zāfir (al-), *Al-Anwār al-Qudsīyya bi-tanzīh turuq al-qawm al-'āliyya*, Istanbul 1302/1884-85.
- Mahfūz, Husayn 'Alī, *Tārīkh al-Shī'a*, Baghdād 1958.
- al-Majlisī, Muhammad Bāqir, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran 1305/1887-88.
- al-Malafī, *Kitāb at-tanbīh wa'r-radd 'alā'ahl al-ahwā' wa'l-bida'*, Leipzig 1936.
- Mālik, b. Anas, *al-Muwatta*, Cairo 1862.
- Maqrīzī (al-), *Kitābu's-sulūk li-ma'rīfat duwal al-mamlūk*, Cairo 1934-58.
- , *Kitāb al-khitāt wa'l-āsār fī'l Misr wa'l Qāhira*, Bulaq 1270-1853.
- , *al-Nizā' Wa't-takhāsum bayn al-Banī Umayya wa Banī Hāshim*, Najaf 1948.
- al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūju'z-zahab*, Beirut 1966.
- , *at-Tanbīh wa'l ishrāf*, Leiden 1894.
- al-Māturīdī, *Kitāb at-tawhīd*, Beirut 1970.
- Minqarī, Nasr b. Muzāhim, *Wāqa'at Siffīn*, Cairo 1365/1945/46.
- al-Miqdād, b. 'Abdu'llāh, b. Muhammad al-Suyūrī, *Sharh al-bāb al-hādī 'ashar al-nafī' yawm al-hashar*, I. O. Delhi Ms. 913.
- , *Sharh Nahj al-mustarshidīn*, Tehran n.d.
- , *al-Qawā'id al-fiqhiyya*, Qumm 1403/1983.
- Mīr Dāmād, Bāqir al-Husaynī al-Astarābādī, *Nibras al-ziya'* I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 960a.
- , *al-Khulāsa al-malakūtiyya*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 1617b.
- , *Risāla al-khil'a*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 617a.
- , *Sirātu'l-mustaqīm*, Tehran n.d.
- , *Qabasāt*, Tehran n.d.
- Mīr Muhammad Zāhid, *Hāshiyā Mīr Zāhid 'alā 'sharh al-Mawāqif*, Lucknow n.d.
- Mīrzā Jān Shīrāzī, Habību'llāh, *Hāshiyā 'alā 'sharh al-Mawāqif*, Āsafīyya Ms.
- , *Hāshiyā 'alā'l-Hāshiyā al-qadīmā (Dawwānī)*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 826c.
- al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Leipzig 1874.
- al-Mufīd, Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad b. Muhammad b. al-Nu'mān al-Hārisī, ibn al-Mu'allim, *Amālī al-Shaykh al-Mufīd*. 3rd ed., Najaf 1962.
- , *Awā'il al-maqālāt fī'l mazāhib al-mukhtārāt*, Tabriz 1371/1951.
- , *al-Fusūl al-'asharā fī'l-ghayba*, Najaf 1951.
- , *al-Fusūl al-mukhtār min al-'Uyūn wa'l-mahāsīn*, 3rd ed., Najaf 1950.
- , *al-Iṣṣāh fī imāmat 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, 2nd ed., Najaf 1950.
- , *al-Ikhtisās*, Tehran 1379/1959-60.
- , *Kitāb al-Irshād fī ma'rīfat hujaj Allāh 'alā 'l-'ibād*, Najaf 1962; Tehran, Eng. tr. J.K.A. Howard, London 1981.
- , *al-Jamal, aw al-musra fī harb al-Basra*, Najaf 1963.
- , *Khams rasā'il fī isbāt al-hujja*, Najaf 1951.
- , *al-Masā'il al-sāghāniyya fī'l-radd 'alā' Abī Hanīfa*, Najaf n.d.
- , *al-Saqālān : al-kitāb wa'l-'itra*, Najaf n.d.
- , *al-Nukāt al-i'tiqādiyya*, Tehran 1324/1906-7.
- , *Sharh aqā'id al-Sadūq aw tashīh al-i'tiqād*, Tabriz 1371/1951.
- Muhammad b. al-Hasan, *Ghayba*, Najaf 1965.

- Muhammad b. M. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz b. 'Umar, *al-Muḥīṭ*, Ivanow, Arabic Ms. 405.
 Muhammad Muhsin Kashmīrī, *Najāh al-Mu'minīn*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 866.
 Muhaqqiq-i Hillī, Najmu'd-Dīn Ja'far bin Hasan b. Yahya, *Sharā'i al-Islām*, Tehran n.d.
 Muhibbu'llāh Bihārī, *Musullam al-subūt*, Aligarh 1879.
 —, *Munhiyāt Musallam as-subūt*, Kanpur 1881.
 Muhsin al-Amīn, *I'yān a'l-Shi'a*, Damascus and Beirut.
 Muhsin Kāshī, M. b. al-Murtazā, *Qurrah al-'uyūn fī a'azz al-funūn*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 244.
 —, *Mīzān al-qiyāma*, Tehran n.d.
 —, *Usūlu'l-ma'ārif*, Mashhad 1354 sh/1976.
 al-Mulātī, Abu'l-Husayn Muhammad b. Ahmad, *al-Tanbīh wa'l-radd 'alā' ahl-ahwā' wa'l-bida'*, Cairo 1949.
 Mullā Mahmūd Jawnpūrī, *Al-Shams al-bāzigha*, commentary on his own *Hikma al-bāzigha*, Lucknow 1288/1871.
 Murādī, M. Khalil, *Silk ad-durar fī a'yān al-qu'art as-sāni' ashār*, 4 vols., Cairo 1874/83.
 Murtazā Muhammad Amīn al-Ansārī, *Ar-Rasā'il al-arba'a (Fawā'idu'l-usāl)*, Qum 1374/1954.
 al-Muzaffar, Muhammad Rizā', *'Aqā'id al-Imāmiyya*, Najaf 1961.
 al-Najāshī, Abū 'Abbās Ahmad b. 'Alī, *Kitāb ar-rijāl*, Tehran n.d.
 Najmu'd-Dīn Khizr b. M. b. 'Alī al-Rāzī, *al-Tawzīh al-anwār li dafa' shubh al-a'war*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. III.
 al-Nashshār, *'Alī Sāmī, Nash'at al-fikr al-falsafī fil-Islām*, 4th ed. 1966.
 Al-Nawbakhtī, Abū Muhammad al-Hasan b. Mūsa, *Kitāb firaq a'sh Shi'a*, Najaf 1936, 1956.
 Nisā'i, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *Sunan*, Kanpur 1299/1881-82.
 Nizām al-Jilānī, Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Fatāwā Ibrāhīm Shāhī*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. 159.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn b. Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn al-Sihālī, *Sharh Musallam as-subūt*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. 140.
 Nu'mānī, Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far, *Kitāb al-ghayba*, Tabriz 1383/1963.
 Nūru'llāh Shustarī, Qāzī, *Ihqāq al-Haqq*, ed. 'Allāma Najafī Mar'ashī, Qum.
 —, *al-Sawārim al-muhriqa fī dafa' al-Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. 112.
 —, *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsib*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. 14, Rampur Ms.
 —, *Hāshiyā Nūru'llāh (Tajrīd)*. I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 846.
 Qalqashandī, Ahmad, *Subh al-a'shā'*, Cairo 1913-19.
 al-Qarshī, 'Abdu'l-Qādir, *al-Jawāhir al-madīyyat fī tabaqāt al-Hanafīyya*, Hyderabad 1332/1913-14.
 al-Qastallānī, Shihābu'd-Dīn Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad B. Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Khatib, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya bi'l-mināhi'l Muhammadīyya*, Ivanow, Arabic Ms. 30.
 al-Qummī, Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, *Tafsīr al-Qummī*, Najaf 1386/1966-67.
 Qūnawī, Sadru'd-Dīn, *I'jāz al-bayān fī tāwīl unum al-Qur'ān*, Hyderabad 1368/1948.
 al-Qūshjī, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Alī b. M., *Sharh-Tajrīd al-'aqā'id*, Tehran 1321/1903.
 Qushshāshī, Ahmad B. Muhammad, *As-simt al-majīd*, Hyderabad n.d.
 al-Rāwandī, Qutbu'd-Dīn Sa'tb bin Hibbatu'llāh, *Fiqh al-Qur'ān*, Qum 1399/1978-99.
 Rāzī, Fakhrū'd-Dīn Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad b. 'Umar, *Mafātih al-ghayb*, Cairo 1324/1906-7.
 —, *I'tiqādāt al-firaq al-Mustimīn wa'l mushrikīn*, Cairo 1338/1919.
 —, *al-Munāzarāt*, Hyderabad 1354/1935.
 al-Rummānī, 'Alī b. 'Īsa, *Salās rasā'il fī i'jāz al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1968.
 Rūzbihān b. 'Alī Nasr al-Baqī, *'Arā'is al-bayān fī haqā'iq al-Qur'ān*, Bankipur XVIII, Part II, No. 1454.
 Sabzwārī, Hājji Muhammad Hādī, *Sharh-i Manzūmah*, Tehran 1969.
 Sa'd b. 'Abdu'llāh b. Abī Khalaf al-Qummī, *Kitāb al-maqālāt wa'l-firaq*, Tehran 1963.

- Sadru'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, *al-Hikmat al-muta'aliyya fi'l asfār al-'aqliyya al-arba'a*, Tehran 1282/1865 Persian tr. J. Muslih, *Falsafa-i 'alā ya hikmat-i Sadr al-Muta'allihīn*, Tehran 1355 sh.
- , *al-Hikmat al-'arshīyya*, Isfahān 1341 sh, Persian tr. Ghulām Husayn Āhanī.
- , *Kitāb al-mashā'ir* ed. J. Ashtiyānī, Mashhad 1381.
- , *Sharh al-hidāya al-'āsāriyya*, Lucknow n.d.
- , *Sharh Usūl al-Kāfī*, Tehran 1391/1971.
- , *al-Shawāhid al-Rubūbiyya fi'l-manāhij al-sulūkiyya*, ed. J. Ashtiyānī, Mashhad 1346/1927-28.
- , *al-Tafsīr*, Tehran 1313/1895.
- Al-Safādī, Salāhu'd-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak, *al-Wāfī bil-wafayāt*, Leipzig 1931.
- Sāghānī al-Hīndī, *Mashāriq al-anwār al-Nabawīyya min Sihāh al-akhbār al-Mustafawīyya*, Lucknow 1319/1901-2.
- Sā'inu'd-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muhammad Turka, *Tamhīd al-qawā'id*, Tehran 1976.
- al-Sam'ānī, Abū Sa'd 'Abd al-Karīm b. M. al-Tīmīmī, *Kitāb al-ansāb*, London 1912.
- al-Samarqandī, Abū'l-Lays Nasr b. M. b. Ahmad al-faqīh, *Khizānat al-fiqh*, Buhār, Arabic Ms. 150.
- Sarrāj, Abū Nasr, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, Cairo 1380/1960.
- Shahīd al-Awwal, Muhammad b. Jamālu'd-Dīn al-Makkī al-'Āmilī, *al-Luma' al-Dimashqiyya*, Najaf 1967.
- Shahīd as-Sānī, Zaynu'd-Dīn al-Jab'ī al-'Āmilī, *al-Rawzat al-bahīyya fī sharh al-Luma' al-Dimashqiyya*, Najaf 1967.
- , *Shatr al-usūl min kitāb Ma'ālim al-dīn wa malaz al-mujtahidīn*, Tehran 1378-1958.
- Sha'rānī, 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, *Al-Yawāqīt wa'l-jawāhīr*, 2 vols., Cairo 1351/1932.
- , *At-Tabaqāt al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1355/1938.
- Sharīf, al-Husaynī ar-Razī (compiler), *Nahju'l-balāgha*, ed. Shaykh M. 'Abdu'l, Beirut n.d.
- Sharīf, al-Murtazā Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Husayn 'Alam al-Hudā', *Āmali al-Murtazā*, Cairo 1954.
- , *Kitāb al-shāfi fi'l-imāma*, Tehran 1301/1883-84.
- , *Jumal al-'ilm wal-'amal*, Najaf 1387/1967-68.
- , *Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtazā*, Najaf 1387/1967.
- , *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, 3rd ed., Najaf 1961.
- , *Durar wa'l gharar*, Tehran 1277/1860-61.
- al-Shahrastānī, Abū'l-Fath Muhammad, *Kitāb al-mīlal wa'l-nihāl*, Cairo 1948-49.
- , *Kitāb nihāyat al-iqdām fī 'ilm al-kalām*, Baghdād n.d.
- Shaybī, Kāmil M., *As-silā bayn at-tasawwuf wa'l-tashayyū'*, Cairo 1967.
- Shaykh Hasan al-'Ajāmī, *Al-'asab al-Hīndī fī radd maqālāt al-Sīrhīndī*, Āsafīya Ms.
- Shaykhu'l-Ishrāq, Shihābu'd-Dīn Yahya Suhrawardī Maqtūl, *Majmū'a-i musannifāt-i Shaykh-i Ishrāq*, vol. I ed. by Henry Corbin, *Kitāb al-talwīhāt*, *Kitāb al-muqāwamāt*, *Kitāb al-mashā'ir wa'l-mutārahāt*, vol. II ed. by H. Corbin, *Kitāb Hikmat al-Ishrāq*, *Risāla fī 'itiqād al-hukamā'*, *Qissat al-gharbat al-gharabiyya*, Vol. III ed. by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Partaw-nāma*, *Hayākīl al-nūr*, *Alwāh-i 'imādī*, *Risālat at-tayr*, *Āwāz-i par-i Jabra'īl*, *'Aql-i surkh*, *Ruze bi jamā'at-i sūfiyān*, *Fī hālāt-i tufāliyat*, *fī haqīqat al-'ishq* or *Mūnis al-'ushshāq*, *Lughāt-i mūrān*, *Safīr-i sīmurgh*, *dar mobādī dar maqāsid*, Tehran 1976-77.
- Shaykh 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Zaynu'd-Dīn al-'Āmilī, *al-Durr al-mansūr min al-masūr*, Qum 1398/1977-78.
- Shaykh Muhammad b. Shaykh Fazlu'llāh, *Tuhfat al-mursila 'alā' al-Nabī*, Hyderabad, 1309/1891-92.
- al-Subkī, Abū Nasr Tājū'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu'l-Kāfī, *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyat al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324/1906-7.
- , *Fatāwā's Subkī*, 2 vols., Cairo 1355-56/1936-37.
- Suhrawardī, Shihābu'd-Dīn, *'Awārif al-ma'ārif*, Cairo 1358/1939.
- Sulamī, Abū 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *Kitāb ādāb as-suhba*, Jerusalem 1954.

- Sulaymān b. 'Abdu'llāh al-Bahrānī, *Risālat al-Bābuway wa 'ulamā' al-Bahrayn*, Qum 1404/1981.
- Surūr, Jamālu'd-Dīn, *Dawlat Banī Qal'ān fī Misr*, Cairo 1947.
- Surūr, Tāhā 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, *at-Tasawwuf al-Islāmī wa'l-Imām ash-Sha'rānī*, Cairo 1952.
- , *Al-Ghazālī*, Cairo 1945.
- , *Muhyi'uddīn ibn al-'Arabī*, n.d.
- Suyūṭī, Jalālu'd-Dīn, *Husn al-muhāzara fī akhbār Misr wa'l-Qāhira*, 2 vols., Cairo 1299/1881-82.
- , *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1306/1888.
- , *Tārīkh*, Cairo n.d.
- at-Tabarī, Abū Ja'far, *Tārīkh ar-rusūl wa'l-mulūk*, Leiden 1964.
- , *Jāmi' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1321/1903.
- at-Tabarsī, Abū Mansūr Ahmad b. 'Alī, *al-Ihtijāj*, Beirut 1969.
- , *P'lām al-warā' bi' al'lām al-hudā*, Tehran 1379/1959.
- Tafraṣhī, Āqa Mīr Mustafā, *Naqd al-rijāl*, Tehran 1318/1900-1.
- Taftāzānī, Sa'du'd-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar, *Tahzīb al-mantiq wa'l kalām*, Lucknow 1869.
- , *Sharh-i 'aqā'id al-Nasafī*, Lucknow 1876.
- , *Sharh al-maqāsid*, Constantinople 1277/1860-61.
- Tāhā, Shaykh Muhammad, *Itqān al-maqāl fī ahwāl ar-rijāl*, Najaf 1340/1921-22.
- Tayyib b. Abī Bakr al-'Arabī al-Hazramī al-Shāfi'i, *Ihtida al-wāqif ilā'l iqtidā bi'l mukhālif*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 790.
- Thānesarī, Jalālu'd-Dīn, *Risāla ārāzī*, Aligarh Ms.
- al-Tirmizī, Abū 'Isā Muhammad b. 'Isā, *Sahīh al-Tirmizī*, Cairo 1934.
- Tirmizī, al-Hakīm, *Kitāb Khatmu'l-wilāya*, Beirut 1965.
- at-Tūsī, Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. al-Hasan, Shaykh at-Tā'ifa, *al-Fihrist*, Mashhad 1351-1973.
- , *Rijāl al-Tūsī*, Najaf 1961.
- , *Tahzīb al-akhām*, Najaf 1959.
- , *Talkhīs al-Shāfi*, Najaf 1963.
- , *al-Tamhīd fī'l-usūl*, Āstāna-i Quds Library Mashhad.
- , *Tafsīr al-tibyān*, Najaf 1957.
- , *Qawā'id al-'aqā'id*, Tehran 1303/1886.
- , *al-Isṭibṣār fī mukhtulifa fīhi min al-akhbār*, Lucknow 1307/1889-90.
- , *Kitāb al-ghayba*, Najaf 1965.
- Tūsī, Nasīru'd-Dīn, *Fusūl al-'aqā'id*, Baghdād 1970.
- Tustarī, Badru'd-Dīn M. b. As'ad al-Yamanī, *Sharh Tajrīdu'l-'aqā'id*, I. O. Delhi, Arabic Ms. 1496b.
- 'Utbī, Abū Nasr Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jabbār, al-Yamīnī, Delhi 1874; *Tarjama-i tārikh-i Yamīnī* by Abu'sh-Sharīf Nasīb b. Sa'd al-Munshī al-Harbazaqānī, Tehran 1345 sh/1966.
- Walīu'd-Dīn M. 'Abdu'llāh, *Mishkāt al-masābih*, Amritsar 1895-96.
- Walīu'llāh Dihlawī, Shāh, Arabic tr. of *Radd-i Rawāfi'z* by Mujaddid, I. O., Arabic Ms.
- , *Fuyūz al-Haramayn*, Urdu tr., Lahore 1947.
- , *Hujjat-Allāh al-bāligha*, Karachi n.d.
- , *Lama'āt*, Hyderabad, Sind n.d.
- , *Hama'āt*, Hyderabad, Sind n.d., Urdu tr., Lahore n.d.
- , *Al-musawwa*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Ta'wīl al-ahādīs* Hyderabad Sind 1385/1966, Eng. tr., G. N. Jalbani, Lahore 1973.
- , *Al-Khayr al-kasīr*, Karachi n.d., Eng. tr., G. N. Jalbani, Lahore 1974.
- , *Al-budūr al-bāzigha*, Bijnor 1936.
- , *Sa'āt*, Hyderabad, Sind 1964.
- , *'Iqd al-jidd fī bayān akhām al-ijtihād wa't taqlīd*, Delhi 1310/1892.

- , *Al-insāf fī bayān-i sabab al-ikhtalāf*, Delhi 1935.
 —, *Al-irshād ilā muhimmāt 'ilm al-isnād*, Lahore n.d.
 al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, London 1966.
 Yāfi'i, 'Afīfu'd-Dīn, *Ad-Durr al-nāzim fī fazā'il al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm*, Cairo 1315.
 —, *Mir'āt al-janān wa 'ibrat al-yadzān*, 4 vols., Hyderabad 1337-39/1918-20.
 —, *Nashr al-mahāsīn al-ghāliya fī fazl al-mashāyikh as-sūfiyya*, Cairo 1381-1961.
 —, *Rawz ar-rayāhīn fī hikāyāt as-sālihīn*, Cairo n.d.
 Yahya b. Adam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Leiden 1896.
 al-Ya'qūbī, Ahmad b. 'Alī Ya'qūb al-Wāzih, *at-Tārikh*, Beirut 1960.
 Yāqūt, Shihābu'd-Dīn, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, Beirut 1955.
 Yūsuf b. Muhammad b. Muhammad, *al-Mulakkhas min al-katubi'i-kalāmiyya fī bayāni i'l-firqat i'l-Islāmiyya*, Ivanow, Arabic 889.
 Yūsuf Karakūsh, *Tārikh al-Hilla*, Najaf 1965.
 al-Zahabī, Abū 'Abdu'llāh Muhammad b. Ahmad, *Kitāb al-ibar fī khabar*, Kuwait 1960-66.
 —, *Mizān al-i'tidāl fī naqd al-rijāl*, Cairo 1963.

PERSIAN

- 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *Tuhfa i-Akbar Shāhī*, Dacca 1964.
 'Abdu'l-Amīr al-A'zam, *Nasīru'd-Dīn Tūsi*, Tehran 1972.
 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Shāh, *Fathu'l-'Azīz*, 3 vols.; *Alif Lām Mīm*, Bombay 1294/1877-78; 'Āmm, Bombay 1306/1888; *Tabārak al-lazī*, Lahore 1277/1860.
 —, *Fatāwā-i Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz*, Delhi 1311/1893-94.
 —, *Bustānu'l-muhaddisīn*, Delhi 1898.
 —, *'Ujāla-i nāfi'a*, Karachi 1964.
 —, *Tahqīqu'r-rūya*, Delhi 1350/1931-32.
 —, *Wasīlatu'n-najāt*, Calcutta 1248/1832-33.
 —, *Risāla dar i'tiqād-i Shāh Walīu'llāh*, Rampur Ms.
 —, *Sangīt-Shāstra*, Rampur Ms.
 —, *Sharh Mullā Sadra*, Aligarh University, Firangī Mahal Collection.
 —, *Fatāwā wa Maktūbāt*, Aligarh University Ms.
 —, *Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow 1295/1878.
 —, *Munhiyāt-i Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, Ms.
 —, *Sirru'sh-Shahādātayn*, Lucknow 1286/1869-70.
 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Nihāwandī, *Ma'āsir-i Rahīmi*, Calcutta 1910-31.
 'Abdu'l-Ghanī b. Abī Tālib al-Kashmīr, *Jāmi'ur-Razawī*, Bankipur 1268/1851-52.
 'Abdu'l-Hamid Lāhorī, *Pādshāh-nāma*, Calcutta 1866-72.
 'Abdu'l-Haqq Haqqī, Muhaddis Dihlawī, *Madāriju'n-nubūwwa*, Lucknow 1880.
 —, *Takmilu'l Imān*, Ethé 2583.
 —, *Sharh Sufaru's-sa'āda*, Lucknow 1903.
 —, *Fazā'il-i a'imma-i isnā 'ashar*, I.O., D.P. Ms. 661 (a).
 —, *Akhbāru'l-akhyār*, Delhi 1914.
 —, *Jazbu'l-qulūb ilā diyār al-mahbūb*, Kanpur 1903.
 —, *Zādu'l-muttaqīn fī sulūk tarīq al-yaqīn*, Rampur Ms.
 —, *Al-Makātīb wa'r rasā'il*, Delhi 1914.
 —, *Risāla i-nūriya-sultāniyya*, I.O., D.P. 659b.
 —, *Zikru'l mulūk*, Aligarh University Ms.
 'Abdu'l-Jabbār Khān Malkāpūri, *Mahbūb-i zhi'l-manan*, *Tazkira Awliyā-i Dakan*, Hyderabad 1331 H.
 'Abdu'l-Karīm, Khwāja, *Bayān-i wāqī'*, Lahore 1970.
 'Abdu'l-Karīm 'Alawī Munshī K., *Muhārba-i Kābul wa Qandahār*, Kanpur 1267/1851.

- 'Abdu'llāh, *Tārikh-i Dāwudi*, Aligarh n.d.
- 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Abdu'llāh Shustārī, *Izhāru'l-Haqq*, Bankipur 1301.
- 'Abdu'llāh Ansārī, Shaykhu'l Islām Abū Ismā'il, *Tabaqātus sūfiyya*, Kabul n.d.
- , *Anisul murīdīn wa shamsul majālis*, Ethé 1788.
- 'Abdu'l-Latif, *Ahmad-nāma*, I. O., 3964.
- 'Abdu'l-Latif Shamsī, *Rūhu'l-jinān in Rūzbihān-nāma*, Tehran 1347 sh./1968.
- 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān, *Tārikh-i 'Imādu'l-Mulk*, Bankipur Ms. VIII, 615.
- 'Abdu'l Quddūs Gangohī, *Anwāru'l-'uyūn*, Aligarh Ms.
- , *Rushd-nāma*, Hindī tr. by S.A.A. Rizvi and S. Zaidi, Aligarh 1971.
- 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Nūrī, *Futūhāt-i Kubrāwiyya*, Oriental Research Dept., Srinagar.
- 'Abdu'n-Nabī, *Maykhāna*, Lahore 1926.
- 'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Muhammad b. Husayn b. Nazar 'Alī, *Absāru'l-mustabsirīn*, Bankipur 1330.
- 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Chishtī, *Mur'ātu'l-asrār*, Rieu I, 359b.
- 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, Shāh, *Anfās-i Rahīmiyya*, Delhi 1915.
- 'Abdu'r-Rashīd b. 'Abdu'l Ghafūr, *Farhang i-Rashīdī*, Ethé 2504.
- 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Kāshī, *Maktūbāt*, Ethé 1835.
- 'Abdu's Samad b. Afzal Muhammad, *Akhbāru'l-āsafiya*, Bankipur VII, 668.
- Abū Talīb Khān Tabrizī Isfahānī, Landanī, *Lubbu's-siyar-jahān-numā'*.
- Abū Sa'id 'Abdu'l-Hajj, *Zaynu'l-akhbār*, Berlin 1928.
- Abū Turāb, *Hadīqatu'l-'ālam*, Hyderabad 1310/1082-93.
- Abu'l-Fath Gīlānī, *Ruqa'āt i-Abu'l Fath*, Lahore.
- Abu'l Fayyāz Qamaru'l Haqq Ghulām Rashīd, *Ganj i-Arshādī*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Abu'l-Fayz Kamālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Ihsān, *Rawzātu'l-Qayyūmiyya*, Ivanow, Curzon 82.
- Abu'l-Fazl 'Allāmī, Shaykh, *Akbar-nāma*, 3 vols., Calcutta 1873-87. Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1897-1921.
- , *A'in i-Akbarī*, 3 vols., Lucknow 1892, Eng. tr. vol. I, H. Blochmann, 2nd ed. revised D.C. Phillott, Calcutta 1939; vol. II and III tr. H.S. Jarrett and revised J.N. Sarkār, Calcutta 1948.
- , *Iyār i-dānish*, Lucknow n.d.
- Abu'l-Hasan Mānikpūri, *A'ina-i Awadh*, Kanpur 1880.
- Abu'l-Ma'ālī b. Qāzī b. Qāzī Nūru'llāh, *Masā'ibu'n-nawāsiib*, Persian tr., Rampur Ms.
- Abu'l Qāsim ev-Oghlī, *Nuskha-i-jāma' i-Murāsīlāt*, Rieu I, 338b-391a.
- Abu'l-Qāsim Namkīn, *Munsh'āt i-Namkīn*, Ethé 2064, Aligarh University Ms.
- Abu'n-Nasr Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī* Tehran 1936.
- Ādam Banūrī, *Nikātu'l-asrār*, Bankipur XVI, 1397.
- Ahmad, 'Allāma Hindī, *Wirāsatu'l-anbiyā'*, Lucknow 1336/1918.
- Ahmad b. Nasru'llāh, Thattawī and others, *Tārikh-i Alfī*, Ethé 100.
- Ahmad 'Alī Sandīlawī, Shaykh, *Makhzanu'l-gharā'ib*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Ahmad Husayn, *Zafar-i dīn*, Rampur Ms.
- Ahmad Sirhindī, Shaykh, Mujaddid, *Kulliyāt*, Tashkent Oriental Institute, U.S.S.R. Ms.
- , *Maktūbāt Imām-i Rabbānī*, Karachi 1392/1972.
- , *Radd-i Rawāfiẓ*, Kanpur 1891-92.
- Ākhund Darweza Nīngarhārī, *Makhzanu'l-Islām*, Ethé 2632.
- Akram 'Alī, Mīr, *Shawāhid-i Fadakiyya*, Bankipur 1325.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Kāmī, Qazwīnī, *Nafā'isul-ma'āsir*, Rampur Ms.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnānī, Shaykh, *Al-'urwa li ahl al-khalwa*, Rieu Supp. No. 19.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn M. b. Abū Turāb Gulistāna al-Husaynī, *Manhājul-yaqīn*, Rieu 22.
- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad Chishtī Barnāwī, *Chishīyya-i Bihishīyya*, Ivanow, Curzon 78, Panjab University Ms.
- 'Alā'u'l-Mulk Husaynī Shustārī Mar'ashī, *Firdaws*, Qum n.d.
- 'Alī al-Hā'irī al-Qummī al-Lāhorī, *Tahzīr al-mu'ānidīn*, Lahore 1318/1900-1901.

- 'Alī b. Husayn al-Wā'iz al-Kāshifī, *Latā'ifu'l-tawā'if*, Ethé 784.
- 'Alī b. Tayfūr Bistāmī, *Hadīqatu's-Salāṭīn fī kalāmu'l-khawāqīn*, Sir Sālār Jang Ms., Hyderabad.
- , *Tarjuma-i Makārimu'l-akhlāq*, Bankipur 1220.
- 'Alī Anwar Qalandar, *Tahrīru'l-Anwar fī Tafsīr al-qalandar*, Lucknow 1920/1873.
- 'Alī Asghar, *Jawāhir-i Faridī*, Lahore 1884.
- 'Alī Hamadānī, Mīr Saiyid, *Rasā'il* from Rampur Library, Tashkent and Leningrad.
- , *Muwaddatu'l-qurbā*, Lahore n.d.
- , *Zakhīratu'l-mulūk*, Lahore.
- , *Muwaddatu'l-qurbā*, Lahore.
- 'Alī Hasan Khān, Sayyid, *Subh-i Gulshan*, Bhopal 1295/1878.
- 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, *Riyāzu'sh shu'arā'*, Aligarh University Ms.
- 'Alī Sher Nawā'ī, *Majālisu'n-nafā'is*, Tashkent 1908.
- 'Alī Sher Qānī, Mīr, *Tahfatu'l-kirām*, Hyderabad, Pakistan 1971.
- 'Alī Tabātabā'ī, *Burhān-i ma'āsir*, Hyderabad 1936.
- Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, *Haft iqlīm*, 3 vols., Tehran n.d.
- Amīr Hasan Sijzī, *Dīwān*, Hyderabad 1933.
- , *Fawā'idu'l-fu'ād*, Bulandshahr.
- Amīr Haydar Husaynī, *Sawānih Akbarī*, Rieu III 930.
- Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī, *Tughluq-nāma*, Awrangabad, 1352/1933.
- Amīr Khwurd, Saiyid Muhammad bin Mubārak, *Siyaru'l-Awliyā'*, Delhi 1302/1885.
- Amīr Shāh Khān, *Amīru'r-rawāyāt*, Saharanpur n.d.
- Āmulī, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Muhammad, *Jāmi' 'Abbāsī*, Lucknow 1264/1847-48.
- Ānand Rām Mukhlis, *Badā'i-Waqā'i*, Karachi Museum Ms.
- 'Andalīb, Mohammad Nāsir, *Nāla-ye Andalīb*, 2 vols., Bhopal 1309/1891.
- Ansārī, M. 'Alī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Muzaffarī*, Bankipur.
- 'Āqil Khān Rāzī, *Wāqī'āt-i 'Ālāmgīrī*, Aligarh 1946.
- Ardistānī, Mu'izzu'd-Dīn M., *Fawzu'n-najāt*, Bankipur 1305/1887-88.
- 'Arif Qandahārī, Muhammad, *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, Rampur 1962.
- Ārzū, Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ārzū, *Majma'u'n-nafā'is*, Bankipur.
- Asad Beg Qazwīnī, *Hālāt-i Asad Beg*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Āshob, Mīrzā Muhammad Bakhsh, *Tārīkh-i Shahādāt-i Farrukhsiyar wa julūs-i Muhammad Shāh*, Rieu III, 944a.
- Ashrafu'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Tabaqāt-i 'Muhsiniyya*, Calcutta 1889.
- Aslāh Muhammad, *Tazkira-i shu'arā-i Kashmīr*, Karachi 1967-8.
- Astarābādī, Muhammad b. Shamsu'd-Dīn M., *Hallu'l-'aqā'id*, Bankipur 1329.
- 'Attār, Farīdu'd-Dīn, *Tazkiratu'l-awliyā'*, London-Leyden 1905-7, repr. 1959.
- , *Mantiq u't-tayr*, Tehran 1961.
- , *Musibatnāma*, Tehran 1337 sh./1959.
- , *Dīwān-i qasā'id u ghazaliyāt*, ed. Tehran 1339 sh./1960.
- , *Kulliyāt*, Lucknow 1872.
- 'Attārī, Sharaf Muhammad, *Fawā'id-i Firūz Shāhī*, Bankipur 1225.
- 'Awfi, *Jawāmi'u'l-hikāyāt wa lawāmi'u'r-rivāyāt*, London 1929.
- Āzād, Hassanu'l-Hind Mīr Ghulām 'Alī, *Yad-i Bayza'*, Bankipur VIII, 691.
- , *Ma'āsiru'l-kirām*, Lahore 1971.
- , *Saru-i Āzād*.
- , *Khizāna-i 'āmira*, Kanpur 1900.
- Azfarī, M. Zahīru'd-Dīn Mīrzā 'Alī Bakht Gūrgānī, *Wāqī'āt-i Azfarī*, Madras 1937.
- 'Azīzu'llāh 'Atā' Yazdī, *Akhbār wa āsar Hazrat Imām Rizā'*, Tehran n.d.
- Bābā Dāwūd Khākī, *Dastūru's-sālikīn*, Srinagar Ms.
- Bābā Dāwūd Mishkānī, *Asraru'l-abrār*, Srinagar Ms.
- Bābur, Zahīru'd-Dīn Muhammad, *Tuzuk-i Bāburī*, Turkish text, Leiden and London; Persian tr. Lucknow; Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1921, reprint Delhi 1970.

412 *History of Isnā 'Asharī Shī'is in India*

- Badakhshī, Hājji Muhammad Amīn, *Manāqib-i Hazārat*, Author's personal collection.
- Badā'ūnī, 'Abdu'l Qādir, *Muntakhabu't tawārikh*, 3 vols., Calcutta 1864-69; Eng. tr. vol. I, G.S.A. Ranking, Calcutta 1895-99; vol. II, W.H. Lowe, Calcutta 1884-98; vol. III, T.W. Haig, Calcutta 1899-1925.
- , *Najātū'r-Rashīd*, Lahore.
- Badru'd-Dīn Sihrindī, *Hazrātū'l-quds*, Rieu III, 1009b.
- Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mir'ātu'l-'ālam*, Lahore.
- al-Bal'amī, Abū 'Alī M. b. M., *Tarjama-i tārikh-i Tabarī*, Bombay 1903.
- Bāqī Bi'llāh, Khwāja, *Kulliyāt*, I.O., D.P., Lahore n.d.
- Bāqir Shāh Dihlawī, *Risāla dar afzaliyat-i Amīr al-Mu'minin*, Rampur Ms.
- Barani, Ziyā'u'd-Dīn, *Tārikh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-62.
- , *Fatāwā-i Jahāndārī*, Lahore 1972.
- Barzanjī, M. 'Abdu'r-Rasūl, *Qadah al-Zand wa qadah al-rand fī radd jahālat ahl al-Sirhind*, Asafiya Ms.
- Basāwan La'l Shādān, *Amīr-nāma*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Bāyazīd Biyāt, *Tārikh-i (Tazkira-i) Humāyūn wa Akbar*, Calcutta 1941.
- Bayhaqī, Abū'l-Fazl M.B. al-Husayn, *Tārikh-i Bayhaqī*, Mashhad 1350 sh./1971.
- Bayram Khān, *Persian and Turkī Dīwāns*, Calcutta 1910, Karachi 1971.
- Bāzil, Mīrzā M. Rafī', *Hamla-i Haydari*, Muttra 1895.
- Bedil, Mīrzā 'Abdu'l Qādir, *Kulliyāt*, 4 vols., Kabul 1963.
- Bhagwān Dās Pandit Shivpurī, *Makhzanu'l-futūh*, Rieu III, 948.
- Bhīm Sen, *Dilkushā*, Rieu I, 271a.
- Bhūpat Rāy, *Inshā'-i Roshan-kalām*, Aligarh Ms.
- Bihbihānī, Āqā Muhammad 'Alī b. Muhammad Bāqir, *Risāla-i Khayrā'iyya*, Rieu I, 33b, 34a.
- Bihbihānī, Ahmad b. Muhammad 'Alī b. Muhammad Bāqir al-Isfahānī, *Mir'ātu'l-ahwāl-i jahān-numā*, Rieu I, 385a, Aligarh University Ms.
- , *Qūt-i lāyamūt*, Bankipur 1271.
- , *Sabīlu'n-najāt*, Bankipur 1272.
- , *Nakhhah*, Bankipur 1276.
- , *Tuhfatu'l-muhabbīn*, Bankipur 1321.
- , *Tanbihu'l-ghāfilīn*, Bankipur 1322.
- Bilgarāmī, Mīr 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, *Haqā'iq-i Hindī*, Aligarh Ms.
- Burhān, Muhammad Husayn, *Burhān-i Qāti'*, Lucknow 1888.
- Chandrabhān Brahman, *Chār Chaman-i Brahman*, Rieu II, 838b.
- Chirāgh-i Dihlawī, Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn, *Khayru'l-majālis*, Aligarh 1959.
- Chikhovich, O.D., *Samarqand Documents*, Moscow 1974.
- Dānishmand Khān, Ni'mat Khān-i 'Alī, *Rūz-nāma-i waqā'ī' ayyām-i muhāsara-i dāru'l-jihād*, Hyderabad, Kanpur 1901.
- , *Dīwān*, Aligarh Ms.
- Dārā-Shukōh, Sultān Muhammad, *Safīnatu'l-awliyā'*, Kanpur 1900.
- , *Sakīnatu'l-awliyā'*, Tehran 1965.
- Dard, Khwāja Mīr, *Chahār risāla*, Bhopal 1310/1891.
- , *'Ilm u'l-kitāb*, Bhopal 1309/1891.
- , *Kulliyāt*, Allahabad.
- al-Dawwānī, Jalālu'd Dīn Muhammad b. As'ad as-Siddīqī, *Lawāmi'u'l-Ishrāq fī Makārimu'l-Akhlāq or Akhlāq i-Jalālī*, Lucknow 1957; Eng. tr., W.F. Thompson, London 1839.
- Dawlatābādī, Shihābu'd-Dīn b. Shamsu'd-Dīn b. 'Umar, *Bahr-i mawwāj*, Lucknow 1297/1889-90.
- Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, *Tazkiratu'sh-shu'arā'*, ed. E.G. Browne, London-Leiden 1901.
- Dāwūd Mishkānī, *Asrāru'l-abrār*, Oriental Research Dept., Srinagar.
- Dāya, Najmu'd-Dīn Abū Bakr 'Abdu'llāh, b. M. Asadī al-Rāzī, *Bahr al-haqā'iq wa'l*

- ma'ānī, Bankipur, XVIII, Part II, No. 1455.
- Dayā Rām Pandit, *Shīr-u-shakar*, Lahore Public Library Ms.
- Dildār 'Alī Ghufrān Ma'āb, *Ihyā' al-sunna*, Ludhiana 1281/1860-65.
- , *Husāmū'l-Islām*, Calcutta 1218/1803-4.
- , *Zu'lfāqār*, Ludhiana 1281/1864-65.
- , *Risāla-i Ghaybat*, Lucknow 1266/1849-50.
- , *Ihyā' u'z-Sunna*, Lucknow n.d.
- , *al-Sawārim al-Ilāhiyāt*, Calcutta 1218/1803-4.
- , *Fawā'id-i Asafiyya wa mawā'iz-i Hasanīyya*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Fakhr i-Mudabbir, *Ādābū'l harb wa' sh shujā'at*, Tehran 1346.
- Fakhrū's-Sādat Husaynī, Mīr, *Nuzhatū'l-arwāh*, Ethé 1821.
- Farīd Bhakkārī, Shaykh, *Zakhtrātū'l-khawānīn*, Karachi 1961.
- Farrukhī Sīstānī, *Dīwān*, Kābul n.d.
- Fārūqī Murādābādī, Mawlawī Hājī Raff'ū'd-Dīn, *Risālatū'l-nazar 'alā' tafsīr al-'Azīzī*, Rampur Ms.
- Fayzī, Abū'l-Fayz, *Kulliyāt-i Fayzī*, Lahore 1967.
- , *Latā'if-i Fayzī*, Lahore.
- , *Nal Daman*, Lucknow 1930.
- Fayzī Sirhindī, Shaykh Ilāhdād, *Akbar-nāma*, Ethé 289.
- Fazlu'llāh al-Amīn b. Rūzbihān, *Sulūkū'l-mulūk*, Tashkent Ms.; Eng. tr. M. Aslam, Islāmābād 1976.
- , *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhāra*, Tehran 2535, Imperial era.
- Ferīdūn Bey ed., *Munsh'āt-i'l-salātīn*, Istanbul 1848-49.
- Firāq, Nāsir Nazīr, *Maykhāna-i Dard*, Delhi 1344/1925.
- Firāqī, Kunwar Prem Kishore, *Waqūl-i 'Ālam Shāhī*, Rampur 1949.
- Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, 6 vols. Tehran 1344 sh./1965.
- Firishta, M. Qāsim Hindū Shāh Astrābādī, *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* or *Tārīkh-i Firishta*, Lucknow n.d.
- Firūz Shāh Tughluq, *Futūhāt-i Firūz Shāhī*, Aligarh n.d.
- Farūzanfar, Badī'ū'z-Zamān, *Sharh-i ahwāl wa naqd wa tahlīl-i āsar-i Farīdū'd-Dīn Muḥammad-i 'Attār Nīshāpūrī*, Tehran 1340/1962.
- Fuzūnī Astrābādī, *Futūhāt-i 'Ādil-Shāhī*, Rieu I, 317a.
- Ganesh Dās, *Chirāgh-i Panjāb*, Ethé II, 3019.
- Gardīzī, Fath 'Alī Husaynī, *Tazkīra-i 'Alī Husaynī Gardīzī*, Awrangabad n.d.
- Gardīzī, *Zaynu'l-akḥbār*, Berlin 1928.
- Ghazālī, Abū'l-Futūh Ahmad, *Sawānīhu'l-'ushshāq*; paraphrased in Persian by 'Aynu'l-Quzāt Hamadānī as *Lawā'ih*; ed. H. Ritter, *Aphorismen uber die Liebe*. Istanbul-Leipzig, 1942, Bibliotheca Islamica Bd. 15.
- Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid, *Nasīhatū'l-mulūk*. Tehran n.d.; Engl. tr. F.R.C. Bagley, *Counsel for Kings*, London 1964.
- , *Kīmīya-i sa'ādat*, Lahore n.d.
- Ghāzī'ū'd-Dīn Khān Firūz-Jang, 'Imādu'l-Mulūk, *Manāqib-i Fakhriyya*, I.O., D.P. 728, Delhi 1315/1894.
- Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn b. Amīrān, *Dānishnāma-i Jahān*, Ethé 2173.
- Ghujduwānī, Khwāja, *Masālikū'l-'arīfīn*, I.O., D.P.
- Ghulām 'Alī Dihlawī, *Maqāmāt-i Mazharī*, Delhi 1892.
- , *Makātīb*, Madras 1334/1915.
- , *Risālatū'sh-Shawāhid*, Rampur Ms.
- , *Izāhāt-tarīqa*, Lucknow 1284/1867.
- Ghulām 'Alī Khān b. Bhikhārī Khān, *Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, Calcutta 1912.
- Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqwī, *'Imādu's al-sa'ādat*, Lucknow 1864.
- Ghulām Hasan Sāmin Siddīqī Farshūrī Bilgarāmī, *Ba'd az ahwāl-i Ahmad Shāh Bādshāh*

- Abdālī, I. O., 3958.
- Ghulām Husayn B. Hidāyat 'Alī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Muhammad-Shāhī*, Āsafīya Ms.
- Ghulām Husayn Khān, *Gulzār-i Āsafīyya*, Hyderabad 1260/1844.
- Ghulām Husayn Tabātabā'ī, *Siyar al-muta'akhhirīn*, Lucknow 1886.
- , *Talkhīs-i Tarjuma-i Qutb-Shāhī*, Bankipur 1216.
- Ghulām Muhyi'ud-Dīn, *Fatūhāt-nāma-i Samadī*, Rieu III, 970b.
- Ghulām Murtazā, Zubayrī, *Basātinu's-salātīn*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1310/1892-3.
- Ghulām Rashīd, Abu'l-Fayyāz Qamaru'l-Haqq, *Ganj-i Arshadī*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnatu'l-asfiyā'*, Lucknow 1873.
- Gisūdarāz, Saiyid Muhammad bin Saiyid Yūsuf Husaynī, *Khātima*, Ethé 1856.
- , *Jawāmi'u'l-kilām*, Hyderabad.
- Gulbadan Begum, *Humāyūn-nāma*, Eng. tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1902.
- Gul Muhammad Ma'rūfī Karkhī Chishtī, *Ẓikrū'l-asfiyā' fī takmila Siyarū'l-awliyā'*, Delhi 1312/1894.
- Gulistān, Abu'l-Hasan b. Muhammad Amīn, *Mujmal al-tārīkh-i ba'd-i Nādirīyya*, Tehran 1977-78.
- Hāfīz Abrū, *Majma'u't-tawārīkh*, Rieu, Supp. 27.
- Hāfīz Muhammad Siddīq, *Tawārīkh-i Rahmat-Khānī*, Ethé 582.
- Hāfīz Rahmat Khān, *Khulāsatu'l-ansāb*, Ethé 583.
- Hāfīz Tānīsh b. Mīr M. al-Bukhārī, *Sharaf-nāma-i Shāhī*, Dushanbe (U.S.S.R.) Ms.
- Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, facsimile ed. E.G. Browne, Leiden-London 1910.
- Hāmid bin Fazlu'llāh Jamālī Kanboh Dihlawī, *Siyaru'l 'arifīn*, Delhi 1893.
- Hāmid Husayn b. 'Allāma S.M. Qūlī, *'Abaqāt al-anwār, Manhaj*, (literally Road, here the principal text) 2, I, Lucknow 1360/1941; *Manhaj* 2, II, Lucknow 1295/1878-79; *Manhaj* 2, III, Lucknow 1303/1855-56; *Manhaj* 2, V/1 Lucknow 1317/1899-1900; *Manhaj* 2, V/2, Lucknow 1327/1909-10; *Manhaj* 2, VI/1, Lucknow 1300/1882; *Manhaj* 2, VI/1, Lucknow n.d.; *Manhaj* 2, VI/1, Lucknow n.d.; *Manhaj* 2, VI/2, Lucknow 1302/1884-85; *Manhaj* 2, XII/1, Lucknow 1314/1896.
- , *Isṭiṣā'u'l-afhām fī naqd muntahī al-kalām*, Lucknow 1276/1859-60.
- Hamīd Qalandar, *Khayru'l-majālis*, Aligarh 1959.
- Hamīdu'd-Dīn Nagawrī, *Tawāliu'sh-shumūs*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Har Charan Dās, *Chahār gulshan-i Shujā'ī*, Rieu III, 896b.
- Harawī, Sayf bin Mahmūd, *Tārīkh nāma-i Hirāt*, Calcutta 1944.
- Hasan bin 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, *Ā'ina i-hikmat*, Ethé 2204.
- Hasan bin 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, Bodleian 315.
- Hasan 'Alī al-Munshī, al-Khāqānī, *Akhlaq-i Hakīmī*, Ethé 2203.
- Hasan Amīn Sayyid, *Mashā'ir Mullā Sadra*, Tehran 1984, IV ed.
- Hasan Beg Rumlū, *Ahsanu't-tawārīkh*, Baroda 1931.
- Hasan Nizāmī, *Tājū'l-ma'āsir*, Rieu I, 239a.
- Hāshim Beg Fuzūnī Astarābādī, *Fatūhāt-i 'Adīl Shāhī*, Rieu I, 317a.
- Haydar, known as Rafī'u'd-Dīn al-Husaynī al-Tabātabā'ī, *Shajra-i Ilāhiyya*, Rieu I, 31a.
- Haydar, Sayyid Kamālū'd-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Awadh*, Rieu III, 962b, Lucknow.
- Haydar 'Alī b. M. Hasan Fyzābādī, *Izālat al-ghayn*, Delhi 1272/1856.
- , *Muntahī al-kalām*, Lucknow 1257/1841-42.
- , *Risālat al-makātīb*, Delhi 1268/1851-52.
- Haydar Dughlāt, Muhammad, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, English tr. E.D. Ross, London 1895.
- Haydar Malik, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, Ethé 2846.
- Hazīn, Shaykh Jamālū'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ma'ālī Muhammad 'Alī, *Kulliyāt-i Hazīn*, Kanpur 1893.
- , *Maktūb*, Aligarh University Munīr 'Ālam Ms.
- , *Hidāyat-nāma-i Pādshāhān*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Hidāyatullāh Bihārī, *Hidāyat al-qawā'id*, Aligarh Ms.

- Hirālāl Khushdīl, *Nasab nāma-i Qutb Shāhī*, Ivanow 690.
- Hujwiri, 'Alī (al-), *Kashf al-mahjūb*, tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1959.
- Husayn 'Alī, *Mu'tamad'ush-Shi'a*, Bankipur 1326.
- Husayn 'Alī Khān, *Radd-i Risāla-i Rashīdiyya*, Rampur Ms.
- Husayn Haydar Husaynī, *Takmila-i Radd-i Rawāfiẓ*, Muradabad 1306/1888-89.
- Ibn al-Balkhī, *Faras-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and Nicholson, R.A., London 1921.
- Ibn Bazāz Tawakkulī, *Sifwatū's-safā'*, Bombay 1329/1911.
- Ibn Funduq and 'Alī bin Zayd, *Tārikh-i Bayhaq*, ed. A. Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317/1938.
- Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārikh-i Tabaristān*, abridged tr. E.G. Browne, II, Leiden 1905.
- Ibn-i Khātūn al-'Āmulī, *Tarjuma-i Qutb Shāhī*, Bankipur Ms. 1211.
- Ibn Muhammad Haydar al-Khwānsārī, *Zubdatū't-tasānīf*, Rieu 31a.
- Ibn al-Munawwar, M., *Asrārū't-tawhīd fī maqāmātū'sh-Shaykh Abī Sa'īd*, Tehran 1332/1913-14.
- 'Ibrat, Sayyid Muhammad Qāsim, *'Ibrat-nāma*, Rieu I, 231b.
- Ījād, Mīr M. Ahsan, *Farrukhsiyar-nāma*, Rieu I, 273a.
- Ilāh-diyā Chishtī, *Siyarū'l-aqtāb*, Lucknow 1889.
- Ilāhī Bakhsh Balūchī, *Khātam-i Sulaymānī*, Lahore 1325/1907.
- Imāmū'd-Dīn Husaynī Chishtī, *Husayn-Shāhī*, Rieu III, 904a.
- In'ām 'Alī Munshī, *Awsāfi'ū'l-Āsaf*, Rieu III, 960b.
- 'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh b. Lutful'Ilāh Khān, Shamsu'd-Dawla, *Risāla 'Ināyat-nāma*, Habib-ganj, Aligarh University Ms.
- 'Ināyatu'llāh, *Takmila i-Akbar-nāma*, Calcutta 1883-87; Eng. tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1897-1921.
- Injū, Jamālu'd Husayn, *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*, Ethé 2481.
- Iqbāl, 'Abbās, *Khānadān-i Nawbakhtī*, Tehran 1966.
- Iqbāl Mujaddidī M., *Malfūzāt-i sharīfa*, Lahore 1978.
- 'Irāqī, Fakhru'd-Dīn, *Dīwān*, ed. Said Nafīsī, Tehran 1338 sh./1959.
- 'Isāmī, *Futūhu's-salātīn*, Madras 1948.
- Ishar Dās Nāgar, *Futūhat-i-'Ālamgīrī*, Rieu I, 269a.
- Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tārikh-i 'ālam-ārā-i 'Abbāsī*, Tehran 1350 sh./1971.
- Ismā'il, M. Shāh, *Mansab-i imāmat*, Delhi n.d.
- Istikhān Dihlawī, *Basātinū'l-uns*, Rieu II, 752-53.
- 'Iwaz al-Hisārī, la-Lāhawri, *Bawāriq-i mashriqa, Shar-i Sawā'iq al-muhriqa*, Rampur Ms.
- Izid Bakhsh Rasā, *Haqqū'l-Yaqīn*, Rampur Ms.
- 'Izzatī, Abu'l Fazl, *Rābita-i dīn wa falsafa*, Tehran 1397.
- Izzu'd-Dīn Mahmūd, Kāshānī, *Misbāhu'l-manāqib*, Bodleian 1264.
- Ja'far al-Makkī, *Bahrū'l-ma'ānī*, Muradabad 1889.
- Jahān Ārā Begum, *Mūnisū'l-arwāh*, Rieu I, 357b.
- Jahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī*, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64; Eng. tr. A. Rodger, 2 vols., London 1909-14.
- Jahramī, Kamālu'd-Dīn b. Fakhru'd-Dīn, *Burāhīn-i qāti' dar tarjama-i Sawā'iq muhriqa*, Rampur Ms.
- Jalāl Ashtiyānī, Sayyid, *Muntakhabāt az āsar-i hukamā-i Ilāhī-i Irān az 'asr-i Mīr Dāmād wa Mīr Fīndīrīskī tā Zamān-i hāzir*, 3 vols, 1972-78.
- Jāma'i, Shaykh Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, *Majmū'a-i maktūbāt*, Karachi Ms.
- Jamālī Kanboh Dihlawī, *Siyarū'l-'arīfīn*, Delhi 1311/1893.
- Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū Rūh, *Hālāt wa sukhmān-i Shaykh Abū Sa'īd Fazlu'llāh bin Abī'l-Khayr Mayhānī*, Tehran 1349/1970.
- Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Atā'u'llāh bin Fazlu'llāh, Husaynī, *Rawzatū'l ahhāb*, Lucknow 1880-82.
- Jāmi, 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *Kitāb Nafahātu'l-uns*, Calcutta 1859, Tehran 1337/1919.
- , *Lawā'ih*, tr. E.H. Whinfield and Mirzā Muhammad Qazwinī, London 1906, 1928.
- , *Shawāhidū'n-nubūwwa li taqwīyat yaqīn ahl al-futūwwa*, Lucknow 1882.

- Juwaynī, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Atā'-Malik, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The history of the world conqueror*, 2 vols., Manchester 1958.
- Kai-Kā'ūs bin Iskandar, *Qābūs-nāma*, ed. R. Levy, G.M.S., n.s. XVIII, London 1951; tr. Levy, *A Mirror for Princes*, London 1951.
- Kalīmu'llāh Jahānābādī, Shāh, *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1315/1897-98.
- Kamālu'd Dīn 'Abdu'r Razzāq, *Matla'u's Sa'dayn wa Majma'-i Bahrayn*, Rieu I, 181b.
- Kambō, Muhammad Sālih, *'Amal-i Sāleh*, Calcutta 1912-30.
- Kāmwar Khān, M. Hādī, *Haft gulshan-i Muhammad Shāhī*, Ethé 394.
- Kāshānī, Ahmad b. Jalālu'd-Dīn, *Tanbihu'l-'ulamā'*, Rampur Ms.
- Kāshānī, Fathu'llāh b. Shukru'llāh al-Sharīf, *Mūhājju's-sādīqīn fī ulzāmīl mukhālīfīn*, Bodleian 1809.
- Kashfī, Mīr M. Sālih Husaynī Tirmizī, *Manāqib-i Murtazawī*, Bankipur VI, 494.
- Kāshifī, Fakhru'd-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Husayn, *Rashahāt-i 'ayn u'l-hayāt*, Lucknow 1912.
- , *Rawzatul-sh-Shuhadā'*, Kanpur 1891.
- , *Jawāhir al-tafsīr lī Tuhsat al-Amīr*, Ms. Rieu I, 11a.
- , *Mawāhib i-'liyāh or Tafsīr i-Husaynī*, Lucknow 1871.
- Kāzīm, Mīrzā Muhammad, *'Ālamgīr-nāma*, Calcutta 1865-73.
- Kāzīm, b. Ghulām 'Alī Lakhnawī, Mīrzā, *Nasru'l-mu'mīnīn*, Bankipur 1327.
- Kewal Rām, *Tazkirat u'l-umarā'*, Rieu I, 339a.
- Khafī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb*, Calcutta 1860-74.
- Khalīfa Shāh Muhammad, *Jāmi'u'l qawānīn*, Ethé 2097.
- Khayru'd-Dīn M. Ilāhābādī, *I'tidhār-i 'Azīz*, Rampur Ms.
- , *Armaghān-i 'Azīz*, Rampur Ms.
- , *'Ibrat-nāma*, British Museum Ms., Or 1932.
- Khudādād Khān, *Lubb-i Tawārīkh-i Sindh*, Karachi 1959.
- Khurshāh bin Qubād al-Husaynī, *Tārīkh Ilchi-i Nizām Shāh*, Sālār Jang Museum, No. 118B, Brit. Mus. Ms.
- Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Qādir, *Waqā'i manāzil-i Rūm*, Bombay n.d.
- Khwāja Kāmgār Khān, *Ahsan al-shamā'il*, Aligarh Ms.
- Khwāja Kalān, *Mublighu'r rijāl*, I.O., D.P. 1112.
- Khwāja Kāmgār Husayn, *Ma'āsir-i Jahāngīrī*, Rieu I 257a.
- Khwāja Khwurd, *Bayān-i ahwāl-o malfūzāt-i Khwāja Khwurd*, I. O., Delhi, Arabic 1862b.
- Khwāja Muhammad Ma'sūm, *Risāla*, Rampur Ms.
- , *Maktūbāt*, Karachi.
- Khwājagī, *Majmū'a*, containing *Babūriyya* and *Tanbihu's-salātīn*, Leningrad Oriental Institute Ms.
- Khwand-Amīr, Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn b. Humāmu'd-Dīn Muhammad, *Habību's siyar fī akhbār afrādū'l-bashar*, Bombay n.d.
- , *Qānūn i-Humāyūnī*, Calcutta 1940.
- Khwansāri, *Rawzatul-jannāt fī ahwāl al-'ulamā' wa's-Sādāt*, Tehran 1367/1947.
- Khwarazmī, Husayn al-Hasanī, *Irshādū'l-murīdīn*, Ivanow, Curzon 433.
- Khweshgī Qasūrī, *Ma'āriju'l-wilāya*, Shīrānī Collections, Panjab University, Lahore.
- , *Akhbāru'l-awliyā' min lisān ul-asfiyā'*, Ivanow 273.
- Khwushgū, Bindrāban Dās, *Safīna-i Khwushgū*, Patna 1959.
- Lachmī Narāyan Shafīq Awrangābādī, *Haqiqat hāi Hindūstān*, Ethé 426.
- , *Chamanistān-i shu'arā'*, Awrangabad 1928.
- , *Ma'āsir-i Āsafī*, Ethé 468.
- Lāhijī, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq b. 'Alī b. Husayn, *Gawhar-i Murād*, Tehran 1855.
- Lāl Jī, *Mirātu'l-awzā'*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Lālā Sohan La'l Sūrī, *'Umdatul-tawārīkh*, Lahore 1885-9.
- , *'Ibrat-nāma*, Lahore 1885.
- Lutf 'Alī, Mīrzā, *Gulshan-i Hind*, Delhi 1906.

- Mahdi Khān Kawkab, Mīrzā Muhammad, *Tārikh-i Nādirī*, Lahore 1921.
- Mahallāti, *Ẓindagānī-i Hazrat Fātima Ṣahra wa dukhtarān-i ān hazrat*, Tehran n.d.
- Mahmūd bin Abdu'llāh Nīshāpuri, *Ma'āsir-i Quṭb Shāhī*, Ethé 463.
- Mahmūd b. Hindū Shāh Nakhjiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī ta'ayun al-marātib*, Moscow 1971.
- Mahmūd b. al-Munshī b. Ibrāhīm al-Husaynī, *Tārikh-i Ahmad Shāhī*, Moscow 1974.
- Mahmūd Gāwān, *Riyāzu'l-inshā'*, Hyderabad 1948.
- Mahmūd Shabistari, *Gulshan-i rāz (The mystic rose garden)*, ed. and tr. E.H. Whinfield, London 1880.
- Majlisī, Mullā M. Bāqir b. M. Taqī, b. Maqsūd, *Hayātu'l-qulūb*, Lucknow 1878-79.
- , *Jilā'ul-'uyūn*, Tehran 1240/1825.
- , *Tazkirat al-ā'imma*, Tehran 1260/1844.
- Makdisī, G., 'Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XXIV, 1961.
- Makhdūm Jahāniyān, Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Husaynī, *Sirāju'l-hidāya*, I.O., D.P. 1038.
- , *Khizāna-i fawā'id-i Jalāliyya*, Rieu.
- Makhdūmzāda 'Abdu'llāh, *Sirāju'l-Hidāya*, I.O., D.P. Ms.
- Mānik Rāo Vitthal Rāo, *Bustān-i Āsafiya*, Hyderabad 1327/1918-19.
- Mansā Rām, *Ma'āsir-i Nizāmī*, Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderabad.
- Mashhadī, *Mukātibāt-i 'ulamā'-i Māwra'u'n-Nahr wa 'ulamā'-i Mashhad*, Rampur Ms.
- Mashkūr, Muhammad Jawād, *Tārikh-i Shī'a wa firqa-hā-i Islāmī*, Tehran 1976.
- Mas'ūd-i Bak, *Mir'ātu'l-'Arifin*, Ethé 1854.
- Mas'ūd Humāyūnī, *Tariqa silsila-hā-i tariqa-i Nī'matu'llāhiya dar Iran*, Tehran 1358, Imperial Era.
- Mawlānā Imām Ya'qūb Muzaffar Kirāmī, *Fiqh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Ethé 2564.
- Maybuzī, Husayn b. Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, *Sharh-i Dīwān-i 'Alī b. Abī Tālib*, Rieu I, 19.
- Māzandarānī, Hasan b. 'Alī b. Muhammad b. Hasan at-Tabarī, *Kāmil Bahā'ī*, Bankipur 1298.
- Minhāj Sirāj Jūzjānī, *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, Calcutta 1963-64, tr. H.G. Raverty.
- , *The Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri*, vols. I-II, London 1881-99; reprinted New Delhi 1970.
- Mihtar Jawhar, *Tazkiratu'l-wāqi'āt*, Rieu I, 246.
- Mir 'Abdu'l-Karīm Nadīm b. Ismā'il Bukhārī, *Afghān wa Kābul wa Bukhārā wa Khūwaq wa khojand Khānlarīni ahwāl*, Blochet I, 635.
- Mir Abū Turāb Walī, *Tārikh-i Gujārāt*, Calcutta 1909.
- Mir Ahmad Shāh, *Tuhfatu'l awliyā'*, Lahore 1321/1903.
- Mir 'Ālam, Abū'l-Qāsim b. Razīu'd-Dīn al-Mūsawī, *Hadiqatu'l-'ālam*, Ethé 645.
- Mir 'Alī Akbar Husaynī Ardastānī, *Majma'u'l-awliyā'*, Ethé 645.
- Mir 'Abdu'l Wāhid Bilgarāmī, *Saba' i-sanābil*, Kanpur 1881-82.
- Mir Khwand, M. b. Khāwand Shāh, *Rawzatu's-sāfā' fī siratu'l anbiyā' wa'l-mulūk wa'l-khulafā'*, Lucknow 1883.
- Mir M. Amīn Bukhārī, *'Ubaydu'llāh-nāma*, Tashkent Ms.
- Mir Muhammad Fāzil, *Mukhbīru'l-Wāsilin*, Calcutta 1833-34.
- Mir M. Hasan 'Alī Khān Bahādur, *Tuhfatu'l-muslimin wa hidāyatu'l-mu'minin*, Lahore 1316/1898-99.
- Mir Muhammad Ma'sūm Nāmī, *Tārikh-i Sind*, Poona 1938.
- Mir Muhammad Taqī, *Nikātu'sh-shu'arā'*, Awrangabad 1920.
- , *Ẓikr-i Mir*, Awrangabad 1928.
- Mir M. Rizā' Zu'lfaqār, *Sharaf-nāma-i Muhammad Shāh*, Rieu III, 1002.
- Mir Sayyid Muhammad Shā'ir, *Tabsiratu'n-nāzirin*, Rieu III, 963b.
- Mir Yahya b. 'Abdu'l-Latif, *Lubbu't-tawārikh*, Ethé 101.
- Mīrzā Lutf 'Alī, *Gulshan-i Hind*, Hyderabad (A.P.) 1906.
- Mīrzā Muhammad b. Mu'tamad Khān, *Tārikh-i Muhammadī*, Rampur Ms.
- Mīrzā Muhammad Afzal Sarkhwush, *Kalimātu'sh-shu'arā'*, Rampur Ms.

- Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī, *Nujūmū's-samā' fī tarājimu'l-'ulamā'*, Lucknow 1303/1886.
- Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn b. Abu'l-Husayn Qazwīnī, *Pādshāh-nāma*, Rieu I, 258b.
- Mīrzā Muhammad Hasan bin 'Alī, *Mir'āt-i Ahmādī*, 1929-30.
- Mīrzā M. Kāmil, b. 'Ināyat Ahmad Khān Dihlawī, Hakīm, *Nuzha-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, I, Lucknow n.d.; III, I. O. Delhi, Persian Ms.; IV, Lucknow 1279/1862-3; IX, Rampur Ms.
- Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar-Shukōh, *Majmū'a-i Haydar-Shukōh*, Ivanow, 2nd Supp. 930.
- Mubārak Fayzu'llāh, *Rāhatu'l-qulūb*, Ethé 2208.
- Muftī 'Alimu'd-Dīn, b. Muftī Khayru'd-Dīn Lāhawrī, *'Ibrat-nāma wa 'Umdatul-tawārīkh*, Ethé 504.
- Muftī Mīr 'Abbās Shustarī, *Jawhar-i 'abqariyya fī radd-i Tuhfa-i Isnā 'Ashariyya*, Lucknow 1271/1854-55.
- , *Nasu'l-mū'minīn*, Lucknow n.d.
- Muftī S.M. Qulī bin S.M. Husayn, Nishāpūri, *Tashyidul-matā'in*, Ludhiana 1283/1866-67.
- , *Taqībū'l-makā'id* Delhi 1262/1845-46.
- , *Burhān-i sa'ādat*, Rampur Ms.
- , *Sayf-i Nāsiri*, Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow Ms.
- , *Musāri' u'l-afhām*, Nāsiriyya Library, Lucknow Ms.
- Muhammad bin Hasan b. Sālih, *Tārikh-i Shāh Shujā'i*, Bankipur VII, 572.
- Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm, *Tārikh-i Saljūqiyyān-i Kirmān*, Leiden 1886.
- Muhammad b. Mīrzā Ma'sūm at-Tūsī, *Lawāmi'ur-Rizāqiyya*, Bankipur 1277.
- Muhammad bin Mahmūd al-Āmulī, *Nafā'isu'l-funūn*, Ethé 2221.
- Muhammad bin Yahya b. 'Alī al-Jilānī al-Lāhijī an-Nūrbakshī, *Mafātih al-i'jāz fī sharh-i Gulshan-i Rāz*, Ethé 1818, Tehran 1959.
- Muhammad Akram bin Shaykh Muhammad 'Alī, *Sawāti' u'l-anwār*, Ethé 654.
- Muhammad Amīn, *Majmā' u'l-īnshā'*, Āsafiya Ms.
- Muhammad Amīn bin Dawlat Muhammad, *Anfā' u'l-akhbār*, Rieu III, 1023a.
- Muhammad Amīn Badakhshī, *Manāqibu'l hazarāt*, Ethé 652.
- Muhammad Amīn Banī Isrā'īl, *Majmā' u'l-īnshā'*, Ethé 2122.
- Muhammad Ashraf Jahāngīr Simnānī, *Mukātibāt-i Ashrafi*, Brit. Mus., Or. 267.
- Muhammad Aslam, *Farhatu'n-nāzirīn*, John Ryland Library, Manchester Ms.
- Muhammad A'zam, *Tārikh-i A'zamī*, Lahore 1885-86.
- Muhammad Baqā' Sahāranpūri, *Riyāzu'l-awliyā'*, Rieu III, 875a.
- Muhammad Bāqir Najm-i Sānī, *Mau'iza-i Jahāngīri*, Ethé 2205.
- Muhammad Bihāmad Khānī, *Tārikh-i Muhammadī*, Rieu I, 84a.
- Muhammad Bulāq Dihlawī, *Matlūbū't-tālibīn*, Ethé 653.
- Muhammad Ghaws, *Jawāhir-i Khamsa*, Ethé 1875.
- Muhammad Ghawṣī Shattārī, *Gulzār-i Abrār*, Manchester Ms.
- Muhammad Habibu'llāh, *Zikr-i Jamī'-i Awliyā'-i Dihlī*, Rieu III, 975b.
- Muhammad Hasan b. al-Hajj Ma'sūm al-Qazwīnī, *Riyāzu'sh-shahāda fī Zikr masā'ib u's-s'āda*, Bombay 1273-74/1857-58.
- Muhammad Hāshim b. Muhammad Qāsim al-Nu'mānī al-Badakhshānī, *Nasamātu'l-quds min hadā'iq u'l-uns*, Tashkent Ms.
- , *Zubdatul-maqāmāt*.
- Muhammad Husayn b. Muhammad Hādī, *Radd-i Risāla-i Raddiyya*, Bankipur 1333.
- Muhammad Husayn Murādābādī, *Anwarul-'Arifīn*, Lucknow 1876.
- Muhammad Kabīr bin Shāh Ismā'īl, *Afsāna-i Shāhān*, Rieu I, 243b.
- Muhammad Kāzim, Munshī, *'Ālamgīr-nāma*, Calcutta 1865-73.
- Muhammad Mahdī, Mīrzā, *Takmila-i Nujūmū's-samā'*, Qum 1398/1978.
- Muhammad Mujīr Wajīh Adīb, *Miftāhu'l-jinān*, Ethé 2565.
- Muhammad Muhsin, *Miftāhu'l-igbāl-i Muhammad Shāhī*, Karachi Museum Ms.
- Muhammad Muhsin b. al-Hanīf Siddiqī, *Jawhar-i samsām*, Rieu III, 941.

- Muhammad Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, Khwāja, *Mir'āt-i tayyibāt*, Rampur Ms.
- Muhammad Mustajāb Khān, Nawwāb, *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, Ethé 507, I. O. 3891.
- Muhammad Qāsim, *Ahwāl u'l-khawāqīn*, Rieu I, 276b.
- Muhammad Sādiq, *Shāhid-i sādiq*, Bankipur.
- , *Subh-i Sādiq*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Muhammad Sādiq-Kashmīrī Hamadānī, *Kalimātu's-sādiqīn*, Mashhad, Āstāna-i 'Āliyya.
- Muhammad Sādiq Khān and Abu'l Fazl Ma'mūrī, *Shāh Jahān nāma*, Rieu I, 262.
- Muhammad Sharīf Mu'tamad Khān, *Iqbāl nāma Jahāngīrī*, Lucknow 1874.
- Muhammad Wahīdu'llāh, *Fathu'l-kalām*, Rampur Ms.
- Muhammad Yūsuf al-Munshī b. Khwāja Baqā' Balkhī, *Tazkira-i Muqīm-Khānī*, Tashkent Ms.
- Muhibu'llāh al-Bihārī, *Sallamū'l-'ulūm*, Lucknow 1904.
- Muhibbu'llāh Ilāhābādī, *Sharh-i Fusūsu'l-hikam*, Rampur Ms.
- Muhyī'u'd-Dīn bin Husayn, *Mal'fūzāt-i Shāh Mīnā*, or *Tahfat u's-Sa'diyya*, Hardoi 1900.
- Mu'in al-Miskīn, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn b. Sharafu'd-Dīn Hājji M. Farahī Harawī, *Tafsīr-i Sūra-i Yūsuf*, Lahore 1973.
- Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Farahī, *Ma'ārijū'n-nubūwawā fī madārijū'l-futūwawā*, Kanpur 1895.
- Mun'im Khān Hamadānī, *Sawānih-i Dakan*, Sālār Jang, Tārikh Fārsī; 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307.
- Mullā Muhammad Sūfī Māzandarānī, *But-khāna*, Bodleian 366.
- Mullā Shāh Badakhshī, *Shāh-i tafsīr*, I.O., D.P. 1420.
- , *Masnawīyyāt-i Mullā Shāh*, Ethé 1580.
- Mu'min, Mīr Muhammad, *Dīwān*, Ethé.
- Munnā Lāl, Munshī, *Shāh 'Ālam-nāma*, Bankipur.
- Munshī Burhān Khān b. Hasan Hindī, *Tuzuk-i Wālā-Jāhī*, Āsafīya Ms.
- Murtazā Husayn, *Hadiqatu'l-aqālīm*, Lucknow 1881.
- Mushafī, Ghulām Hamadānī, *'Iqd-i sūrayya*, Awrangabad n.d.
- , *Tazkira-i Hindī*, Awrangabad n.d.
- Murtazā Sarrāf, *Rasā'il Jawānmardān*, Tehran 1973.
- Musharrāf 'Alī, *Izāhat al-ghayy fī radd-i 'Abdu'l-Hayy*, Bankipur.
- , *Ghazwāt-i Haydarī*, Rampur Ms.
- Musta'id Khān Muhammad Sāqī, *Ma'āsīr-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Agra 1873; Eng. tr. (abridged) J. Sarkār, Calcutta 1947.
- Mustajāb Khān, Muhammad, *Gulistān-i Rahmat*, Subhānu'llāh Collection, Aligarh University Ms.
- Mutribī, al-Asamm al-Samarqandī, *Tārikh-i Jahāngīrī*, Ethé II, 3023.
- Muzaffar Khāfī, *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, Āsafīya, Tārikh Fārsī, 134.
- Na'imū'llāh Bahrā'ichī, Muhammad, *Ma'mūlāt-i Mazhariyya*, 1271/1854-55.
- Najaf 'Alī, *Ā'ina-i Haqq-numā*, I.O., D.P., 259b, Aligarh University Ms.
- Najīb Ashraf Nadawī (ed), *Ruqqā'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī*, A'zamgarh n.d.
- Najmu'd-Dīn Khizr b. Muhammad 'Alī ar-Rāzī al-Jabalrūdī, *Tawzīhu'l-anwār*, Bankipur 1299.
- Najmu'd-Dīn Nāgawī, *Manāqibu'l-mahbūbayn*, Rampur 1289/1872.
- Nakhshabī, Ziyā'u'd-Dīn, *Tūti nāma*, Ethé 743-51.
- , *Silk-i sulūk*, Ethé 1838.
- , *Marghūbu'l-qulūb*, Ethé 1842.
- , *Juziyyāt wa kullīyyāt*, Ethé 2034.
- , *Chihil nāmūs*, Sir Sālār Jang, Hyderabad Ms.
- , *Lazzatu'n-nisā'*, Blochet.
- Narshakhī, *Tārikh-i Bukhārā*, Tehran 1939; tr. R.N. Frye, *The history of Bukhārā*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1954.
- Nāsīr-i Khusrāw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Muhammad Dabīr Siyāqī, Tehran 1335/1956.

- , *Wajh-i dīn*, Tehran 1977.
- asīru'd Dīn Tūsī, *Akhlaq-i-Nāsiri*, Lucknow 1957, Eng. tr. by G.M. Wickens, *The Nasirean Ethics*, London 1964.
- , *Risāla-i-Āghāz wa Anjām*, Ethé 1807, M.
- Nasīru'd-Dīn Lāhori, *Fatāwā-i Barahna*, Bankipur 1226.
- Nawwāb M. Khān, Shāhjahānpūrī, *Malfūzāt-i Razzāqī*, Lucknow 1313/1895-96.
- Nawwāb Sadru'd-Dīn, M., Āzarda. *Risāla-i munāzara*, Rampur Ms.
- Nīmatu'llāh, Walī, Shāh, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1336, Shamsī 1357.
- , *Sūfi tracts*, Brit. Mus., Rieu I, 831-32.
- , *Risāla-hā*, (ed) Jāwīd Nūrbakhshī, Tehran 2535, Imperial era.
- Nī'matu'llāh Harawī, Khwāja, *Tārikh-i Khān Jahānī wa makhzan-i Afghānī*, Dacca 1960.
- Nizāmī 'Arūzī, *Chahār maqāla*, Tehran 1341/1962-63; tr. E.G. Browne, London 1921.
- Nizāmī Ganjawī, *Kullīyyāt-i khamsa*, Tehran 1341/1962-63.
- Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, Khwāja, *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī*, vols. I-III, Calcutta 1913, 1927, 1931; Eng. tr. B. De., Calcutta 1913-36.
- Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awrangābādī, *Nizāmu'l-qulūb*, Delhi 1309/1891-92.
- Nizāmu'd-Dīn Yamānī, *Lat'if-i Ashrafī*, Manchester Ms.
- Nizāmu'd-Dīn, *Hadīqatū's salātīn*, Hyderabad 1961.
- Nizāmu'l-Mulk *Sīyāsāt-nāma*, Tehran 1334/1956; tr. H. Darke, *The book of government or Rules for kings*, London 1960.
- Nūru'd-Dīn b. Burhānu'd-Dīn Fārūqī, *Jahāndār nāma*, I. O. 3988.
- Nūru'd-Dīn bin Qutbu'd-Dīn Ahmad bin Zaynu'd-Dīn Khawāfī, *Fiqh-i Bāburī*, Bankipur 1227.
- Nūru'd-Dīn Hasan Khān, *A detailed history of Najibū'd-Dawla*, Brit. Mus. Add. 24, 410.
- Nūru'd-Dīn Ja'far Badakhshī, *Khulāsatu'l-manāqib*, Srinagar Ms. abridged by Haydar, Ethé 1850.
- Nūru'd Dīn Muhammad Qāzī Khāqānī b. Shaykh Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, *Akhlaq-i Jahāngīrī*, Ethé 2207.
- Nūru'l Haqq Dehlawī, *Zubdatu't tawārikh*, Rieu I, 224b.
- Nūru'llāh, Qāzī, Mār'ashī Shustarī, *Risāla dar jawābāt-i Shubhāt-i Iblīs*, Rampur Ms.
- , *Majālisu'l-mu'minīn*, Tehran n.d.
- , and Mīr Yūsuf Akhbārī, *Mukātibāt*, Sir Sālār Jang Museum, Āsafiya Library, Hyderabad; reproduced in *al-Sawārim al-muhriqa*, introduction by Jalālu'd-Dīn Husaynī, Tehran n.d.
- Qābil Khān, *Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī*, Āsafiya, Inshā'-i Fārsī 86.
- Qādir Khān Bīdari, *Tārikh-i Qutb Shāhī*, Sālār Jang, Tārikh Fārsī 409.
- , *Tārikh-i Qādīrī*, Āsafiya, Tārikh Fārsī 409.
- , *Tawārikh Farkhunda*, Sālār Jang, Tārikh Fārsī 176.
- Qā'im Chāndpūrī, *Makhzan-i nikāt*, Awrangabad 1929.
- Qānī', Mīr 'Alī Shīr, *Maqālātu'sh-shu'arā'*, ed. Sayyid Hussāmu'd-Dīn Rāshidī, Karachi 1957.
- , *Tuhfatu'l-kirām*, 1957.
- Qatīī, *Majmū'u'sh shu'arā'-i Jahāngīr Shāhī*, Karachi.
- Qāzī Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ghaffārī, *Nigāristān*, Bombay 1859.
- Qāzī Zāda, *Raddu'l-Khawārij*, Bankipur 1310.
- Qazwīnī, Hamdu'llāh b. Abī Bakr, *Tārikh-i guzīda*, Leiden and London 1910.
- Qazwīnī, Mullā Khālid bin Ghāzī, *Sharh-i Kāfī*, Bankipur 1221.
- Qudratu'llāh Gopāmwāwī, *Tazkira-i natā'iju'l-afkār*, Bombay 1336, Iranian era.
- Rafīu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, *Tazkiratu'l-mulūk*, Āsafiya, Tārikh Fārsī 1081, Rieu.
- Rahmān 'Alī, *Tazkira-i 'ulamā'-i Hind*, Lucknow 1914.
- Rām Singh, *Gulshan-i 'Ajā'ib*, Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderabad.
- Rashīdu'd Dīn Fazlu'llāh, *Jāmī'u't tawārikh*, Tehran 1338/1959 Engl. tr. J.E. Boyle, New

- York and London 1971; Karl Jahn, *Rashid al-Din's India*, Collected Essays, the Hague, Mouton 1965.
- Rashidu'd-Din Khān, Mawlānā, *Sawlat-i Ghazanfariyya wa Shawkat-i 'Umarīyya*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Tahqiqū'sh-Shi'a*, I. O. Delhi, Persian Ms.
- , *Radd-i 'aqida-i Husām*, I. O. Delhi, Persian Ms.
- Rashidu'd-Din Watwat, *Nāmaha*, ed. Qāsim Tuisarkānī, Tehran 1339/1960-61.
- Rāwandī, Abū Bakr, *Rāhatu's-sudūr*, London 1921.
- Riyāz Hasan, Sayyid, b. S. Bāqir 'Alī Naqawī, *Tuhfa-i munqaliba*, Lucknow 1313/1895-96.
- , *Radd-i Nawāsib*, Rampur Ms.
- Rizā' Qulī Khān Hidāyat, *Majma'u'l fusahā'*, Tehran 1878.
- Rūmī, Jalālu'd-Dīn, *Masnawī*, ed. tr. and annotated by R.A. Nicholson, 8 vols., London 1925-40, (G.M.S. New Series, iv, 1-8).
- , *Discourses of Rūmī*, tr. A.J. Arberry, London 1961.
- , *Kullīyyāt-i Shams yā Dīwān-e kabīr*, ed. Badī'uzzamān Furuzānfar, Tehran 1336 sh./1957.
- Rustamdārī, 'Abdu'llāh b. Husayn, *I'tiqādāt*, Bankipur 1328.
- Rūzbihān Baqlī Shīrāzī, *Sharh-i shathīyāt*, *Commentaire sur les paradoxes des soufis*, texte persan publ. avec une introd. en Franc. (Bibl. Iran 12), 1966.
- Sa'adat-yār Khān, Nawwāb, *Gul-i Rahmat*, I. O. 3968.
- Sa'dī, *Kullīyyāt*, Tehran, 1337 1338, 1340.
- Sadr-i Jahān, Husayn al-Husayniū't-Tabasī, *Risāla-i Sa'idiya*, Bankipur 1251.
- Sadru'd-Dīn 'Alī Husaynī, *Akhbārū'd-dawla al-Saljūqiyya*, Lahore 1933.
- Sadru'd-Dīn M. Fā'iz b. Z. Zabardast Khān, *Irshād u'l-wuzurā'*, Rieu 338b, Aligarh University Ms.
- Sahbā'ī, Imām Bakhsh, *Qawl-i faysal*, Kanpur 1862.
- Sa'id Nafīsī (ed.), *Musadaqat al-ikhwān*, Tehran n.d.
- Sa'idī, Nizāmu'd-dīn Ahmad, *Hadā'iqū's-salātin*, Hyderabad 1961.
- Sāmin, Ghulām Hasan, *Sharā'if-i 'Usmānī*, Āsafīya Ms.
- Sanā'u'llāh Pānīpatī, *al-Sayfū'l-Maslūl*, Delhi 1268/1851-52.
- , *Tafsīr u'l-Mazharī*, Delhi 1225/1810.
- Sanā'ī, Abū'l-Majd Majdu'd, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1320 sh./1963, 4 vols.
- , *Hadīqatu'l-haqīqat wa shari'u't at-tarīqat*, Tehran 1929 sh./1950.
- , *Masnawīhā*, Tehran 1348 sh./1969.
- Sarkhwush, Mīrzā M. Afzal, *Kalimātu'sh-shu'arā'*, Ethé 670.
- Sayfu'd-Dīn Asadu'llāh Multānī, *Tanbihū's safīh*, Bankipur 1338.
- Sayfu'd-Dīn Hājji bin Nazam al-Fazlī, *Asaru'l-wuzarā'*, Ethé 621, Aligarh University Ms.
- Sayfu'd-Dīn Zafar Nawbahārī, *Durru'l-majālis*, Ethé 1882.
- Sayfu'd-Dīn Asadu'llāh Multānī, *Tanbihū's-safīh*, Bankipur.
- Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd, *Makātib*, Lahore 1975, Tonk Ms. Brit. Mus. Ms. and Sir Sālār Jang, Hyderabad Ms.
- , *Sīrāt-i mustaqīm*, Meerut n.d.
- Sayyid 'Alī, *Tārīkh-i Kashmīr*, Srinagar Ms.
- Sayyid Mahdī b. Sayyid Najaf 'Alī, *Tazkiratu'l-'ulamā'*, Ms. in personal collections.
- Sayyid Mīr Muhammad b. Sayyid Jalāl Thattawī, *Tarkhān-nāma*, Hyderabad, Sind 1965.
- Sayyid Muhammad and Salāmatu'llāh, *Makātib-i munāzara*, Rampur Ms.
- Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī, Mawlāī, *Makhzan-i Ahmadī*, Agra 1299/1881-82.
- Sayyid Muhammad Amīr Hasan Madārī Fansūrī, *Tazkiratu'l-muttaqīn*, vol. I, Kanpur 1315/1898; vol. II, 1322-3/1905.
- Sayyid Muhammad Kāzīm 'Assār, *Wahdat-i Wujūd wa badā'*, Mashhad 1350 sh./1971.
- Sayyid Sharīf al-Jūzjānī, *Tarjamān al-Qur'ān*, Ethé 2699.
- Shabistārī, Muhammad b. 'Abdu'l-Karīm, *Haqqū'l-yaqīn*, 1354 sh./1975.
- Shāh 'Abdu'l-Latif, *Silsila-i 'Āliya-i Chishtīyya-i Nizāmiya-i Fakhriyya-i Sulaymāniyya-i Latf-*

- fiyya*, Tippera 1917.
- Shāh Husayn b. Malik Ghiyāsu'd Dīn Mahmūd, *Khayru'l-bayān*, Ms. Rieu Supp. 108.
- Shāh Tāhir, *Inshā' i-Shāh Tāhir*, Ethé 2056.
- Shāh Nawāz Khān, Nawwāb 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, *Mir'āt-i Āftāb-numā'*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Shāh Nawāz Khān, Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, *Mā'āshirū'l-umarā'*, Calcutta 1889-91.
- Shāh Shu'ayb, *Manāqibū'l-asfiyā'*, Lucknow 1870.
- Shāh Taqī 'Alī Qalandar, Kākorawī, *Rawzu'l-ashār fī mō'āsir u'l-qalandar*, Lucknow 1831-36/1913-18.
- Shāmlū, M. Ja'far, *Manāzil u'l-futūh*, Rieu II, 839b.
- Shams Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh i-Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91.
- Shaybānī, Nizāmu'd-Dīn Muji'r, *Tashkīl-i Shāhinshāhī-i Safawiyya*, Tehran 1346 sh./1967.
- Shaybi, Kāmil Mustafā, *As silā bayna't-tasawwuf wa't-tashayyū'*, 2 vols., Baghdad 1382/1963, 1385/1964.
- Shaykh Abū Bakr 'Abdu'llāh bin Muhammad Shāhawar, *Mirsādu'l 'ibād min al mabda' ilā al-mā'ād*, Ethé 1804.
- Shaykh Abu'l Fayyāz, *Ganj-i Fayyāzī*, Cambridge Ms.
- Shaykh Muhammad Hiwayzī, *Qisasū'l Anbiyā'*, Tehran 1867.
- Shaykh Nūr Qutb-i 'Ālam, *Maktūbāt*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Shaykh Raf'at, *Futūhāt-i Ālangīrī*, Rieu III, 1036a.
- Shaykh Rizqu'llāh Mushtāqī, *Wāqī'āt-i Mushtāqī*, Rieu II, 820b, III, 921b.
- Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn, *Latā'if-i Quddūsī*, Delhi 1894.
- Shaykh Sadru'd Dīn, *Sahā'if*, Ethé 2175.
- Shaykh Ya'qūb Sarfī, *Maghāzī'ū'n-Nabī*, Lahore 1899.
- Shams Sirāj 'Afif, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91.
- Sharafu'd-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, Calcutta 1885-88.
- Shefta, Nawwāb, 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Sarfārāzu'l-Mulk Muhammad Mustafā, *Gulshan-i bī-khār*, Delhi 1253/1837-38.
- Sher Khān Lodī, *Mir'ātu'l-khayāl*, Calcutta 1831.
- Shihābu'd-Dīn Shamsu'd-Dīn bin 'Umar Dawlatābādī, *Bahr i-mawwāj*, Lucknow 1297/1879-80.
- Shihābu'd-Dīn Hātif, *Mikhu'l-mā'ānī*, Patna n.d.
- Shihābu'd-Dīn Nizām, *Manāqib-i Fakhrīyya*, Delhi 1315/1897.
- Shiva Dās Lakhnawī, *Shāh-nāma-i munawwar-kalām*, Rieu I, 274a.
- Sibghatu'llāh 'Usmānī, *Dar-i ghayb*, Rampur Ms.
- Sikandar bin Manjhū, *Mir'āt-i Sikandarī*, Bombay 1890.
- Sirhindī, Shaykh Badru'd-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm Sirhindī, *Hazarātu'l-quds*, Tashkent Ms., vol. II, Lahore 1971.
- Sīstānī, Amīr Iqbāl, *Chihl Majlis Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dawla Simnānī*, Tehran n.d.
- Subhān 'Alī Khān, *Wajīza*, Lucknow 1279/1862-63.
- , *Radd-i Risāla-i Mawlawī Rashīdu'd-Dīn*, Rampur Ms.
- , *Ikhtilāfi'l manāqib*, Rampur Ms.
- , *Raddu'l-makātīb*, Rampur Ms.
- , *A'lamiyāt-i Amīru'l-mu'minīn*, Rampur Ms.
- Sujān Rāy Bhandārī, Munshī, *Khulāsatu't-tawārīkh*, Delhi 1918.
- Sultan Husayn bin Sultan Mansūr Bayqarā, *Majālisu'l-'ushshāq*, Lucknow 1870.
- Sultānu'l-'Ulamā' Mawlānā Sayyid Muhammad, *Tafzīl-i Sādāt bar mashā'ikh*, Lucknow 1311/1893-94.
- , *Risāla-i Taqīya*, Lucknow n.d.
- , *Sayf-i Qāti'*, Lucknow n.d.
- , *Samsām-i Qāti'*, Lucknow 1238/1822-23.
- , *Zarbat-i Haydariyya*, Lucknow n.d.

- , *Ta'nu'r-rimāh*, Lucknow 1238/1822.
- , *Barq-i khātif*, Lucknow n.d.
- Sultānu'l-Wā'izīn Abu'l-Fath Hasanī Husaynī, *Safar-nāma*, Tehran University Ms.
- Sultān Walād, *Walād-nāma*, Tehran 1315-16/1936-38.
- Tabarsī, M. 'Alī b. M. Qāsim, *Tuhfa-i Haydariyya*, Bankipur 1320.
- Tabrizī, Hājji 'Abdu'l 'Alī, *Munsha'āt-i Nazīru'l-mamālik al-Sultānī*, Brit. Mus. Ms. Add., 6600.
- Tafazzul Husayn Khān, *Tuhfa-i Mukhtāriyah*, Sālār Jung, Tārīkh Fārsī, 171.
- Tāhīr Wahīd, 'Abbās-nāma, Rieu I, 189b.
- Tāhīr Muhammad Sabzawārī, *Rawzatul-tāhīrīn*, Ethé.
- Tāhīr Nasrābādī, *Tazkira-i Tāhīr Nasrābādī*, Tehran 1937-38.
- Tahmās Khān, *Tahmās-nāma*, Rieu III, 980b.
- Taqī Awhadī, 'Arāfat al-'arīfīn wa 'arsāt al-'āshiqīn, Bankipur VIII, 685-86.
- Taqīu'd-Dīn Muhammad, *Nizām-i Tabai' Qutb-Shāhī*, Sālār Jang, *Tibb* 166.
- Thattawī, Mullā Ahmad b. Nasru'llāh, *Khulāsatu'l-hayāt*, Āsafiya Ms.
- Timūr (?), *Malfūzāt-i Timūri*, Aligarh Ms.
- al-Tunkābānī, M. Sulaymān b. M. Rafī', *Qisasu'l-'ulamā'*, Lucknow 1306/1888-89.
- Turāb 'Alī Muhammad Kāzīm Qalandarī 'Alawī Kākorawī, *Usūlu'l-maqṣūd*, Ivanow, Curzon 83.
- 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār Khwāja, *Anfās-i nafīsa*, Lucknow 1301/1883-84.
- Ulfatī, *Riyāzu's-Sanā'i-i Qutb Shāhī*, Sālār Jung, 'Urūz wa Qāfiyah.
- 'Urfī Shīrāzī, *Kulliyāt*, Ethé Ms. 1451, Tehran 1339/1960.
- 'Utbī, *Tārīkh al-Yamīnī*, with commentary, Cairo 1286/1869.
- Wā'iz-zādah, M., ed., *Co-Memorial Millenary of Shaykh al-Tūsī*, Mashhad 1976.
- Wajīhu'd-Dīn Gujarātī, *Haqīqat-i Muhammadiyya*, Tashkent Ms., Persian tr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, Bankipur XVI, 1399.
- , *Malfūzāt*, Aligarh University Ms.
- Walī Sirhindī, *Tārīkh-i Jahāngīr Shāhī*, Bodleian 231.
- Walīu'llāh Dihlawī, Shāh, *Al-qawlu'l-jamīl fī sawā' u's-sabīl*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Anfāsu'l-'arīfīn*, Delhi 1315/1897.
- , *Al-juz' al-latīf*, appendix to the above.
- , *Lamāhāt*, Hyderabad, Sind, n.d.
- , *Altāfu'l-quds*, Gujranwala 1384/1964.
- , *Fathu'r-Rahmān*, Taj & Co., Lahore.
- , *Al-intibāh fī salāsīl awliyā'-Allāh*, Delhi 1311/1893-94.
- , *Al-fawz al-kabīr fī usūlu'l-tafsīr*, Karachi 1383/1963-64.
- , *Muqaddama dar fann-i tarjama-i Qur'ān*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Qurratu'l-'aynayn fī tafzīl i'sh-Shaykhayn*, Delhi 1892.
- , *Izālatu'l-khafā' 'an khilāfatu'l-khulafā'*, Karachi n.d.
- , *Wasīyat-nāma*, Lucknow 1894.
- , *Tafhīmāt-i Ilāhiyya*, Hyderabad, Sind 1970.
- , *Sarf-i Mīr*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Al-musaffā*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Risāla-i dānishmandī*, Lucknow 1894, on the margin of the *Wasīyat-nāma*.
- , *Husn al-'aqīda*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Maktūbāt ma' manāqib-i Bukhārī wa fazīlat-i Ibn Taymiyya*, Delhi n.d.
- , *Maktūbāt*, Rampur Ms.
- Wassāf, *Tajziyatu'l amsār wa tajziyatu'l a'sār*, Tehran 1959.
- Wāzih, Mubāraku'llāh, *Tārīkh-i Irādat Khān*, Lahore 1971.
- Wilāyat 'Alī b. Ghulām Rasūl, *Sayf-i Haydarī*, Rampur Ms.
- al-Yāfi'i, *Mīr'ātu'l-jinān*, Hyderabad 1337/1918-19.
- Yahya bin Ahmad Sihhindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, Calcutta 1931; Eng. tr. K.K. Basu

- Baroda 1932.
- Yahya Munayari, Shaykh Sharafu'd-Dīn, *Maktūbāt-i Sadī*, Ethé Ms. 1843, Kanpur 1911, Lucknow 1870.
- Yakta, Ahmad 'Alī, *Dastūr al-fasāhat*, Rampur 1943.
- Ya'qūb Sarfī, Shaykh, *Maghazū' n-Nabī*, Lahore 1899.
- Ya'qūb 'Usmān bin Mahmūd G. M. Ghaznawī Charkhī, *Tafsīr-i Ya'qūb-i Charkhī*, Ivanow, Curzon 334.
- Yūhanna Banī Isrā'īlu'l-Misrī, *Risāla-i Yūhanna*, Bankipur 1331.
- Yūsuf 'Alī Khān, *Tārīkh-i Bangāla-i Mahābatjangī*, Calcutta 1969.
- Yūsuf Husain Khān, *Farmāns and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans*, Hyderabad 1963.
- , *Selected Documents of Awrangzīb's reign*, Hyderabad 1958.
- , *Selected Waqā'i of the Deccan (1660-71)*, Hyderabad 1962.
- Yūsuf Mīrak b. Amīr Abu'l-Qāsim Namkīn Bhakkārī, *Mazhar-i Shāhjahānī*, Hyderabad, Sind 1962
- Yūsuf Muhammad Khān, *Tārīkh-i Fathiyya*, Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderabad.
- Zahīru'd-Dīn, Sayyid Ahmad, *Kamālāt-i 'Azīzī*, Karachi 1972.
- Zahīru'd-Dīn Mar'ashī, *Tārīkh-i Tabaristān*, Tehran 1333/1954.
- Zahīru'd-Dīn Nishāpūri, *Saljuq-nāma*, Tehran 1332/1954.
- Zaydpūri, Ghulām Husayn, *Riyāzu's-salātīn*, Calcutta 1902-4.
- Zayn Badr-i 'Arabī, *Ma'danul-Ma'ānī*, Bodleian Ms.
- Zuhūri of Tarshiz, *Kulliyāt-i Zuhūri*, Ethé Ms. 1500; *Seh Nasr*, Lucknow n.d.
- , *Muhammad-nāma*, Kapurthala State Library.
- Zu'lfaqār Ardastānī (ascribed to), *Dabistān-u Mazāhib*, Lucknow 1904; Eng. tr. D. Shea and A. Troyer, vols. I-III, Paris 1943.

Urdu

- 'Abbāsī, Mahmūd Ahmad, *Tārīkh-i Amroha*, Delhi 1930.
- 'Abdu'l-Haqq, Mawlawī *Urdū kī nashw-u numā men sāfiyā'-i kirām ka hissa*, Karachi 1953.
- , *Chand ham 'asr*, Karachi 1950.
- , *Marhūm Dihli College*, Karachi 1962.
- 'Abdu'l-Hayy, *Gul-i ra'na*, A'zamgarh 1364/1945.
- 'Abdu'llāh Sayyid, *Sir Sayyid aur unke rufaqā kī nasr ka fikrī waqtī jā'iza*, Lahore 1960.
- , *Mir Amman se 'Abdu'l Haqq tak*, Lahore 1965.
- 'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, *Kulliyāt*, ed., *Syed Muhammad*, Hyderabad 1958.
- Adīb, Sayyid Mas'ūd Hasan Rizawī, *Fā'iz Dihlawī aur dīwān-i Fā'iz*, Aligarh 1965.
- , *Rūh-i Anīs*, Lucknow 1956.
- , *Wājid 'Alī Shāh*, Lucknow.
- Afsos, Mīr Shīr 'Alī, *Ārā'ish-i mahfil*, Lahore 1963.
- Afzal Husayn, *Hayāt-i Dabīr*, Lahore 1331/1912-13.
- Āgha Mahdī, *Tārīkh-i Lakhnā'ū*, Karachi 1976.
- , *Tārīkh-i Sultānu'l-'Ulamā'*, Karachi 1967.
- , *Sawānīh hayāt-i Firdaws Makānī*, Karachi 1386/1966-67.
- , *Sawānīh hayāt-i Ghufūrān Ma'āb*, Karachi n.d.
- , *Tārīkh-i Shī'a ke khūnchakān waraq*, Lucknow n.d.
- Ahmad 'Alī, Syed Shāh, *Hazrat Husayn Shāh Wālī*, Hyderabad n.d.
- Ahmad Hasan, *Tazkira-i Nāsiru'l-Millat*, Lucknow 1943.
- Akbar Haydarī (ed.), *Dīwān-i Mīr*, Srinagar 1973.
- Akhtar, Wahīd, *Khawāja Mīr Dard*, Aligarh 1971.
- 'Alī Bilgarāmī, Syed, *Tārīkh-i Dakan, Silsila Āsafiyā*, III, Agra 1897.
- 'Alī Naqī, Naqqan Sāhib, *Tazkira-i Huffāz-i Shī'a*, Lucknow n.d.

- , *Shahīd-i insāniyat*, Allahabad.
- Amrohawī, Rahīm Bakhsh, *Tawārīkh-i Wāsitiyya*, Muradabad 1322/1904-5.
- Anīs, Mīr Babar 'Alī, *Marāsi-i Mīr Anīs*, Lucknow 1958, Lahore 1959.
- Ansārī, Muhammad Rizā', *Bānī-i dars-i Nizāmī*, Lucknow 1973.
- Ansārī, Māyminā, *Mīrzā Muhammad Hādī Ruswā*, Lahore 1963.
- Asghar, Muhammad, *Biswīn Sadī kā Mujaddid-i A'zam*, Lucknow 1361/1942-43.
- Aslam Farrukhī, *Muhammad Husayn Āzād*, Karachi 1965.
- Ayyūb Qādirī, Muhammad, (ed), *Majmū'a-i Wasāyā'-i arb'a*, Hyderabad, Pakistan.
- , *Fazā'il-i Sahāba wa Ahl-i Bayt*, Karachi 1965.
- Āzād, Mawlānā Abu'l-Kalām, *Tazkira*, Lahore n.d.
- Āzād, Muhammad Husayn, *Āb-i hayāt*, Allahabad 1962.
- , *Darbār-i Akbarī*, Lahore n.d.
- 'Azīzū'r-Rahmān, Mawlānā Muftī, *Tazkira-i mashā'ikh-i Deoband*, Bijnor 1950.
- Bashīrū'd-dīn Ahmad, *Wāqī'āt-i Mamlukat-i Bijāpūr*, 2 vols., Agra 1915.
- , *Farāmīn-i salātīn-i Dihlī*, Delhi 1944.
- , *Wāqī'āt-dārū'l-hukūmat-i Dihlī*, Delhi 1337/1918-19.
- Bilgarāmī, Sharīfū'l-Hasan, *Tārīkh-i khitta-i pāk-i Bilgarām*, Aligarh 1960.
- Chānd, Shaykh, *Sawdā*, Delhi 1940.
- Dabīr, Mīrzā Salāmat 'Alī, *Marāsi-i Mīrzā Dabīr*, Lucknow Nawal Kishore, 1890; Shāhī Press 1911; selections Sāhir Fathpūrī, *Muntakhbat-i Marāsi-i Dabīr*, Lahore 1980.
- Dard, Khwāja Mīr, *Dīwān*, Allahabad.
- Dihlawī, Mīrzā Hayrat, *Hayāt-i tayyiba*, Lahore 1976.
- Fārūqī, Ashar 'Alī, *Urdū marsiya*, Allahabad 1958.
- Fārūqī, Mahmūd, *Mīr Hasan aur unke khāndān ke dūsre shu'arā'*, Lahore n.d.
- Fārūqī, Zākir Husayn, *Dabistān-i Dabīr*, Lucknow 1966.
- Fazlī, Fazal 'Alī, *Karbal Kathā*, Delhi 1965.
- Fazlū'l-Haqq, *Mīr Hasan*, Delhi 1973.
- Ghālīb, Asadu'llāh Khān, *Khutūt-i Ghālīb*, ed. Mahesh Prasad, Allahabad 1941.
- , *Dīwān*, ed. Imtī'āz 'Alī 'Arshī, New Delhi 1982, 2nd ed.
- , *Makātīb-i Ghālīb*, ed. Imtī'āz 'Alī 'Arshī, Bombay 1937.
- Ghawwāsī, *Mayna Satwantī*, ed. Ghulām 'Umar Khān, Qadīm Urdū, Hyderabad 1965.
- , *Tūtī-nāma*, ed., Sa'ādat 'Alī Razawī, Hyderabad 1357/1938-39.
- , *Sayfū'l-mulk was Badī'u'l-Jamāl*, ed. Sa'ādat 'Alī Razawī, Hyderabad 1937.
- , *Kulliyāt*, ed. Muhammad bin 'Umar, Hyderabad 1959.
- Gilānī*, Manāzīr Ahsan, *Tazkira-i Hazrat Shāh Waliu'llāh*, Karachi 1959.
- Hālī, Khwāja Altāf Husayn, *Hayāt-i Jāwīd*, Lahore 1957.
- , *Yādgār-i Ghālīb*, Lahore 1963.
- Hasan, Muhammad, *Dihlī men Urdū Shā'irī kā fikrī aur tahzībī pas manzar*, Aligarh 1964.
- Hāshimī, Nasīrū'd-Dīn, *Kutub Khānā Sālār Jang kī Urdū Qalamī wizāhatī Fihrist*, Hyderabad 1951.
- , *Maqālāt-i Hāshimī*, Lahore 1356/1937-38.
- , *Kutub Khānā-i Āsafīya kī Urdū Qalamī wizāhatī Fihrist*, Hyderabad.
- , *Dakhīnī (Qadīm Urdū) ke chand tahqīqī mazāmīn*, Delhi 1953.
- , *Dakan men Urdū*, Lahore 1952.
- Hurmat 'Alī, *Sawānīh-i Qāsimī*, Lahore 1324/1906.
- Husaynī Shāhid, *Sayyid Shāh Amīnū'd-Dīn*, Hyderabad 1973.
- Ikrām, Shaykh Muhammad, *Āb-i Kawsar*, Lahore 1975.
- , *Rūd-i Kawsar*, Lahore 1975.
- , *Mawj-i Kawsar*, Lahore 1975.
- Iqbāl Ahmad, *Tārīkh-i Shtrāz-i Hind*, Lucknow 1963.
- Ja'far Husayn, Mīrzā, *Qadīm Lakhnā'ū kī ākhīrī bahār*, Delhi 1981.
- Ja'fīrī, Qamqām Husayn, *Shāgirdān-i Anīs*, Karachi 1979.

- Jawhar, Sayyid Ahmad, *Khatīb-i A'zam*, Karachi 1971.
- Kamālu'd-Dīn Haydar Hasanī Husaynī, *Sawānihāt-i Salātīn-i Awadh*, Lucknow 1896.
- Khalīq Anjum, *Mīrzā Mazhar Jān-i Jānān ke khutūt*, Delhi 1962.
- Khān, Muhammad 'Alī Khān, *Tazkira-i zākirīn*, Hyderabad 1361/1942.
- Madanī, Husayn Ahmad, *Naqsh-i hayāt*, Deoband 1954.
- Mālik Rām, *Talāmiza-i Ghālib*, Delhi.
- Masīhu'z-Zamān, *Urdū marsiya kā irtiqā'*, Lucknow 1968.
- Mawdūdī, Mawlānā Abu'l-'Alā', *Tajdīd wa Ihyā'ī Dīn*, Lahore 1953.
- , *Khilāfat wa mulūkiyat*, III edn., Rampur 1974.
- Mazhar Baqā, *Usūl-i fiqh awr Shāh Walīu'llāh*, Islamabad 1973.
- Mīhr, Ghulām Rasūl, *Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Lahore n.d.
- Mubārakpūrī, Qāzī Athar, *Shajra-i mubārīka*, Bombay 1394.
- , *'Ulamā'-i Purāb*, Delhi.
- , *Hindustān men Arbon kī hukūmatayn*, Karachi n.d.
- Muhammad Miyān, *'Ulamā'-i Hind kā shāndār māzī*, 4 vols., Delhi 1957-60.
- Murtazā Husayn, *Hayāt-i Hakīm*, Lahore 1970.
- , *Matla'-i anwār*, Karachi 1981.
- Mūsawī, Rashīd, *Dakīn men marsiya awr 'azādārī*, Hyderabad 1970.
- Nadwī, 'Abdu's-Salām, *Hukmā'-i Islām*, A'zamgarh 1956.
- Nadwī, Abū Zafar, *Tārīkh-i Sindh*, A'zamgarh 1947.
- Nadwī, Mawlāwī Ikrāmu'llāh Khān, *Wiqār-i hayāt*, Aligarh 1925.
- Nadwī, Sayyid Abū'l Hasan 'Alī, *Strat Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd*, Karachi 1974-75.
- Najmu'l-Ghanī, *Tārīkh-i Awadh*, Muradabad 1910.
- Nānawtawī, Muhammad Qāsim, *Hidāyatul-sh-Shi'a*, Lahore.
- Nārang, Gopī Chand, *Anīs shīnāsī*, New Delhi 1981.
- Nasīm Amrohawī, *Tārīkh-i Khayrpūr*, Karachi 1955.
- Nawgānwī, Sayyid Muhammad Husayn, *Tazkira i bī bahā' fī tārikhu'l 'ulamā'*, Delhi 1934.
- Naqwī, Sibṭ Muhammad, *Anjad 'Alī Shāh*, Lucknow 1976.
- Nazīr Ahmad Dihlawī, *Ijtihād*, Delhi 1325/1907.
- , *Tarjamāt al-Qur'ān*, Delhi 1322/1904.
- , *Lekcharon kā majmū'a*, Delhi 1918.
- , *Ibnū'l-waqt*, Lahore 1961.
- , *Ummhānu'l-umma*, Delhi 1935.
- , *Tawbatu'n-nusūh*, Lahore 1964.
- , *Al-Huqūq wa'l-farā'iz*, Delhi 1960.
- Nazīr Akbarābādī, *Kulliyāt-i Nazīr*, Allahabad 1976.
- Nizāmī, K.A., *Shāh Walīu'llāh ke Siyāsī maktūbāt*, Aligarh 1950.
- , *Tārīkh-i mashā'ikh-i Chisht*, Delhi 1953.
- Nu'mānī, Muhammad Manzūr (ed.), *al-Furqān, Mujaddid-i Alf-i Sānī nambar*, Bareilly 1357/1937.
- Nūr Ahmad Chishtī, *Tahqīqāt-i Chishtī*, Lahore 1964.
- Qādīrī, Hāmid Hasan, *Dāstān-i tārikh-i Urdū*, 3rd ed., Karachi 1966.
- Quddūsī, I'jāzu'l-Haqq, *Tazkira-i sūfiyā'-i Sindh*, Karachi 1959.
- , *Tārīkh-i Sindh*, Lahore 1976.
- Qurayshī, Nasīm, *Aligarh tahrīk*, Aligarh 1960.
- Rahīm Bakhsh Dihlawī, *Hayāt-i Walī*, 2nd edn., Lahore 1972.
- Rizā' 'Alī, Sir Sayyid, *A'māl-nāma*, Delhi 1943.
- Rizvī, Sifārish Husayn, *Urdū marsiya*, New Delhi 1965.
- Sābit, Afzal Husayn, *Hayāt-i Dabīr*, Lahore 1913.
- Sādiq, Muhammad, *Muhammad Husayn Āzād*, Lahore 1976.
- Sāliha 'Ābid Husayn, *Khawātin-i Karbalā, kalām-i Anīs ke ā'inē men*, New Delhi 1973.

- Sawdā, *Kulliyāt-i Sawdā*, Allahabad.
- Shāh 'Azīmābādī, 'Alī Muhammad, *Shād ki kahānī*, Azamgarh 1961.
- Shafī, Mawlawī Muhammad, *Maqālāt-i Dīnī wa 'ilmī*, 5 vols., Lahore.
- Shams, Muhammad Bāqir, *Tārīkh-i Lucknow*, Karachi 1972.
- Sharar, A.H., *Guzashta Lakhnā'ū*, Lucknow 1965.
- Shawq, Ahmad 'Alī, *Tazkira-i Kāmilān-i Rāmpūr*, Delhi 1929.
- Shērwanī, H.K., *Bhāgmatī kā Afsāna*, Hyderabad 1958.
- Shibli Nu'mānī, *Siratū'n-Nabī*, Azamgarh 1951.
- , *al-Fārūq*, Azamgarh 1956.
- , *Awrangzīb 'Alamgīr par ek nazar*, Lahore 1909.
- , *Muāzina Anīs was Dabīr*, Lahore n.d.
- , *Shī'ru'l-'Ajam*, Azamgarh.
- Shīrānī, Mazhar Mahmūd (ed.), *Maqālāt-i Hāfiz Mahmūd Shīrānī*, 6 vols., Lahore 1966-72.
- Sibtu'l-Hasan, Sayyid, *Tazkira-i majīd*, Lucknow 1979.
- , *'Azādārī ki tārikh*, Lucknow 1941.
- Siddiqī, A.M., *Muqadama-i Tārīkh-i Dakan*, Hyderabad 1940.
- , *Tārīkh Golkonda*, Hyderabad 1964.
- Siddiqī, Ifūkhār Ahmad, *Mawlawī Nazīr Ahmad Dihlawī*, Lahore 1971.
- Siddiqī, M.A., *Gilchrist aur uskā ahd*, Aligarh 1960.
- , *Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān*, Delhi 1977.
- Sirī Rāma, Lālā, *Khumkhān-i Jāwīd*, Delhi n.d.
- Syed Ahmad Khān, Sir, *Tazkira-i ahl-i Dihlī*, Karachi 1968.
- , *Maqālāt-i Sir Syed*, ed., Ismā'il Pānīpatī, (articles from *Tahzībū'l-akhlaq* and Sir Sayyid's rare works), Lahore.
- , *Asbāb baghāwat-i Hind*, Aligarh 1958.
- 'Urūj, 'Abdu'r-Ra'uf, *Bazm-i Ghālib*, Karachi 1969.
- Wajhū, *Qutb-Mushtarī*, Karachi 1953.
- Wazīrū'd-Dīn b. M. Ashraf Badā'ūnī, *Tuhfatū'sh-Shī'a*, Ludhiana n.d.
- Zakariyya, Khwāja Muhammad, *Akbar Ilāhābādī*, Lahore 1980.
- Zor, Muhyī'u'd-Dīn Qādirī, *Hyderābād Farkhundā Buntād*, Hyderabad.
- , *Hayāt-i Mir Mu'min*, Hyderabad 1941.
- , *Sultān Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh*, Hyderabad 1940.
- , *Tazkirā Nawādīr Aywān-i Urdū*, Hyderabad 1960.
- , *Tazkirā Urdū Makhtūtūl Aywān-i Urdū*, I-V, Hyderabad 1360 H. ff.
- , *Urdū Shāhpāre*, I, Hyderabad 1929.
- , *Dāstān-i Adab-i Hyderābād*, Hyderabad 1951.
- , *Qutb Shāhī Sultans and Andhra Sanskritī*, Hyderabad 1962.
- Zubayrī, Muhammad Amīn, *Tazkira-i Sir Syed*, Lahore 1964.
- , *Makātīb*, Agra n.d.
- , *Hayāt-i Muhsin*, Aligarh 1934.

European Languages

- Abdel Kader, A.H., *The life, personality and writings of al-junayd*, London 1962.
- Abdul Aziz, *The mansabdārī system and the Mughal Army*, Lahore 1945.
- Abdul Ghani, *A history of Persian Language and Literature at Mughal Court*, Allahabad 1929-30.
- Abdul Hamid, *Muslim separatism in India*: 2nd edn., Lahore 1971.
- Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *Medieval India*, London 1932.
- Abdul-Latif, Sayyid, *The influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature*, London 1924.
- Abdul Muqtader, *Catalogues of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore*, Patna 1908-39, reprint vol. 1, 1941.

- Abdul Qadir, *Famous Urdu Poets and Writers*, Lahore, 1947.
- Abdur Rahim, 'Mughal Relations with Central Asia', *Islamic Culture*, 1937.
- , 'Mughal Relations with Persia', *Islamic Culture*, 1934.
- Abdur Rashid, *Society and culture in medieval India (1206-1556 AD)*, Calcutta 1969.
- Abid Husain, S., *The Destiny of India's Muslims*, Bombay 1965.
- Ahmad, Imtiaz (ed.), *Caste and social stratification among the Muslims*, Delhi 1973.
- Ahmad, M.B., *Administration of justice in Medieval India*, Aligarh 1941.
- Aiyangar, K., *Sources of Vijayanagar history*, Madras 1909.
- Ali, Ahmad, *Twilight in Delhi*, Oxford 1966.
- Ali, Mrs. Meer Hassan, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, 2 vols., London 1832.
- Ali, at-Tabari, *The book of religion and empire*; Eng. tr. Mingana, Manchester 1922.
- Allard, Michel, *Le probleme des attributs divins dans la doctrine d'al-As'ari et de ses premiers grands disciples*, Beirut 1965.
- Ameer, Ali, S., *The spirit of Islam*: reprint, London 1961.
- Anawati, G.C., and Gardet, L., *La mystique Musulmane*, Paris 1961.
- Andrews, C.F., *Zaka Ullah of Delhi*, Cambridge 1929.
- Arasteh, Reza, *Rumi the Persian: rebirth in creativity and love*, Washington 1965.
- Arberry, A.J., *The doctrines of the sufis*, trn. of Kalabadhi's *Kitāb al ta'aruf*, Cambridge 1935.
- , 'New Material on the *Kitāb al-fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim', *Islamic Research Association Miscellany, I*, ('Islamic Research Association Series', No. 11), Calcutta, Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. 19-45.
- Arnakis, G.G., 'Futuwwa traditions in the Ottoman Empire: Akhis, Bektashis, Dervishes and Craftsmen', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XII, No. 4 (Oct. 1953).
- Arnadlez, R., *Hallaj ou la religion de la croix*, Paris 1964.
- Arnold, Sir Thomas, *The preaching of Islam*; reprinted Lahore.
- Ashraf, K.M., *Life and conditions of the people of Hindustan*, 2nd edn., Delhi 1970.
- Ashraf, Mawlana Muhammad, *Concise descriptive catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Salar Jang Museum Library*, Hyderabad 1961.
- Atchison, C., *Collection of treaties, engagements and sunnuds relating to India*, Calcutta 1892.
- Athar Ali, M., *The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay 1956.
- Aziz, Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964*, London 1967.
- , *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964.
- , and von Grunebaum, G.E., *Muslim self-statement in India and Pakistan, 1857-1968*, Wiesbaden: Otton Harrassowitz 1970.
- Aziz, K.K., *Ameer Ali, His Life and Work*, Lahore 1968.
- Baljon, Jr. J.M.S., *The reforms and religious ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, 3rd edn., Lahore 1964.
- Barthold, W., *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 2nd edn., London 1928.
- de Bary, W.T., *Sources of Indian tradition*, New York 1958.
- Basham, A.L. (ed.), *A cultural history of India*, Oxford 1975.
- Bausani, Alessandro, *Persia Religiosa*, Milan 1959.
- , *Storia della letteratura persiana*, (together with Antonio Pagliara), Milano 1960.
- Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Oxford 1922.
- Bernier, Francis, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1956-68*; tr. Constable, A.; rev. Smith V.A.; 2nd ed., London 1967.
- Bhatnagar, S.K., *History of the M.A.O. College*, Aligarh 1976.
- Bilgarami, A.A., *Landmarks of the Deccan*, Hyderabad 1927.
- Binder, L. (ed.), *The Study of the Middle East*, New York 1976.
- Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris 105-12.
- Blumhardt, J.F., *Catalogue of the Hindustani Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Oxford 1926.

- Blunt, E.A.H., *The caste system of Northern India*, reprint, Delhi 1969.
- Bosworth, C.E., *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963.
- Boyle, J.A. (ed.), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. V., Cambridge 1968.
- Brockleman, C., *Geschichte der arabischen literatur*, 2 vols., 2nd edn. and 3 Supplementbande, Leiden 1937-49.
- , *History of the Islamic peoples*, London 1949.
- Browne, E.G., *A literary history of Persia*, 4 vols., Cambridge, reprint 1957.
- , 'Notes of the literature of the Hurufis and their connection with the Bektashi derivatives', *J.R.A.S.* 1907, 533-81.
- Brunschvig, R., 'Devoir et pouvoir', *Studia Islamica*, XX (1964), 5-46.
- , 'Les usul al-fiqh imamites a leur stade ancien (X^e et XI^e siecles)'. In *Le Shi'isme imamite*. Colloque du Centre d'etudes superieures specialise d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg. Paris, presses universitaires de France 1970.
- Buckland, C.E., *Dictionary of Indian biography*, reprint, Varanasi 1971.
- Burckhardt, T., *Alchemie*, Olten, Switzerland 1960.
- , *Alchemy: Science of the Cosmos, Science of the Soul*; Eng. tr, London 1967.
- , *Introduction aux Doctrines esoteriques de l'Islam*, Lyon 1955.
- Cahen, Chaude, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968.
- Canaan, T., *Mohammedan saints and sanctuaries in Palestine*, London 1927.
- Carpenter, J.E., *Theism in medieval India*, London 1926, reprint, New Delhi 1977.
- Caspar, R., 'Le Revouveau du mo'tazilisme,' *Melanges de l'Institut Dominicain d'Etudes Orientales du Caire*, IV (1957), 141-202.
- Canard, M., *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdanides de Jazira et de Syrie*, ('Publications de la Faculte des Lettres d'Alger'), Paris; presses universitaires de France, 1953.
- Chittick, W. (ed. and tr.), *A Shi'ite anthology*, London 1980.
- Coulson, Noel J., *A history of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh 1964.
- , *Conflicts and tensions in Islamic jurisprudence*, Chicago 1969.
- Dar, Bashir Ahmad, *The religious thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore 1957.
- Dar, M.A.M., *Introduction to the thought of Iqbal*, Karachi 1961.
- Corbin, H., *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, Vol. I, Paris: Gallimard 1964.
- Daud, Rahbar, *God of justice*, Leiden 1960.
- Dennitt, D.C., *Conversion and the poll-tax in early Islam*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1950.
- Donaldson, D.M., *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933.
- , *Studies in Muslim ethics*, London 1953.
- Dozy, R., *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden 1927.
- Dunlop, D.M., *Arab civilization to AD 1500*, London 1971.
- Elliot, H.M., *The history of India as told by its own historians*: ed. J. Dowson, vols. I-VIII, London 1866-77.
- Ethé, H., *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the India Office*, 2 vols., Oxford 1903-37.
- Evllya, Chelebi, *Narrative of travels in Europe, Asia and Africa by Evliya Efendi*; tr. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, 2 vols., London 1834-50.
- Eklund, R., *Life between death and resurrection according to Islam*, Upsala : Almquist and Wiksells 1941.
- Eliash, J., 'The Shi'ite Qur'an', *Arabica*, XVI (1969) 15-24; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*; 1st edn., ed. Gill, H., et al, Leiden-Brill 1960.
- Farquhar, J.N., *Outline of the religious literature of India*, Oxford 1920.
- Faruqi, M., *Aurangzib and his Times*, Bombay 1935.
- Faruqi, Ziyaul-Hasan, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay 1963.
- Fayzee, A.A.A., *Shi'ite Creed*, Oxford 1941.
- Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London 1966.
- , *Mulla Sadra*.
- Foster, W., ed., *Early travels in India 1583-1619*, London 1927.

- Frank, R.M., '“al-ma'na”', Some Reflections on the Technical Meanings of the term in the Kalam and its use in the physics of Mu'am-mar', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LXXXVII (1967), 248-50.
- , *The Metaphysics of created being according to Abul-Huzayl al-'Allaf*, 'Nederlandsche Historische-Archaeologisch Institut' (No. 21), Istanbul, The Institute 1966.
- Fray, Sebastian Manrique, *Travels 1629-43*; tr. Luaralele, C.E.; London 1927.
- Frazer, J.G., *The growth of Plato's ideal theory*, London 1967.
- Friedlaender, I., 'The Heterodoxies of the Shi'ites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXVIII (1907), 1-18; XXIX (1908), 1-183.
- Friedmann, J., *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi*, Montreal 1971.
- Frye, R.N. and Sayili, A.M., 'Turks in the Middle East Before the Saljuqs', *J.A.O.S.*, LXIII, 1943.
- Fryer, John, *A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years' Travels, 1672-81*, ed., Crooke, W.; 3 vols.; London 1909, 1912, 1915.
- Frykenberg, R.E. (ed.), *Land control and social structure in Indian history*, Wisconsin 1969.
- Gabriele, Francesco, *Muhammad and the conquests of Islam*, London 1968.
- Gardet, L., *Dieu et la destinee de l'homme*, ('Etudes musulmanes', Vol. IX), Paris, Vrin, 1967.
- , 'Les Noms et les status; la probleme de la foi et des oeuvres en Islam', *Studia Islamica*, V (1956), 61-123.
- Gardet, L., and Anawati, M., *Introduction a la theologie musulmane*, ('Etudes de philosophie medievale', No. 37), Paris, Vrin, 1948.
- Gibb, H.A.R., *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, New York 1970.
- , *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, London 1962.
- , *Arabic Literature*; 2nd edn.; Oxford 1963.
- , 'Al-Mawardi's theory of the khilafat', *Islamic Culture*, XI-3, 1937.
- , 'Some considerations on the Sunni Theory of the Caliphate', *Archives d'histoire du droit oriental*, III (1947), 404-410.
- , and Bowen, H., *Islamic society and the West: I. Islamic society in the eighteenth century*, London, 2 vols.; 1950 and 1957.
- Goldziher, G.S., *Gesammelte Schriften*; ed., Joseph De Somogyi, 5 vols.; Hildesheim, 1967-70.
- , *Muhammadanische Studien*; 2 vols.; Halle 1889-90; Eng. tr. Stern, S.M., *Muslim Studies*, London 1967-71.
- , *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranlegung*, Leiden 1920.
- , *Die Zahiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig 1884.
- Gopal, Ram, *The Indian Muslims: A Political History*, Bombay n.d.
- Graham, G.F.I., *The life and works of Syed Ahmad Khan, C.S.I.*, Edinburgh 1885.
- Grierson, George Abraham, *The Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. I, Part I, Calcutta 1927.
- Gupta, B.K., *Sirajuddaulah and the East India Company*, Leiden 1962.
- Habib, I., *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, Bombay 1963.
- Habib, M., *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni*, Delhi 1951.
- , and Nizami, K., *A comprehensive history of India*, Bombay 1970.
- Habibullah, A.B.M., *The foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, 2nd edn., Allahabad 1961.
- Hadi Hasan, 'The Unique Diwan of Humayun Badshah', *Islamic Culture*, XXX, 1951.
- , *Mughal Poetry, its Cultural and Historical Value*, Madras 1951.
- , *Qasim i-Kahi*, Hyderabad 1953.
- Haig, Wolseley, *History of the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar*, Bombay 1923.
- Haq, Enamul, *Muslim Bengali literature*, Karachi 1957.
- Haq, Mushir, U., *Muslim politics in modern India, 1857-1947*, Meerut 1970.
- Hardy, P., *Historians of medieval India*, London 1960.
- , *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge 1972.
- Hasrat, B.H., *Dara Shikuh*, Santiniketan 1953.
- Hedges, William, *The diary of Williams Hedges, Esq., during his agency in Bengal*, 3 vols.;

- Hakluyt Society, London 1887-89.
- Hidayat Husain, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the Buhar, Library*, Calcutta 1923.
- Hitti, Philip K., *History of the Arabs*, London 1937.
- Hodgson, G.S., *The order of assassins*, Hague 1944.
- Hodivala, S.H., *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939-57.
- Hollister, J.N., *The Shi'a of India*, London 1936.
- Holt, Lambton and Lewis (eds.), *The Cambridge history of Islam*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1970.
- Horowitz, S., *Über den Einfluss der griechischen philosophie auf die Entwicklung des Kalam*, Breslau: Schatzky 1909.
- , 'Über den Einfluss des Stoizismus auf die Entwicklung der Philosophie bei den Arabern', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LVII (1903), 177-196.
- Horten, M., *Die Philosophie des Abu Rashid*, Bonn, Hanstein 1910.
- , *Die Philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologies im Islam*, Bonn, Hanstein 1910.
- Houtsma, M., 'Zum Kitab al-Fihrist', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV (1890), 217-35.
- Howorth, H.H., *History of the Mongols*, London 1886-1927.
- Hughes, T.P., *Dictionary of Islam*; reprint London, 1935, New Delhi 1977.
- Ibbetson, D., *Punjab castes*, Lahore 1916.
- Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal empire*, reprint New Delhi 1970.
- Ikram, S.M. and Rashid, S.A., *History of Muslim civilization in India and Pakistan*, Lahore 1962.
- Iqbal, Afzal, *The Life and times of Mohamed Ali*, Lahore 1974.
- Iqbal, Muhammad, *The reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, Oxford 1934.
- , *The development of metaphysics in Persia*, London 1908.
- Irvine, W., *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, reprint New Delhi 1962.
- Irwin, H.C., *The gardens of India*, London 1880.
- Ivanow, W., *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942.
- Ivanow, W., *Ismaili literature: a bibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963.
- , *Studies in early Ismailism*, Leiden 1948.
- , 'The sources of the Nafahat', *J.R.A.S.*, 1922 385-91.
- Izutsu, *A comparative study of the key philosophical concepts in sufism and taoism*, Tokyo 1966.
- , *The concept of Belief in Islamic theology*, Tokyo 1965.
- , *Ethico-religious concepts in the Qur'an*; rev. edn., McGill 1966.
- Ja'far Sharif, *Islam in India (Qanun-i Islam)*; tr. G.A. Herklots, Oxford, 1921; reprint New Delhi 1972.
- Jafri, S.H.M., *Origin and early development of Shi'a Islam*, London 1979.
- Jahn, K., (ed.), *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1956.
- Jain, M.S., *The Aligarh Movement*, Agra 1965.
- Jeffery, A., *Materials for the history of the text of the Qur'an*, Leiden, Brill 1937.
- Jonaraja, *The Rajatarangini*; Eng. tr. Dutt, J.C., Calcutta 1898; Persian tr. Mulla Shah Muhammad Shahabadi, rewritten by 'Abdu'l-Qādir Badā'ūnī, Ms. Ethé 508; Rieu I, 296a.
- Kabir, Hafizullah, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta: Iran Society 1964.
- Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Sanskrit; Eng. tr. Stein, M.A., reprint Delhi 1961.
- Karandikar, M.A., *Islam in India's transition to Modernity*, Bombay 1968.
- Keddie, N.R., *An Islamic response to imperialism*, Burkley 1968.
- Khabidi, T., *Islamic historiography, The histories of Mas'udi*, Albany 1975.
- Khan, M.H., *Historians of medieval India*, Meerut 1968.
- , *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Calcutta 1959.
- Kholeif, E., *A study of Fakhr al-Din al-Razi*, Beyrouth 1966.
- Khwaja, A.M., *The Early life of the first Student of the M.A.O. College, Allahabad*, Allahabad 1916.

432 *History of Isnā 'Ashari Shi'īs in India*

- King, *History of the Bahmani Dynasty*, London 1900.
- Kohlberg, E., 'Some Notes on the Imamite Attitude to the Qur'an, in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition: Essays Presented by His Friends and Pupils to Richard Walzer*, ('Oriental Studies' No. 5), Oxford, Cassirer, 1972, pp. 209-224.
- Kramrich, Stella, *A survey of paintings in the Deccan*, Hyderabad 1937.
- Kraus, P., 'Jabir b. Hayyan', *Memoires de l'institut d'Egypte*, Vol. XLV (1942) and XLVI (1943).
- Kritzsch, James (ed.), *Anthology of Islamic literature*, Harmondsworth 1964.
- Laet, Joannes de, *The empire of the great Mogol*; tr. Hoyland, J.S., and annotated by Banerjee, S.N.; reprint New Delhi 1974.
- Lal, Bahadur, *The Muslim League*, Agra 1962.
- Lambton, A.K.S., *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953.
- Lammens, H., 'Le "Sofianai"', heros national des Arabes syriens', *Bulletin de l'Institut française d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, XXI (1922), 131-144.
- Landau, R., *The philosophy of Ibn 'Arabi*, London 1960.
- Laoust, H., *La Profession de foi d'Ibn Batta*, Damascus 1958.
- , *Les Schismes dans d'Islam*, Paris, Payot 1965.
- , *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-d-din Ahmad b. Taimiya*, Cairo 1939.
- , *La politique de Gazali*, Paris 1970.
- Lawrence, W.R., *The valley of Kashmir*, London 1895.
- Lelyveld, D., *Aligarh's first generation*, Princeton 1978.
- Leoch, Edmund, and Mukherjee, S.N., *Elites in South Asia*, Cambridge 1970.
- Le Strange, G., *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900.
- , *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905.
- Levy, R., *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1962.
- , *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the library of the India Office*, London 1937-40.
- Lewis, Bernard, *The origins of Isma'itism*, Cambridge 1940.
- , *The Arabs in History*, London 1950.
- , and Holt, P.M. ed., *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962.
- Lings, M., *A sufi saint of the twentieth century*, London 1971.
- Lokhandwala, S.T. (ed.), *Indian contemporary Islam*, Simla.
- Løkkegaard, F., *Islamic Taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950.
- Loschner, H., *Die dogmatischen Grundalen des si'itischen Rechts*. ('Erlander juristische Abhandlung', Vol. I), Cologne 1971.
- Loth, Otto., *A catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the library of the India Office*, London 1877.
- Macdonald, D.B., 'Emotional religion in Islam as affected by music and singing', *J.R.A.S.* 1901, 195-252, 705-48; 1902, 1-28.
- , 'The life of al-Ghazzali', *J. Amer. Or. Soc.*, XX (1899), 71-132.
- , *Aspects of Islam*, New York 1911.
- , *The religious attitude and life in Islam*, Chicago, 2nd edn., 1912.
- , *Development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory*, New York 1903.
- , 'The development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam', *Muslim World*, XXII (1932), 25-41, 153-168.
- MacKenzie, *Manual of the Krishna district*, Madras 1883.
- Madelung, W., *Der Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965.
- , 'Bemerkungen zur immamitischen Firaq-Literatur', *Der Islam*, XLIII (1967), 37-52.
- , 'Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology', in *Le Shi'isme imamite*. Colloque due Centre d'études superieures specialise d'histoire des religions de Strasbourg, Paris 1970.
- Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq dynasty*, Calcutta 1963.
- Maimonides, Moses, *The Guide for the perplexed*, tr. Friendlander, M., 2nd edn., New York 1956.
- Majid Khadduri, *Islamic jurisprudence: Shafi'i's risāla*, Baltimore 1961.

- Makdisi, George, *Arabic and Islamic studies in honour of Hamilton A.R. Gill*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.
- Malik, Hafeez, *Moslem nationalism in India and Pakistan*, Washington 1963.
- , (ed.), *Muhammad Iqbal: poet-philosopher of Pakistan*, New York 1971.
- Manucci, N., *Storia do Mogor*; tr. Irvine, W., 4 vols., London 1907-8.
- Margoliouth, D.S., 'Contributions to the biography of 'Abd al-Qadir of Jilan', *J.R.S.A.*, 1907, 267-310.
- Massignon, L., *Opera Minora*; ed. Moubarac, Y., Beirut 1963.
- , *La Passion d'al-Hosayn-ibn-Mansour al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'Islam*, Paris 1922.
- McCarthy, R., *The theology of al-Ash'ari*, Beirut 1953.
- McDermott, Martin T., *The theology of Shaikh al-Mufid*, Beirut 1978.
- Meier, F., 'Sufisme et declin culturel', in *Classicisme et declin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1957, 217-45.
- , *Firdos al-murshidiyya; Die vita des Scheichs Abu Ishaq al-Kareruni*, Leipzig 1948 (Bibliotheca Islamica, 14).
- , 'Stambuler Handschriften dreier persischer Mystiker, Ain al-qudat al-Hamadani, Najm ad-din Kubra, Najm ad-din ad-daja', *D. Isl.* XXIV (1937), 1-42.
- , 'Die Welt der Uribilder bei Ali Hamadani', *Eranos-Fahrbuch*, XVIII (1950), 115-73.
- Metcalf, Thomas R., *The aftermath of Revolt*, Princeton 1965.
- Mez, A., *The renaissance of Islam*, tr. Buksh, S. Khuda, and Margoliouth, D., London 1937.
- Miele, Aldo, *La science arabe et son role dans l'evolution scientifique mondiale*, rev. edn., Leiden 1966.
- Miller, W. McE, 'Shi'ah mysticism; the Sufi of Gunabad', *Muslim World* XIII (1923), 343-63.
- Minorsky, V., tr. *Hudud al-'Alam*, London 1937.
- Mirza, K. Fredunbeg, tr. *Chach-nama*, Karachi 1960.
- Miskawaih, *The experiences of the nations*, Eng. tr. Margoliouth, D.S., 3 vols., Oxford 1921.
- Misra, B.B., *The Indian Middle Classes*, London 1961.
- Misra, S.C., *Muslim communities in Gujarat*, Bombay 1964.
- Modi, J.J., *The Parsees at the court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rana*, Bombay 1903.
- Mole, M., *Les Mystiques musulmans*, Paris 1965.
- , 'Autour du Dare Mansour; l'apprentissage mystique de Baha' ad-din Naqshband', *R.E.I.* XXIX (1959), 35-66.
- , 'Les Kubrawiya entre sunnisme et shiisme and huitieme et neuvieme siecles de l'hegire', *R.E.I.* XXIX (1961), 61-142.
- , 'Traites mineurs de Nagm al-din Kubra', *Annales Islamogiques*, Cairo IV (1963), 1-78.
- Monserrate, Fr. A., *Commentary*, tr. Hoyland, J.S. and annotated by Banerjee, S.N., Cuttack 1922.
- Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzib*.
- , *India at the death of Akbar*, London 1920.
- , *Relations of Golkonda in the early seventeenth century*, London 1931.
- , *The agrarian system of Moslem India*; reprint Delhi 1968.
- Mujeeb, M., *The Indian Muslims*, London 1969.
- Nader, A., *Le systeme philosophique des mu'tazila*, Beirut 1956.
- Nasr, S. H. 'Fakhr al-Din Razi', Chap. XXXII, *A History of Muslim Philosophy*, ed. Sharif, M.M.: Vol. I, Wiesbaden 1963.
- , *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, London 1966.
- , *Introduction to Islamic cosmological doctrines*, Pref. Gibb, H.A.R., Cambridge, Mass., 1964.
- , *Science and civilization in Islam*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968.
- , 'Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi Maqtul', Chap. XIX, *A history of Muslim philosophy*;

- ed. Sharif, M.M. Vol. I, Wiesbaden 1963.
- Nasr, S.H., *Three Muslim sages*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964.
- Nasrābādī, Muhammad Tāhir, *Tāzkira-i Tāhir-i Nasrābādī*, Tehran 1316-17 sh./1937-38.
- Nazim, M., *The life and times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, reprint New Delhi 1971.
- Nicholson, R.A., *The idea of personality in sufism*, Cambridge 1923.
- , *The mystics of Islam*, London 1914.
- , *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921.
- , 'A historical inquiry concerning the origins and development of sufism', *J.R.A.S.*, 1906, 303-48.
- , 'The goal of Muhammadan mysticism', *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, 55-68.
- , 'Sufis', *E.R.E.* XII (1921), 10-17.
- , *Selected odes from the Diwan-i Shams-i Tibriz*; Persian text and Eng. tr. H.A.N., Cambridge 1898.
- , 'The lives of 'Umar Ibnul-Farid and Ibnul-'Abari', *J.R.A.S.* 1906, 797-824.
- , *A literary history of the Arabs*, Cambridge 1930.
- Nizami, K.A., *Religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961.
- , *The life and times of Shaikh Farid ad-Din Ganj-i Shakar*, Aligarh 1955.
- , *Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, New Delhi 1966.
- Nizami, Taufiq Ahmad, *Moslem political thought and activity in India during the Nineteenth Century*, Aligarh 1969.
- Noldeke, T., *Geschichte des Qurans*, 2nd edn., rev. Schwally, F., Leipzig 1909-19.
- Nurul-Hasan, *Thoughts on agrarian relations in Mughal India*, New Delhi 1973.
- Nurullah, Syed, and Naik, J.P., *A history of Education in India*, Bombay 1951.
- Orme, R., *Historical fragments of the Moghul Empire*, London 1806.
- Oteau, *Travels and travellers in India, 1400-1700*, London 1909.
- Pelsaert, F., *Jahangir's India*, translated from the Dutch by Moreland, W.H. and Geyl, P., 2nd reprint, New Delhi 1972.
- Patton, W.M., *Ahmed b. Hanbal and the Mihna*, Leiden 1897.
- Payne, C.H., *Akbar and the Jesuits*, tr. London 1926.
- Phillips, C.H. ed., *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London 1961.
- Pickthall, M., (trans.), *The Meaning of the Glorious Koran*, New York 1953.
- Pietro della Valle, *Travels in India*, 2 vols., London 1892.
- Pines, S., *Beitrage zur islamischen Atomenlehre*, Grafenhainichen 1936.
- Pretzl, O., 'Die Fruhislamische Atomenlehre', *Der Islam*, XIX, 1931.
- , *Die Fruhislamische Atomenlehre*, Munich 1940.
- Qadiri, Ahmadu'llah, *Memoirs of Chand Bibi*, Hyderabad 1933.
- Qanungo, K.R., *Sher Shah and His Times*, 2nd edn., Bombay 1965.
- , *Dārā Shikoh*.
- Qasim Rizavi ed., *Catalogue raisonne of the Buhar Library*, Calcutta 1921.
- Quatremere, E. Raschid-eldin, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836; re-impression Amsterdam 1968.
- Querry, A., *Droit Musulman: recueil de lois concernant les musulmans schiyites*, Paris 1871-72.
- Qureshi, I.H., *The administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, Karachi 1944.
- , *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962.
- , *The administration of the Mughal empire*, Karachi 1960.
- Rabi, M.M., *The political Theory of Ibn Khaldun*, Leiden 1967.
- Radhey Shyam, *The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, Delhi 1966.
- Rahim, M.A., *Social and cultural history of Bengal*, Dacca 1967.
- Ramsaur, E., 'The Bektashi dervishes and the Young Turks', *Muslim World*, XXXII, 1942.
- Ray, Sukumar, *Humayun in Persia*, Calcutta 1948.
- Raychaudhri, T.K., *Bengal Under Akbar and Jahangir*, with new introduction, Delhi 1965.

- Riazul Islam ed., *The Shamlu Letters (Munsha'at-i Hasan Khan Shamlu)*, Karachi 1971.
- Rieu, C., *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols., and Supplement, London 1879-81, 83, 95.
- Rizvi, S.A.A., *Muslim revivalist movements in northern India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Agra 1965.
- , *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, Delhi 1975.
- , *A history of sufism in India*, Delhi 1978, 1983.
- , *Shah Wali-Allah and his times*, Canberra 1980.
- , *Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz*, Canberra 1985.
- , *Iran: royalty, religion and revolution*, Canberra 1980.
- , and Bhargava, M.L. (ed.), *Freedom struggle in U.P.*, Lucknow 1957-61.
- Rizvi, S.A.A., and Flynn, V.J.A., *Fathpur Sikri*, Bombay
- Robinson, F., *Separatism among Indian Muslims*, Cambridge 1974.
- Robson, James, *Tracts on listening to music*, London 1938.
- Rose, H.A., *The dervishes*, a new edn., of Brown, J.P., *The dervishes*, (Istanbul 1868), London 1927.
- Rosenthal, E.I.J., *Political thought in Medieval Islam*, reprint, Cambridge 1962.
- Roy, N.B., *Successor of Sher Shah*, Dacca 1934.
- Russell, Ralph, and Khurshidul, Islam, *Ghalib: life and letters*, London 1969.
- , 'The Satirical Verse of Akbar Ilahabadi,' *Modern Asian Studies*, VIII (1974), 1-58.
- , *Three Mughal Poets*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1968.
- Rykpa, Jan, (ed), *History of Iranian Literature*, s'Gravenhage 1968.
- Sachau, E.C., *Alberuni's India*, Delhi reprint 1964.
- Sachau and Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodlein Library*, Oxford 1889.
- Sadiq, M., *A history of Urdu poetry*, London 1964.
- Saksena, B.P., *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, Allahabad 1958.
- Saksena, R.B., *A history of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927.
- Saran, P., *Provincial government of the Mughals*, Allahabad 1941.
- Sarkar, Jagadish N., *The life of Mir Jumla*, New Delhi, 2nd edn., 1979.
- Sarkar, Jadunath, *History of Aurangzib*, 5 vols., Calcutta 1919.
- , *Shivaji and his times*, Calcutta 1920.
- , *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1920.
- , *Fall of the Mughal empire*, Calcutta 1964.
- , *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, Calcutta 1963.
- Satish Chandra, *Parties and politics of the Mughal court, 1707-40*, Aligarh 1959.
- Schacht, J., 'An early Murci'ite Treatise, the *Kitab al-'alim wal muta'allim*', *Oriens*, XVII (1964), 96.117.
- , *Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964.
- , 'New Sources for the History of Muhammadan Theology', *Studia Islamica*, I (1953), 23-42.
- , *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950.
- Schimmel, Annemarie, *Dei Bildersprache Dschelaladdin Rumis*, Walldorf 1949.
- , *Dschelaladdin Rumi, Aus dem Diwan, Ubertragen und eingeleitet*, Stuttgart, Reclam 1964.
- , *Pain and Grace, A study of two Indian Muslim mystical poets of the 18th century*, Leiden 1976.
- , *Gabriel's Wing, A study into the religious ideas of Sir Muhammad Iqbal*, Leiden 1963.
- , *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1975.
- , *History of Indian Literature, Urdu*, Wiesbaden 1973-75.
- Seal, Anil, *The emergence of Indian nationalism*, Cambridge 1968.
- Seale, M., *Muslim theology*, London 1964.
- Sewell, *A forgotten empire*, London 1900.
- , *Sketches of the dynasties of South India*, London 1883.
- Sezgin, Fuat, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. I, Leiden 1967.

- Sezgin, Ursula, *Abu Mikhnaf, ein Beitrag zur historiographie der Umayyadiden Seit*, Leiden 1971.
- Shaban, M.A., *The 'Abbasid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970.
- , *Islamic history, a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971.
- Shan, Muhammad, *Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: A Political Biography*, Meerut 1969.
- , *The Aligarh movement*, Meerut 1978.
- Sharif, M.M. (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden 1963.
- Sharma, S.R., *Mughal government and administration*, Bombay 1951.
- Sherwani, H.K., *The Bahmanis of the Deccan, an Objective Study*, Hyderabad
- , *Mahmud Gawan, the great Bahmani Wazir*, Allahabad 1941.
- , *Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah, Founder of Haidarabad*, Bombay 1967.
- , *Studies in Muslim political thought and administration*, 6th edn., 1958.
- , *History of the Qutb Shahi dynasty*, Delhi 1974.
- , and Joshi, P.M., (eds), *History of medieval Deccan*, Hyderabad 1953.
- Siddiqi, M.Z., *Hadith literature*, Calcutta 1961.
- Siddiqi, N.A., *Land revenue administration under the Mughals*, Bombay 1960.
- Singh, Ganda, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Bombay 1959.
- Sleeman, Sir W.H., *A journey through the kingdoms of Oude*, London 1585.
- Smith, Margaret, *Rabi'a the mystic and her fellow-saints in Islam*, Cambridge 1928.
- , *An early mystic of Baghdad, A study of the life and teaching of Harith b. Asad al-Muhasibi*, London 1935.
- , *Studies in early mysticism in the Near and Middle East*, London 1931.
- , *Al-Ghazali the mystic*, London 1944.
- Smith, V.A., *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, Oxford 1917.
- Sorley, H.T., *Shah 'Abdu'l Latif of Bhit; his poetry, life and times*, 1940, reprint Oxford 1966.
- Sourdel, Dominique, *Le vizirat 'abbaside de 749-936*, 2 vols., Damascus 1959-60.
- , 'L' Imamisme vu par le Sheikh al-Mufid, *R.E.I.*, 30 (1972), 217-296.
- , *Islamic civilization 950-1150*; ed. Richards, D., Oxford 1973, pp. 187-200.
- Spear, P., *Twilight of the Mughals*, Cambridge, 2nd edn., 1969.
- Springer, Aloys, *A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Kings of Oudh*, Calcutta 1854.
- Srivastava, A.B.L., *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, 2nd edn., Delhi 1961.
- , *First two Nawabs of Awadh*, Agra.
- Stern, S.M., 'Isma'ili Propaganda and Fatimid Rule in Sind', *Islamic Culture*, XXIII.
- , *The Early Isma'ili Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxiana*, BSOAS, XXIII (1960).
- Storey, C.A., *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, London 1927-28.
- Subhan, J.A., *Sufism, its saints and shrines*, reprint Lucknow 1960.
- Sufi, G.M.D., *Kashmir*, Lahore 1948-49.
- Sweetmen, J., *Islam and Christian theology*, London 1945.
- Tara Chand, *Influence of Islam on Indian culture*, 2nd edn., Allahabad 1963.
- Tarafdar, M.R., *Husain Shahi Bengal*, Dacca 1965.
- Tassy, Garcin de, J.H., *Histoire de la Litterature Hindoue et Hindoustani*, 3 vols., Paris 1870-71.
- , *Memoire sur les particularites de la religion musulmane dans l'Inde*, 1874.
- Tavernier, J.B., *Travels in India 1640-47*, tr. Ball, V., revised Crooke, W., London 1925.
- Thevenot, Jean de, *Relation de l'Indostan, 1666-67*, tr. Lovell, ed. Sen, S.N., *The Indian travels of Thevenot and Careri*, New Delhi 1919.
- Thomas Bowrey, *A geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 to 1679*; ed. Temple, R.C., 2 vols., London 1911.
- Thomas, Edward, *The chronicles of the Pathan kings of Delhi*, reprinted Delhi 1967.
- Thomas, W.F., *Mutual influence of Muhammedans and Hindus in India*, Cambridge 1892.
- Titus, M.T., *Islam in India and Pakistan*, revised edn., Calcutta 1959.
- Tod, J., *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan*, Oxford 1920.

- Trimingham, J. Spencer, *The sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971.
- Tripnath, R.P., *Some aspects of Muslim administration*, Allahabad 1959.
- Tritton, A., *Muslim Theology*, London 1947.
- , 'Reason and Revelation', in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. Makdisi, G., Leiden 1965.
- , 'Some Mu'tazili ideas about Religion; in particular about knowledge based on general report', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XIV (1952), 612-22.
- Tyabji, Husain B., *Badruddin Tyabji*, Bombay 1952.
- Vahid, S.A., *Iqbal, his art and thought*, London 1959.
- Vajda, G., 'La Connaissance naturelle de Dieu selon al-Gahiz critiquee par les Mu'tazilites', *Studia Islamica*, XXIV (1966) 19-34.
- Vambéry, H., *Travels in Central Asia*, New York 1865.
- Van Arendonk, C., *Les Debuts de l'Imamat Zaidite au Yemen*, tr. Ryckmans, J., Leiden 1960.
- Van Ess, J., *Die Erkenntnislehre des 'Adudaddin al-Ici*, Wiesbaden 1966.
- , 'The Logical Structure of Islamic Theology', in von Grunebaum, G., (ed), *Logic in Classical Islamic Culture*, Wiesbaden 1970.
- Van Vloten, G., 'Irdja', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, XLV (1891), 161-171.
- Vauderville, Charlotte, *Kabir*, Vol. I, Oxford 1974.
- Venkataramanayya, N., *Early Muslim expansion in south India*, Madras 1942.
- von Grudebaum, G.E., *Medieval Islam, a study in Cultural Orientation*, Chicago 1946.
- Wahid Mirza, M., *The life and works of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935.
- Walzer, Richard, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962.
- Watt, W.M., *Free Will and predestination in Early Islam*, London 1948.
- , *Islamic philosophy and theology*, ('Islamic Survey,' N. 1), Edinburgh 1962.
- , 'The Logical Basis of Early Kalām', *Islamic Quarterly*, VI (1961), 3-10, VII (1963), 31-39
- , *Islam and the Integration of society*.
- Wellhausen, J., *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, Eng. tr., Weir, Margaret G., Calcutta 1927.
- , *Die religios-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Gottingen 1901.
- Wensinck, J., *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1960 (reprint).
- , *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932.
- , *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, 7 vols., Leiden 1936-69.
- Whitting, C.E.J., *Al-Fakhri*, London 1947.
- Wickens, G.M., (ed.), *Avicenna; Scientist and Philosopher*, London 1952.
- Williams, John Alden (ed.), *Islam*, New York 1961.
- Wright, H.N., *The Sultans of Delhi, their coins and metrology*, Delhi 1936, reprint, New Delhi 1974.
- Zaehner, R. C., *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, London 1960.
- Zahirdu'd-Din, Malik, *The reign of Muhammad Shah*, Bombay 1977.
- Zakaria, Rafiq, *The rise of Muslims in Indian politics*, 2nd edn., Bombay 1971.
- Zubayd Ahmad, M.G., *Contribution of India to Arabic literature*, Allahabad 1946.

Index

- Abadān Qarmatī, 143.
Abān b. Taghlīb b. Riyāh, 93, 94.
Abān Sindī, 142.
Abāqā, 121.
'Abbās b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, 26, 53, 55, 81, 245.
'Abbāsids, 107, 108, 110, 140, 144, 368.
Abdāl Chak, 181.
Abdāl Māgre, 171, 172.
'Abdu'llāh b. 'Abbās, 29-32, 37, 50, 81, 91.
'Abdu'llāh b. 'Alī, 54.
'Abdu'llāh b. 'Amir, 35.
'Abdu'llāh b. Baqtar, 45.
'Abdu'llāh b. Hanzala, 47.
'Abdu'llāh b. Ibrāhīm Mīrzā, 342.
'Abdu'llāh b. Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, 58, 101.
'Abdu'llāh b. Ja'far, 30, 158.
'Abdu'llāh b. Mas'ūd, 35, 39, 92.
'Abdu'llāh b. Mu'ammār al-Laysī, 52.
'Abdu'llāh b. Mu'āwiyā, 53.
'Abdu'llāh b. Sabā', 49.
'Abdu'llāh b. Sa'd, 35.
'Abdu'llāh b. 'Umar, 33, 47.
'Abdu'llāh ibn Zayd, 107.
'Abdu'llāh b. Zubayr, 39, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 76.
'Abdu'llāh Aftāh, 58, 59, 101.
'Abdu'llāh al-Ashtar, 140-142.
'Abdu'llāh Khān Uzbek, 233, 241, 243, 347.
'Abdu'llāh al-Mahaz, 54, 55.
'Abdu'llāh Qutb Shāh, 307, 308, 312, 317, 320-331.
'Abdu'l 'Aziz, Caliph, 97.
'Abdu'l 'Aziz, Shāh, 6.
'Abdu'l 'Aziz b. Ahmad, 97.
'Abdu'l 'Aziz b. Hāris Ju'fī, 93.
'Abdu'l-Ghaffār, 98.
'Abdu'l-Haqq Muhaddis Dihlawī, 192, 205, 369, 376.
'Abdu'l-Hayy b. Jamālī, 204.
'Abdu'l-Hayy, Mīr, 202.
'Abdu'l-Jabbār Hamadānī, Qāzī, 113.
'Abdu'l-Jabbār Mu'tazilī, 112.
'Abdu'l-Latif Qazwīnī, Mīr, 206.
'Abdu'l-Malik, 97.
'Abdu'l-Malik, Caliph, 47, 50, 51.
'Abdu'l-Mu'min b. Abī'l-Qāsim, 98.
'Abdu'l-Muttalib, 10, 73, 102, 364.
'Abdu'l-Qādir, Prince, 286-288, 290.
'Abdu'l-Qādir, Shāh, 289.
Abdu'l-Quddūs Gangohī, 210.
'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, Sayyid, 344, 345.
'Abdu'n-Nabī, Mullā, Sadru's-Sudūr, 207, 210-218, 220, 221.
'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 52.
'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 21, 23, 28, 29, 32-34.
'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Muljam, 41, 43.
'Abdu'r-Rahmān b. Sūrad, 89.
'Abdu'r-Razzāq Lārī, 338.
'Abdu's-Samad of Shīrāz, 197.
Abī'l-Qāsim Balakhī, 364.
Abī Tālib, 10, 11, 13, 31, 102.
Abī Yāsir, 112.
Abū 'Abdu'llāh Ja'far, 142.
Abū 'Abdu'llāh ash-Shī'ī, 58, 143.
Abū 'Alī b. Abū Ja'far, 117.
Abū 'Alī Muhammad, 103.
Abū 'Amr 'Usmān, 65, 66.
Abū 'Ayyūb Ansārī, 25, 82.
Abū Bakr, 11, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 27, 28, 34, 35, 41, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 84-88, 90, 97, 352, 364-365, 372, 383.
Abū Bakr, Qāzī, 39.
Abū Hamza (Abu's-Safīyya), 96.
Abū Hamza Sābit, 50, 101.
Abū Hanīfa, 52, 55, 56, 94, 98, 154, 214, 354, 365, 366, 367.
Abū Hāshim, 49.

- Abū Hātim, 93.
 Abū Huzayfa, 32.
 Abū Ja'far Iskāfi, 364.
 Abū Ja'far, Muhammad b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, 103.
 Abū Ja'far, Muhammad b. Khālid, 106.
 Abū Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Usmān al-'Amrī, 66, 67.
 Abū Jihl, 8.
 Abū Khālid Kābulī, 95, 139.
 Abū Lahb, 10.
 Abū Lūlū, 32.
 Abū Mansūr as-Sarām, 110.
 Abū Mikhnaf, 95, 96.
 Abū Muhammad al-Fazl b. Shāzān, 101.
 Abū Muhammad Hishām, 99.
 Abū Mūsa al-Ash'arī, 35, 40, 41, 91.
 Abū Muslim, 53, 54, 55, 139, 140.
 Abū Nu'aym, 96.
 Abū Qurra al-Kindī, 93.
 Abū Rāfi' Ibrāhīm, 76, 77, 94.
 Abu's-Sabbāh Ibrāhīm, 100.
 Abū Sa'id b. Abī'l-Khayr, 353.
 Abū Sa'id Qarmatī, 143.
 Abū Sa'id, Sultan, 138.
 Abū Sa'id, Timūrid, 186.
 Abū Salama Hafṣ, 54, 55.
 Abū Shamir b. Abraha, 93.
 Abū Sufyān, 12, 16, 17, 26, 88, 370.
 Abū Tālib, 364.
 Abū 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāh, 22, 32, 41, 80.
 Abū Yahya, Ahmad b. Dāwūd b. Sa'id, 103.
 Abū Yazīd Bistāmī, 355, 374.
 Abū Yūsuf, Qāzi, 367.
 Abū Zarr b. Jundab al-Ghifārī, 25, 36, 70-71, 94, 106.
 Abu'l-Aswad ad-Du'ālī, 91, 94.
 Abu'l-Fazl, 'Allāmī, 176, 183, 194, 202, 205, 209, 221, 223, 225, 226, 233, 234, 240, 350, 364, 369, 370.
 Abu'l-Hasan Tānā Shāh, 336-342.
 Abu'l-Haysam Mālik, Ansārī, 83.
 Abu'l-Jūsha, 93.
 Abu'l-Kalām Āzād, Mawlānā, 217.
 Abu'l-Khattāb, 57.
 Abu'l-Khayr Jawzī, 342.
 Abu'l-Ma'ālī, 178.
 Abu'l-Ma'ālī, Sayyid, 321.
 Abu'l-Ma'ālī, Shāh, 200.
 Abu'l-Qāsim Jūzjānī, 196.
 Abu's-Saffāh, 93.
 Adams, C. J., 1, 2.
 'Adī of Tayy, 75, 76.
 'Ādil Khān, 172.
 Afghānistān, 144.
 Africa, 141.
Afiāhiyya, 58, 101.
 Afzal Khān, 'Allāmī, 186.
 Afzal Khān Shīrāzi, 222, 271, 273.
 Afzal Qā'ini, Mawlānā, 228.
 Afzal Turka, Khwāja, 322.
 Aghuzlū, Sultan, Prince, 315, 316.
 Agra, 172, 179, 191, 369.
 Ahmad b. 'Alī b. Ahmad, 114.
 Ahmad b. A'sam Kūfi, 79.
 Ahmad b. Hanbal, 94, 366, 367.
 Ahmad b. al-Husayn b. Ahmad, 111.
 Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm, 110.
 Ahmad b. Ismā'il, 107.
 Ahmad b. Muhammad, 106.
 Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Husayn, 106.
 Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Ja'far, 108.
 Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Sulaymān, 106.
 Ahmad Badī'uz-zamān Hamadānī, 109, 110.
 Ahmad Beg, 359, 360.
 Ahmad Beg Kābulī, 351.
 Ahmad Beg Khān, 5.
 Ahmad-i Jām, 193.
 Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī, 160, 250-256.
 Ahmad Shāh, the Mughal Emperor, 380.
 Ahmad Thattawī, Mullā, 227-234, 359, 360.
 Ahmadabad, 221.
 Ahmadnagar, 261, 265, 268, 270, 274, 277, 278, 281-293, 298, 304, 337.
 Ahsa, 163.
 al-Ahsa'ī M. b. Hasan, 132.
 al-Ahwal, Ja'far M. b. Nu'mān, 97.
 Ahwaz, 61, 102, 103.
 Ahzāb, 74.
 'Ā'isha, 9, 37-79, 83-85, 89, 99, 215.
 Ajmir, 155, 192, 215, 216.
 Akanna, 337.
 Akbar, Jalālu'd-Dīn Muhammad Pādshāh, 179, 181-186, 193-246, 273-275, 278-281, 291-292, 347-350, 369, 370, 376.
Akhhārīs, 116, 117.
 Alaf Khān, 259.
 Alamūt, 120, 148.
 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ahmad Bahmanī, 253, 256.
 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Hasan Bahman Shāh, 247.

- 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Humāyūn Bahmanī, 257.
 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Imādu'l-Mulk, 283.
 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Khalījī, 152, 155, 247.
 'Alā'u'd-Dīn M., 120.
 'Alā'u'l-Mulk, 'Abdu'l-Wāhid, 346.
 'Alā'u'l-Mulk b. Qāzi Nūru'llāh, 379.
 Albuquerque, 266.
 Alexandria, 121.
 Aleppo, 160.
 'Alī b. Abū Rāfi', 91.
 'Alī b. Husayn, Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, 46, 48-53,
 58, 80, 90, 93, 96, 97, 105, 139, 154,
 260, 319.
 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Rumnānī, 112, 372.
 'Alī b. Mahyār, 102.
 'Alī b. Muhammad Qummī, 110.
 'Alī b. Mūsa b. Ja'far, 126.
 'Alī b. Nāsir, 111.
 'Alī b. Rabī'a, 93.
 'Alī b. Tayfūr Bistāmī, 340.
 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I, 222, 269-272, 274.
 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II, 281, 298, 299, 334.
 'Alī Akbar, the rebel, 219.
 'Alī Barīd, 261, 296, 297.
 'Alī Karmakh, 147.
 'Alī Koka, 178, 179.
 'Alī Mīrzā, 318.
 'Alī Mu'iyad, Sultan, 131.
 'Alī Rainā, 170.
 'Alī Shāh, 180, 181.
 'Alī Shīr Niwā'i, Mīr, 131, 209.
 'Alī Shukr Beg Bahārīlū, Mīr, 200, 201.
 Allāh Qulī, 293.
 Allahabad, 156.
 Almagest, 121.
 'Alqamī Qummī, Muadu'd-Dīn, 120.
 Amarkot, 193.
 'Amīdu'l-Mulk, 259.
 'Āmilī, Muhammad b. 'Alī, 125.
 'Āmilī, Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī, 132.
 Al-Amīn, 61.
 Amīnu'l-Mulk Alf Khān, 313.
 Amīr Barīd, 267.
 Amīr Basrī, 373.
 Amīr Khusraw, 211, 212.
 Amīr Mahdī Qulī Sultān, 316.
 'Ammār bin Yāsir, 25, 36, 39, 40, 70, 71,
 74.
 'Amr bin 'Abduwudd, 13.
 'Amr bin 'Ās, 33, 35, 40-51, 89.
 'Amr b. al-Hamīq al-Khuzā'i, 77.
 'Amr b. Hafs b. 'Usmān, 140, 141.
 'Amr b. 'Ubayd, 99.
 'Amrah, 13.
 Āmul, 131, 189, 342.
 Āmulī, Haydar, 131, 353, 374.
 Āmulī, Shamsu'd-Dīn M., 124.
 Anandapāla, 145.
 Āqā Husayn Khwānsārī, 124.
 Āqā Rizā' Shīrāzī, 280.
 'Aqaba, 82, 83.
 'Aqīl b. Abī Tālib, 70.
 Āq-Qoyūnlū, 133, 167, 188, 200, 259, 293.
 'Arafāt, 18.
 Ardabil, 187, 188, 195, 259.
 Ardashīr, Sabūr, 68, 115.
 Arghūn, The Ilkhānid Mongol, 159, 160.
 Armenia, 188, 293.
 Aror, 144, 146.
 Ārzū, Sirāju'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān, 380.
 Asad, superintendent of the 'Ashūr-khāna,
 307, 308.
 Asad Beg, 274.
 Asad Khān, 267, 268, 290.
 Āsaf Jāh II, Nizām 'Alī Khān, 307, 308,
 341.
 Āsaf Jāh III, Nawwāb Sikandar Jāh, 341.
 Āsaf Jāh IV, Nasīru'd-Dawla, 341.
 Āsaf Khān, 322, 381.
 Āsaf Khān Ja'far Beg, 229, 230, 233.
 Asbāgh b. Nubāta, 90.
 Ashā'ira, 116, 372.
 al-Ash'arī, Abu'l-Hasan, 103, 243, 366.
 'Ashūr-khāna, 306, 307, 339.
 al-Askānī, M. b. Ahmad, 109.
 'Askarī, Imām Hasan b. 'Alī, 65, 67, 104,
 217.
 'Askarī, Mīrzā, 193, 195, 196.
 'Asmā', Umm Farwa's mother, 52.
 'Asmā' bint 'Amīs, 83.
 Astarābād, 303.
 'At'a of Mecca, 94.
 'Attār, Farīdu'd-Dīn, 356.
 Awadh, 156.
 'Awn b. 'Abdu'llāh, 44.
 Awrangabad, 333.
 Awrangzīb, 130, 281, 305, 309, 325, 331,
 332, 334, 337-339.
 Aws, tribe, 11, 25.
 Aws ibn Khūlī Ansārī, 22.
 'Ayniyya b. Mūsa, 140.
 'Aynu'l-Mulk, Hakīm, 220.
 'Aynu'l-Mulk Kan'ānī, 263, 264.
 'Aynu'l-Mulk Shīrāzī, 271.

- 'Aynu'l-Warda, 48.
 'Ayyāshī, 108.
 Āzād Khān, 268.
 Āzarbayjān, 121, 164, 187, 293, 345.
 al-'Azīz, the Fātimid, 143.
 'Aziz Koka, Mīrzā, 202, 278, 376.
 'Azū'du'd-Dawla Fanā Khusraw, 112.
 'Azudu'l-Mīllat, Sayyid Amīr Hasani, 342.
- Bābā Tālib, Isfahānī, 182.
 Bābur, Zahīru'd-Dīn M., 165, 171, 186, 192, 194, 200, 204, 283, 371.
 Bābuya al-Qummī, Abu'l Hasan, 104, 110.
 Badakhshān, 171, 196, 200, 201.
 Badaun, 151, 155, 225.
 Badā'ūnī, Mullā 'Abdu'l-Qādir, 4, 191, 194, 195, 202, 204, 205, 207, 209, 212, 218, 219, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229-235, 240, 348, 349, 364, 365.
 Badr, 12, 13, 19, 25, 40, 79, 82, 244.
 Baghdād, 59, 60, 63, 65, 102, 104, 106, 107, 111, 114-117, 120, 125, 131, 140, 141, 160, 232, 262, 350, 368.
 Baghwī, Mas'ūd, 385.
 Bahādur Gīlānī, 294.
 Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, 283, 284-286.
 Bahārīlū clan, 200.
 Bahā'u'd-Dawla Fīrūz, 68, 110, 119.
 Bahā'u'd-Dīn M. 'Amīlī, 136, 137, 321, 326, 327, 357, 370, 371, 379, 380.
 Bahā'u'd-Dīn M. Kh., 120.
 Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband, Kh., 185, 191, 201, 353.
 Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyya, Sh., 146, 154, 155, 198.
 Bahlūl b. 'Amr, 354.
 Bahlūl Lodī, 159, 203.
 Bahraich, 156.
 Bahrām Mīrzā, 194.
 Bahrānī, Ahmad b. 'Abdu'llāh, 132.
 Bahrānī, 'Alī b. Sulaymān, 126.
 Bahrānī, Kamālu'd-Dīn Mīsam, 126.
 Bahrānī, Mīsam, 131.
 Bahrayn, 83, 93, 143.
 Bajīla, 48, 49.
 Bajlī, Abī 'Abdu'llāh, 112.
 Bakhtāwar Khān, 379.
 Bala Hīsar (Golkonda), 294-297, 338.
 Balāzurī, Ahmad b. Yahya, 23, 96.
 Balban, Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn, 151.
 Balkh, 114, 163, 185, 200, 201.
 Bāltistān, 167, 171, 172, 176, 185, 186.
 Balūchistān, 29, 138, 198.
 Bandagī Miyān Ni'mat, 282.
 Banīhattī, 270-272, 298.
 Bankapur, 272.
 Banū Hanīf, 78.
 Banū Sa'd, 23.
 Banū Taym, 78.
 Banū Yarbū, 78.
 Baqā, Shaykh Muhammad, 379.
 Baqī, 27, 52, 58.
 Bāqī Bī'llāh, Khwāja, 369.
 al-Baqillānī Ash'arī, 112.
 Bāqir, Imām M. b. 'Alī, 51-52, 57, 80, 93, 95, 96, 97-99, 139, 160, 288.
 Bāqir, Muhammad, 279.
 Bāqir Majlisī, Mullā M., 137.
 al-Bara'a b. 'Azib, 25, 82.
 al-Bara'a b. Mālik, 82.
 Baramula, 162.
 Baranī, Ziyā'u'd-Dīn, 152, 155, 156, 157.
 Bārḥā Sayyids, 238.
 Barīd Shāhīs. 261.
 al-Basāsīrī, 115.
 Basāwar, 225.
 Basra, 35, 36, 39-45, 55, 56, 61, 77, 85, 91, 140.
 Basūka pargana, 185.
 Bayān b. Sam'ān at-Tamīmī, 53.
 Bāyazīd II, Sultan, 123, 188.
 Bayhaq, 156.
 Bayhaqī, Mīr S. Hasan, 158.
 Bayhaqī, Mīr S. Mahmūd, 158.
 Bayhaqī, S. Hasan, 167.
 Bayhaqī, S. Ibrāhīm, 172.
 Bayhaqī, S. Mubārak, 180, 181.
 Bayhaqī, S. Muhammad, 166, 169.
 Bayhaqī Begum, 166.
 Bayram Khān, 178, 193, 195, 197, 199-206, 235, 317.
 Bayzāwī, 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Umar, 384.
 Bazmee Ansārī, A. S., 203, 383.
 Belgam, 262, 268, 270, 290.
 Bengal, 218, 225.
 Berar, 261, 265, 283.
 Bernier, 334.
 Beveridge, Mrs., 189.
 Bezwada, 329.
 Bhāgmatī, 302.
 Bhagwān Dās, 181, 182, 184.
 Bhakkar, 146.
 Bhakkārī, Mīr M. Ma'sūm, 147.
 Bhatt, Sūhā, 162, 163.

- Bibi Maryam, 283.
 Bidar, 247, 251-258, 261, 268, 296.
 Bihar, 182, 183, 218.
 Bijapur, 261-283, 295, 296.
 Bijnor, 155.
 Bilāl b. Riyāh, 75.
 Bir, 253, 265.
 Bīr Bal, 215, 224.
 al-Birūnī, 143, 145.
 Bishr b. al-Hāris, 354.
 Bohra, 148, 152.
 Brockelmann, 7, 384.
 Bukayr, 97.
 Bukhārā, 171, 190, 282.
 Bukhārī, 68, 242.
 Bukhārī Sayyids, 238, 239.
 Bulandshahr, 155.
 Burayd b. Mu'āwiya, 96.
 Burayda b. Husayb al-Aslamī, 77.
 Burayr b. al-Hazīr Hamadānī, 93.
 Burhān Nizām Shāh I, 268, 269, 276, 278.
 282-290, 295, 296.
 Burhān Nizām Shāh II, 292.
 Burhān Tabrizī, 327.
 Burhanpur, 265, 284.
 Bursī, Hāfiz Razīu'd-Dīn Rajab, 132.
 Būyids, 68, 109, 110, 136, 225.

 Calicut, 266.
 Cambay, 148.
 Chaks, 167.
 Chānd Bībī, 270-273, 292, 302.
 Chārkamān, 310.
 Chārmīnār, 305-306, 320, 321, 341.
 Chaul, 249.
 Chausa, 172.
 Chighmīnī, Mahmūd b. M., 387.
 Chingīz Khān, 186, 187, 232.
 Chirāgh Dihlawī, 153.
 Chishtiyas, 153.
 Constantinople, 135, 350.
 Copernicus, 121.

 Dabol, 256, 262, 317.
 Dāghistānī, 'Alī Qulī, 380.
 Dā'ira Mir Mu'min, 309, 318.
 Dāmād, Mir, 137.
 Damascus, 70, 75, 81, 89, 130, 131.
 Dankawr, 158, 159.
 Dārā Shukōh, 325, 332, 336.
 Dardistān, 167.
 Dārū'sh-Shifā', 309.

 Dawlat Chak, Malik, 176-179.
 Dawlat Khān, 280.
 Dawlatabad, 338.
 Dawlatābādī, Qāzī Shihābu'd-Dīn, 159.
 Dāwud, 145.
 Dāwūd Khākī, Bābā, 183.
 Dawwānī, Jalālu'd-Dīn, 123, 124, 133, 134,
 217, 222, 258, 386.
 Dayānatu'l-Mulk Shīrāzī, 278, 280.
 Deccan, 148, 222, 225, 229, 247-342, 345,
 369.
 Dervish Bādshāh, 280.
 Dervish Husayn, 278.
 Dī'bil Khuzā'i, 361.
 Dilāwar Khān Habashī, 222, 264, 273,
 274.
 Dildār 'Alī, S., 6.
 Dilshād Āgha, 267.
 Dizful, 345.
 Dūrbastī, Sh. Ja'far, 106.
 Dūrbastī, Taqīu'd-Dīn, 161.
Durūd, Shī'i, 296, 297.
 Durūz, the Syrian, 147.

 Egypt, 29, 35, 36, 38-42, 47, 84, 85, 88,
 121, 148, 259, 282.
 Elizabeth II of England, 333.
 Ethiopia, 11, 15, 16, 17, 71, 74.
 Euphrates, 45, 46.

 Fadak, 14, 15, 26, 27, 107, 215, 244.
 Far East, 334.
 Faraj Sindī, 142.
 Farazdaq, 44, 50, 51, 154.
 Farghāna, 171, 186.
 Farīd Bhakkārī, Shaykh, 5, 234, 379.
 Farīd Bukhārī, Shaykh, 376.
 Farīdu'd-Dīn Dāmād, 120.
 Farīdu'd-Dīn, Shaykh, 150, 151.
 Farrukhī Sīstānī, Hakīm, 146.
 Fārs, 68, 124.
 Fath Shāh, 173.
 Fath Shāh, Sultan, 167, 169, 170.
 Fathpur Sikri, 209, 213, 215, 221, 273, 347.
 Fathu'llāh Hāfiz, Shaykh, 168.
 Fathu'llāh 'Imādu'l-Mulk, 263, 265, 266.
 Fathu'llāh Khān, 261.
 Fathu'llāh, Shaykh, 169.
 Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī, Mīrzā, 335.
 Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī, Shāh, 123, 221-227,
 230, 271-273, 276, 278, 347, 349, 364,
 368, 369.

- Fathu'llāh Shīrāzī Tujjār, 269.
 Fātima, The Prophet's daughter, 9, 10,
 20-23, 25, 26, 27, 56, 59, 153, 244.
 Fayzabad, 156.
 Fayzī, 212, 215, 220, 226, 229, 278, 279,
 292, 364, 365, 368, 369.
 Fazal b. Sahl, 62.
 Fazlu'llāh b. Rūzbihān, 2, 370-376.
 Firishṭa, M. Qāsim, 139, 144, 145, 185,
 252, 266, 274, 276, 292, 302, 304, 313.
 Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, 157.
 Fīrūzābādī, Majdu'd-Dīn, 119.
 Fizza, 153.
 Furāt b. Ahnaf, 50.
 Fustāt, 58.
- Gakkhars, 145.
 Ghadīr, 107.
 Ghaws, Shaykh M., 192, 203, 205.
 Ghawwāsī, 335.
 Ghazā'irī, Ahmad b. Husayn, 115, 126.
 Ghazālī, 118, 133, 217, 232, 243, 357, 373,
 Ghazālī Mashhadī, 212.
 Ghāzān Khān, Mahmūd, 126, 160.
 Ghāzī 'Alī Beg, 329.
 Ghāzī Chak (Shāh), 170, 177, 178.
 Ghaznawid, 114, 144, 147.
 Ghaznī, 144.
 Ghiyās 'Alī Badakhshī, 359.
 Ghiyās Kamāl, Mawlānā, 264.
 Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Mansūr Shīrāzī, Amīr, 133-
 135, 218, 220, 222, 271, 303.
 Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn M., 130.
 Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Tughluq Shāh II, 158.
 Ghujduwān, 190.
 Ghulām Husayn Khān, Kh., 341.
 Ghulāt, 49, 138.
 Ghūr, 139.
 Ghurfā al-'Azudī, 83.
 Ghūrid, 138, 139, 147.
 Gilān, 188, 256, 259, 294, 363.
 Gilgit, 167.
 Gīsū Darāz, Kh. Banda Nawāz, 27, 28,
 153, 161, 250, 251, 252, 267, 316.
 Goa, 249, 257, 260, 263, 265, 269, 282, 283,
 294.
 Golkonda, 228, 262, 265, 268, 270, 273,
 280.
 Gomal, 144.
 Gopāmawī, Qāzī M., 124.
 Gujarat, 148, 149, 199, 200, 204, 205, 209,
 213, 218, 223, 248, 250, 283-286, 378.
- Gulbadan Begum, 196.
 Gulbarga, 247, 250, 251, 252, 263, 267,
 283.
 Gwalior, 205, 219, 336.
- Habba Khātūn, 181.
 Habbārī, clan, 142, 146.
 Habīb, Qāzī, 177-179.
 Habīb ibn Mazāhir, 93.
 Habību'llāh, Mīr, 253, 257.
 Habību'llāh Sayyid, 345.
 Hāfiz of Shīrāz, 248.
 Haig, Wolsley, 254, 255.
 Hajjāj b. Yūsuf as-Saqīfī, 47, 90, 139.
 Hājji Abarqū, 300-301.
 Hājji Mahdī, 207.
 Hājji Muhammad Khān Sīstānī, 205, 208.
 Hājji Qanbar 'Alī, 316.
 Hājji Sultān, 209, 210.
 Hakam b. Abī'l-'Ās, 35.
 al-Hakīm, the Fātimid, 147.
 Hakīm, Mīrzā Muhammad, 181, 218, 219,
 221, 347.
 Hakīm Abu'l-Fath, 215, 218-231, 347,
 348, 349, 359, 360, 364, 369, 370.
 Hakīm 'Alī Gilānī, 220, 221, 226, 230, 271,
 369, 377.
 Hakīm 'Aynu'l-Mulk, 220.
 Hakīm Hasan, 226.
 Hakīm, Humām, 215, 220, 221, 230, 368.
 Hakīm Nūru'd-Dīn, 215, 218.
 al-Hakīma, 65, 292.
 Halab, 96.
 Hamadān, 161, 247.
 Hamadān Karāmat, 143.
 Hamadānī, Mīr S. 'Alī, 161-164, 167, 168,
 170, 175-177, 184, 226, 353.
 Hamīd Lodī, 144.
 Hamīda Bānū Begum, 193, 194.
 Hamīda Khātūn, 58.
 Hamza b. 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, 10, 12, 40,
 370.
 Hamza, the Durūz, 147.
 Hamza Beg, 360.
 Hamza Makhdūm, Sh., 180, 183.
 Hardy, P., 3.
 Harīrī, 109.
 Hāris, 15.
 Hāris b. 'Abdu'llāh al-A'war Hamadānī,
 92.
 Hāris b. al-Mughīra, 98.
 Harrān, 54.

- Hasan, Imām, 9, 10, 21, 27, 36, 39, 41-45,
 50, 70, 76, 87.
 Hasan b. 'Alī b. Fazzāl, 101.
 Hasan b. 'Alī b. Ziyād, 104.
 Hasan bin al-Fazal Tabarsī, 119.
 Hasan b. M. b. Ahmad, 104.
 Hasan b. M. Nihāwandī, 104.
 Hasan b. Sayyid Rājū, 365-368.
 Hasan b. Zayd b. Hasan, 140.
 Hasan Abdāl, 347.
 Hasan Bahri, Malik, 281.
 Hasan Basrī, 153, 154, 354.
 Hasan Beg Shirāzī, 335.
 Hasan Ghaznawī, Sayyid, 368.
 Hasan-i Sabbāh, 120, 148, 232, 282.
 Hasan Shāh, Sultan, 166, 168.
 Hasan Sijzi, 150.
 Hasan Tablīsī, Mullā, 300.
 Hasanabad quarters, 177, 184.
 Hāshim, 10, 35.
 Hātifi, 314.
 Hātim of Tayy, 75.
 Haw'ab, 39.
 Hayāt Bakhshī Begum, 315, 328, 333.
 Hayātī, 364.
 Haydar b. Junayd, 187, 188.
 Haydar Beg, 263.
 Haydar Dūghlāt, Mīrzā, 171-177, 190, 192.
 Haydar Khān Lāri, 271.
 Haydar Mīrzā, Prince, 346.
 Haydar Shāh, Sultan, 166.
 Haydaru'l-Mulk, 299.
 al-Haysam, 143, 146.
 Hijāz, 39, 41, 43, 61.
 Hilli, Ja'far b. Abu'l-Hasan, 121.
 Hilli, Abu'l-Qāsim Ja'far, 125, 128.
 Hilli, Amīdu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l Muttalib, 128.
 Hilli, Abu'l 'Abbās, 132.
 Hilli, Ja'far Hasan b. Yūsuf bin Mutahhar,
 122, 123, 127-132, 135, 157, 327, 361,
 371-376, 386, 387.
 Hilli, M. bin al-Hasan, 121-131.
 Hilli, M. b. Idrīs, 117.
 Hīmū, 198, 200, 208.
 Hind, 12, 16, 37.
 Hindāl, Mīrzā, 196.
 Hindū-kush, 347.
 Hindū Shāhī, 144.
 Hirāt, 132, 133, 160, 163, 164, 166, 186,
 193, 204, 207, 209, 263.
 Hisar, 190, 191.
 Hishām b. 'Amr Taghlibī, 141, 142.
 Hishām b. Salīm al-Jawaliqī, 100.
 Hollister, J.N., 2.
 Hookery, 270.
 Hūdaybiyya, 14, 15, 40, 77.
 Hujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī, 36, 39, 43, 76.
 Hujwīrī, Shaykh Abu'l-Hasan, 52, 56.
Hukamā', 355-356.
 Hulāgū, 120, 121, 148.
 Humāyūn, Nasīru'd-Dīn, 171, 172, 175,
 192-200, 204, 207, 212, 285.
 Humāyūn Shāh, 253.
 Humrān b. A'yān, 97.
 Hunayn, 74.
 Hurmuz, 227, 228.
 Hurr b. Yazīd at-Tamīmī, 45, 46.
 Hurr al-'Āmilī, 356, 379, 380.
 Husayn, Imām, 9, 10, 16, 21, 27, 36, 39,
 41-52, 70, 91, 93, 102, 154.
 al-Husayn b. 'Abdu'llāh al-Ghazā'irī, 111,
 259.
 Husayn b. Muhammad b. 'Umrān, 104.
 Husayn Bayqarā, Sultan, 132, 165, 168,
 169, 186, 209.
 Husayn Khān, 172.
 Husayn Khān Tukariya, 212.
 Husayn Māgre, 176.
 Husayn Nizām Shāh I, 270, 286, 290, 291,
 298.
 Husayn Nizām Shāh II, 291.
 Husayn Qulī, 301, 302.
 Husayn Sāgar, 325.
 Husayn Shāh, Sultan, 178-181.
 Husayn Shāh Chak, 178-180.
 Husayn Shirāzī, 318.
 Husaynī, 'Alam, 307.
 Huzayfa bin al-Yamān, 25, 71, 74.
 Hyderabad, 302, 306.
 Ibāhatīs, 152.
 Ibn 'Abbād, Abu'l-Qāsim, 109.
 Ibn Abī Layla, 213.
 Ibn Abi'l-Hadīd, 30, 119, 364.
 Ibn 'Alqamī, 4, 232, 235.
 Ibn al-'Amīd, 109.
 Ibn al-'Arabī, 124, 131, 137, 160, 166.
 Ibn Asīr, 146.
 Ibn Bābuwayh Abū Ja'far (Shaykh Sadūq)
 66, 105, 106, 112, 114, 116.
 Ibn-i Battūta, 147.
 Ibn Hajar al-Haysamī, 208, 273, 351.
 Ibn Jawshab, Mansūr, 143.
 Ibn Jarīh, 94.

- Ibn Khallikān 52, 111.
 Ibn Khātūn, 'Amilī, 304, 317, 321-328, 330, 335.
 Ibn Mas'ūd, 107.
 Ibn Mu'in, 94.
 Ibn Muljam, 41.
 Ibn Nadīm, 95.
 Ibn-i Nishāfī, 336.
 Ibn Qutayba, 28.
 Ibn Sa'd, 28.
 Ibn Sīnā, 58, 120, 122, 124, 130, 131, 232, 353.
 Ibn Tā'ūs, 'Alī b. 'Alī 126, 361.
 Ibn Taymiyya, 208.
 Ibn 'Uqda, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Sa'id, 106.
 Ibrāhīm, 53, 54.
 Ibrāhīm, Ma'mūn's rival, 62.
 Ibrāhīm b. Abī Rāfi', 92.
 Ibrāhīm b. M., 98.
 Ibrāhīm b. Mūsa b. Ja'far, 61.
 Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, I, 264, 268-270, 296, 313.
 Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, II, 222, 272-275, 278, 279, 280.
 Ibrāhīm Beg, 267, 268.
 Ibrāhīm Khān Fathjang, 5.
 Ibrāhīm Lodī, 191, 194, 204.
 Ibrāhīm Māgre, 168, 170.
 Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, 272, 273, 297-301, 303, 304, 306, 307.
 Ibrāhīm Shāh, Sultan, 171.
 Ibrāhīm Sharqī, Sultan, 156.
 Ibrāhīm Sirhindī, Hājji, 230.
 Īdī Rainā, 176, 177.
 Ihsān, Kamālu'd-Dīn, M., 381.
 Ijī, 'Azudu'd-Dīn, 124, 386.
 Ikhlas Khān Habashī, 273.
 Iltutmish, 149, 151.
 'Imād Shāhī, 261.
 'Imādu'd-Dīn Hakīm Mawlānā, 346.
 Imām Qulī Beg, 314, 323.
 'Ināyatu'llāh Ardīstānī, 276.
 'Ināyatu'llāh Qā'īnī, 270.
 'Ināyatu'llāh Shīrāzī, 269.
 Injū, Fazlu'llāh, 248-251.
 Injū, Mahmūd Shāh, 124.
 Iran, 29, 59, 138, 381.
 'Iraq, 39-58, 71-77, 106, 107, 370.
 'Isāmī, Mawlānā, 152.
 Isfāhān, 206, 247, 302, 316, 323, 371, 378, 380.
 Isfarā'inī, Nūru'd-Dīn, 160.
 Ishāq b. Ja'far, 58.
 Iskander Beg Turkmān, 318.
 Iskandar Sānī, 293.
 Islām Shāh, 196, 198, 207.
 Ismā'il b. Abī Khālid, 98.
 Ismā'il b. 'Alī b. al-Husayn 114.
 Ismā'il b. 'Arab Shīrāzī, 301.
 Ismā'il b. Imām Ja'far, 58, 142.
 Ismā'il b. Mahrān b. Abī Nasr, 103.
 Ismā'il 'Ādil Shāh, 266-267, 283, 295.
 Ismā'il Hamadānī, Sh., 168, 169.
 Ismā'il Nizām Shāh II, 292.
 Ismā'il Safawī, Shāh, 165-167, 169, 188, 190, 191, 200, 266, 282, 295, 343, 371.
 Ismā'il Shāh, Sultan, 171.
 Ismā'il II, 228, 277, 303, 350.
 Ismā'ilīs, 142.
 'I'timādu'd Dawla, 5.
 'Izzu'd-Dawla 'Abdu'r Rashīd, 147.
 'Izzu'd-Dīn Mūsawī, 327.
 Jabal 'Amil, 136, 292.
 Jābir b. 'Abdu'llāh Ansārī, 13, 50, 79, 80.
 Jābir b. Hayyān, 57, 58.
 Jābir b. Yazīd Ju'fī, 79, 93.
 Jadibal, 169-171, 182, 183, 184, 185.
 Ja'far b. Abī Tālib, at-Tayyār, 11, 16, 53, 84.
 Ja'far, b. Imām an-Naqī, 65, 66.
 Ja'far Makkī, S. Muhammad Husaynī, 159.
 Ja'far as-Sādiq, Imām, 53-58, 83, 93, 95-100, 102, 103, 107, 139, 142, 154, 354, 355, 365, 367, 372, 377.
 Jahāngīr, Nūru'd-Dīn, 185, 186, 274, 275, 314, 321, 333, 376, 378, 380, 384.
 Jahāngīr Qummī, 263.
 Jahān Shāh, 187, 188, 293.
 al-Jāhiz, 112.
 Jahm b. Safwān, 99.
 Jaisalmīr, 205.
 Jalālu'd-Dīn M. Mīr, 346.
 Jalandhar, 201.
 Jamal, Battle, 39, 40, 75, 76, 77, 81-84, 87, 89-93, 102.
 Jamāl Bibī, 298.
 Jamāl Khān Mahdawī, 291.
 Jamālī Kanboh, 203, 204.
 Jamālu'd-Dīn 'Arā'ullāh, 209, 210.
 Jāmī, Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, 165, 183, 204, 258, 259, 314.

- Jamīl b. Darrāj an-Nakha'ī, 100.
 Jamshīd Qutbu'l-Mulk, 268, 290, 296-301, 304.
 Jarja, 158, 159.
 Jaunpur, 156, 218, 259.
 Jawhar Āftābchī, 194.
 Jaypāla, 144.
 Jazā'irī, Sh. Hārūn, 335.
 Jerusalem, 228.
 Jewar, 155.
 Jhelam, 348.
 Jilānī, Sh. 'Abdu'l-Qādir, 160.
Jilū-khāna, 310.
 Jinji, 329.
 Joshī, P. M., 6.
 Jubba'ī, Abū 'Alī M., 103, 112.
 Ju'da b. Hubayra, 88.
 Julam b. Shyban, 143, 144, 145.
 Junayd, 259.
 Junayd Baghdādī, 374
 Jūzjān, 100.
 al-Jūzjānī, S. ash-Sharīf, 123, 211.
- Kābul, 139, 142, 144, 177, 181, 186, 191, 192, 195-199, 207, 212, 219, 275, 347, 370.
 Kachh, 142.
 Kāji Chak, 169-173.
 Kālā Chabūtara, 317.
 Kalāghāt hills, 334.
 Kalanaur, 181, 200.
 Kalyani, 263, 269, 270.
 Kamāl Khān, 266, 267.
 Kamālu'd-Dīn Jahramī, 273.
 Kamālu'd-Dīn Tabīb, Mullā, 228.
 Kāmil Khān Dakhinī, 269, 271, 272.
 Kāmran, Mīrzā, 171, 172, 192, 195.
 Kantha Bhatt, 170.
 Kara, 156.
 Karbalā, 45-47, 51, 64, 85, 93, 96, 107, 248, 251, 255, 263, 276, 290, 292, 300, 309, 311, 330, 338, 341.
 Karajki, Shaykh, 115.
 Karamu'llāh, 219.
 Karkh, 63-66, 68, 118.
 Kar-Kiyā, 256.
 Karnataka, 329, 330, 333, 334, 337.
 Kāshān, 279, 282, 371.
 Kāshghar, 171, 172, 197.
 Kāshī, Mullā Abū'l-Hasan, 134.
 Kashmir, 144, 145, 158, 161-186, 193, 225, 347, 350, 351, 359, 360.
- Kashshī, M. b. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, 103, 108, 118.
 Kaysān, Abū 'Amra, 48, 49.
 Kaysāniyya, 48, 49, 53, 54, 95.
 Kāzmayn, 63, 64, 121.
 Kepler, 121.
 Khadīja, 10, 21.
 Khadīja Sultāna, 280.
 Khafīf, 146.
 Khajwa, 336.
 Khalaf Hasan Basrī, 256.
 Khālid b. Sa'id, 24, 73, 74.
 Khālid b. Walīd, 16, 71, 78, 79.
 Khalīl, Sh., 180, 183, 184.
 Khālid Sindī, 142.
 Khalīlu'llāh, the calligraphist, 274.
 Khalīlu'llāh, Mīr, 252, 253.
 Khalkhal, 164, 195.
 Khān-i Khānān, 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, 201, 222, 223, 225, 234, 278, 347, 369, 376.
 Khān-i Zamān 'Alī Qulī, 212, 234, 236, 237-239.
 Khandesh, 225, 254, 257, 278, 283, 292.
 Khānzāda, Bābur's sister, 189.
 Khaybar, 14, 15, 76.
 Khaybar pass, 347.
 Khayrāt Khān, 322, 323.
 Khazraj, 10, 23, 25.
 Khiyālī, Ahmad b. Mūsa, 123.
 Khizr b. M. ar-Rāzī, 132.
 Khizr Khwāja Khān, 208.
 al-Khizrī ash-Shī'ī, Shamsu'd-Dīn M., 123.
 Khoja, 148.
 Khudā Banda, 315, 316.
 Khudā Banda, M., 303.
 Khudāwand Khān, 233, 284, 285.
 Khūjan, 251.
 Khūla, 79.
 Khuldabad, 338.
 Khurāsān, 53, 54, 61, 77, 132, 133, 139, 140, 144, 186, 207, 294, 370, 378.
 Khuttalān, 162.
 Khuttalānī, Khwāja Ishāq, 163, 164, 166.
 Khuzayma bin Sābit, 25, 27, 82, 83, 344.
 Khuzistān, 68, 342, 345.
 Khwāja Ishāq of Dehbed, 185.
 Khwāja-i Jahān, 283.
 Kh. Khāwand Mahmūd, 185, 186.
 Kh. Naqshbandī, 221.
 Kh. Rabī' b. Haysam, 89.
 Khwand, 282.
 Khwārazm, 178.

- Khwurshāh bin Qubād, 289.
 Khwurshāh, Ruknu'd-Dawla, 120, 148.
 Kichaucha, 156.
 Kintūrī, 155.
 Kirmān, 160, 251, 378.
 Kirmānī, Sayyid Ahmad, 162.
 Kishtwār, 183.
 Kishwar Khān, 270, 272, 273.
 Konkan, 257.
 Krishna River, 271.
 Kubrāwiyya, 153, 160, 189.
 Kūfa, 35, 36, 39-46, 54-56, 58, 61, 64, 71,
 76, 77, 82, 84, 91, 96, 97, 102, 106,
 107, 143, 368.
 Kullur, 334.
 Kulaynī, Muhammad b. Ya'qūb, 68, 104,
 110, 114, 116.
 Kumayl ibn Ziyād, 153, 154, 161, 354.
 Kunār, 162.
 Kurdistān, 164.
 Kurkī, Abu'l Hasan 'Alī b. Abu'l 'Alā',
 132.
 Kurkī, 'Alī b. Abu'l-'Alī, 125, 133.

 Ladakh, 165, 169, 170, 172, 176, 185.
 Lahar Shāh Chak, Sultan, 181.
 Lāhijān, 188.
 Lāhijī, 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, 124, 137, 343.
 Lahore, 165, 172, 179, 186, 199, 207, 233,
 348, 351, 364, 365, 378, 383.
 Lakhnor, 200.
 Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar, 155.
 Lālā Beg Kābulī, 376.
 Lamghān, 144.
 Lutf Khān Nasā'ī, 271.
 Lutfu'd-Dīn Sabzwārī, 250.

 Madā'in, 42, 75.
 Madanna, 337.
 Madras, 329, 330.
 Māham Anaga, 201.
 Māhān, 160, 251-254.
 Mahārāna Pratāp, 216.
 al-Mahdī, 59.
 Mahdī, expected by Sunnīs, 163.
 Mahdī, Imām, 48, 58, 66, 67, 156, 217.
 Mahmūd Gāwān, Kh., 253, 256-262, 281,
 293, 294.
 Mahmūd Ghaznawī, 144, 145, 232, 247.
 Mahmūd Sabbāgh Nishāpūrī, 280.
 Mahmūd Shāh, Bahmanī, 263-265, 293,
 294, 295.

 Māhur, 283.
 Majdu'd-Dīn, Mīr, 318.
 Makhdūm Jahāniyān S. Jalālu'd-Dīn
 Bukhārī, 154, 157, 199.
 Makhdūm Sharifī, Mīrzā, 228, 350, 359-
 361.
 Makhdūmu'l-Mulk Mullā 'Abdu'llāh Sul-
 tānpūrī, 175, 179-180, 199, 207-221,
 351.
 Makramat Khān, 324.
 Makran, 29, 138, 146.
 Malabar Coast, 260.
 Mālik b. Anas, 55, 56, 94, 214, 366, 367.
 Mālik b. Hāris al-Ashtar an-Nakha'i, 36,
 39, 75, 84-87.
 Mālik b. Nuwayra, 71, 78, 79.
 Malik Anbar, 277.
 Malik Muhammad Nāji, 176.
 Malik Qummī, 279.
 Malik Rainā, 176.
 Malik 'Usmān, 169.
 Malika-i Jahān, 248.
 Malika-i Jahān Chānd Sultāna, 273, 280.
 Mālkhed, 337.
 Mallū Khān, 268.
 Malwa, 257, 284.
 al-Ma'mūn, 61, 65, 102, 361.
 Mān Singh, 181-183.
 Mandu, 285.
 Manikpur, 156.
 Mansabdārs, Īrānī, (5000), 235-240.
 al-Mansūr, 53, 55, 59, 140, 141.
 Mansūr, the Umayyad, 140.
 Mansūr b. Rūh, 72.
 Mansūra, 146.
 Manucci, 328.
 Maqsūd 'Alī Tabrizī, Mullā, 359.
 Maqtūl, Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Yahya
 Suhrawardī, 124, 131, 134, 258.
 Maragha, 121, 187.
 Marhab, 15.
 Ma'rūf Karkhī, 160, 259.
 Marwān b. Hakam, 35, 37, 39, 43, 47, 50,
 89, 242, 244.
 Masawda, 156.
 Masha'sha' Sultans, 343.
 Mashhad, 63, 89, 114, 158, 169, 195, 201,
 202, 205, 218, 228, 241, 242, 344, 346.
 Mas'ūd, the Ghaznawid, 146, 147.
 Mas'ūdī, 66.
 Masulipatam, 295, 328, 334.
 Ma'sūm, Muhammad, 381.

- Ma'sūm Khān, 218.
 Mathura, 165, 216.
 Mawdūdī, Abu'l-'Alā', 38-40.
 Mawlā 'Alī, hills, 312.
 Mawlā'ī 'Abdu'llāh, 148.
 Mawlā'ī Ahmad, 148.
 Mawlā'ī Nūru'd-Dīn, 148.
 Mawlānā Ilyās, 196.
 Maybuzī, Qāzī Mīr Husayn, 210.
 Māzandarān, 189, 294.
 Mazharī, 364.
 Merch, 269, 270.
 Merv, 61, 63, 189, 371.
 Mīnā, 82.
 Minhāj Bukhārī, 360.
 Minhāj Sirāj, 138, 149-151.
 Ministers of Akbar's reign, Irānī, 240.
 Miqdād b. 'Abdu'llāh, 129, 132.
 Miqdād, b. 'Amr al-Aswad, 25, 34, 70, 72.
 Mīr 'Alī Shīr Niwā'ī, 165.
 Mīr Dāniyāl, 173, 177.
 Mīr Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn, Mawlānā, 249.
 Mīr Habību'llāh, 233.
 Mīr Habsh Turbatī, 212.
 Mīr Jumla, Mīrzā M. Amīn Shahrastānī,
 313, 324, 340.
 Mīr Jumla, M. Sa'id Ardstānī, 328-333,
 336-341.
 Mīr Khalīl, 234.
 Mīr M. Hamadānī, 162, 163.
 Mīr M. Mu'min Astarābādī, 303-319, 321,
 322, 330, 340, 346.
 Mīr Murtazā, 211, 212.
 Mīr Qāsim Mīr Bahr, 183.
 Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, 197.
 Mīr Ya'qūb, 179.
 Mīr Yahya, 206.
 Mīrak Shāh, Sayyid, 210.
 Mīrpeṭh, 312.
 Mīrzā Fawlād, 233.
 Mīrzā Hasan, 227, 228.
 Mīrzā Jān Shīrāzī, 123, 215, 228.
 Mīrzā M. Astarābādī, 319.
 Mīrzā Muqīm, 179-181, 212.
 Mīsam b. 'Alī, 126.
 Mīsam al-Tammār, 92.
 Mīskuwayh, Abu'l 'Alī, 58, 120.
 Mīyān Mīshk, 539, 540.
 Mocha, 326.
 Mu'āiyad b. Husayn, Sh., 121.
 Mu'āwiya b. Abū Sufyān, 26, 35, 46, 70-
 72, 75-77, 81-84, 93, 245, 370.
 Mubārak, Sh., 202, 211, 216, 217, 350.
 al-Mufīd, Shaykh Abū 'Abdu'llāh M. b.
 Nu'mān, 65, 112, 114, 116.
 Muflih b. al-Husayn as-Sammīrī, 132.
 Mughīs of Shīrāz, 255.
 Mughīs 'Abdī Sijistānī, 140.
 Muhammad, Imām Mahdī, 65-66.
 M. bin 'Abdu'llāh, 44, 141.
 M. bin Abī Bakr, 38, 39, 41, 83, 85.
 M. bin Abī Huzayfa, 38, 83.
 M. bin Abī 'Umayr, 102.
 M. bin Ahmad, 107.
 M. bin Ahmad b. 'Abdu'llāh, 108.
 M. bin 'Alī b. an-Nu'mān, 98.
 M. bin Hakīm, 100.
 M. bin al-Hasan b. Abī Sayyāra, 97.
 M. bin al-Hasan al-Shaybānī, 367.
 M. bin al-Husayn, 113.
 M. bin Ibrāhīm, 61.
 M. bin Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, 107.
 M. bin Ismā'il, 58, 142.
 M. bin Jubayr, 50.
 M. bin Mas'ūd bin M. 'Ayyāsh, 102.
 M. bin Minkadīr, 52.
 M. bin Qāsim, 139.
 M. bin Qays, 97.
 M. bin Talha, 38.
 M. bin Tughluq, Sultan, 156-158, 247.
 M. bin 'Umayr, 102.
 M. bin 'Umar b. Sālim, 108.
 M. bin 'Usmān al-Karājki, 114.
 M. al-'Abbās, 53.
 M. 'Adil Shāh, 280, 281.
 M. 'Alī Kashmīrī, Mīrzā, 382.
 M. Amīn, 280.
 M. Amīn, 330, 331.
 M. Amīn Kashmīrī, Mullā, 350, 351, 360.
 M. al-Hanafīyya, 48, 139, 340.
 M. al-Husayn b. Ahmad, 107.
 M. of Isfahān, 299, 301.
 M. Jawzī, Shaykh, 342.
 M. Khān Sīstānī, 264.
 M. Lāhawrī, Mullā, 360.
 M. Mu'min, 331.
 M. Mu'min 'Arab, 319.
 M. an-Nafs az-Zakiyya, 55.
 M. Qulī Beg, 322.
 M. Qulī Qutb Shāh, 301-316, 318.
 M. Qutb Shāh, 315-321.
 M. Shāh, Bahmanī, 248.
 M. Shāh, the Mughal Emperor, 380.
 M. Shāh, Sultan, 167, 168, 170, 171.

- M. Sultan, Prince, 331, 332, 336.
 M. Sultan Qizilbāsh, 360.
 M. Bahmani, II, 248.
 M. II Fārūqī, 283-285.
 Muhaqqin b. Abi Muhaqqin, 93.
 Muhibbu'llāh, Mir, 253, 257.
 al-Muhtadī, 65.
 Muhtashim, Amīr Nasīru'd-Dīn, 120.
 Muhyīu'd-Dīn Pīrzāda, 323.
 Mu'in Wā'iz, Mawlānā, 348.
 Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī, Khwāja, 155, 180, 215.
 al-Mu'izz, the Fātimid, 143, 147.
 Mu'izzu'd-Dīn M. b. Sām, 145, 149.
 Mu'izzu'l-Mulk, 218, 219.
 Mujāhid, 94.
 Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayda, 47-50.
 Mukтана Bahā'u'd-Dīn, 147.
 Mullā 'Aynī, 182.
 Mullā Dāwūd, 335.
 Mullā Muhammad Yazdī, 215, 218, 219.
 Mullā Muhsin Fayz Kāshānī, 137.
 Mullā Rāzī, 179.
 Mullā Sadra, 137.
 Mullā Sīma Sanā'ī, 178, 179.
 Mullā Wajhī, 336.
 Mullā Yūsuf Almās, 178, 179.
 Multan, 139, 142, 144, 146, 147, 155, 183, 198, 199.
 Mu'mīnu't-Tāq, Abū Ja'far, 95, 98, 100.
 Mu'mir b. Rāshid, 94.
 al-Muntasir, 65.
 Muqaddisī, 143-145.
 al-Muqtadir, 67.
 Murād, Akbar's son, 369.
 Murād, Shāhjahān's son, 336.
 Murād, Iranian Prince, 195.
 Murād, the Ottoman Sultan, 209, 350.
 Murtaẓā, 270.
 Murtaẓā Nizām Shāh, 261, 272, 278, 291-292, 299.
 Mūsa b. Ka'b al-Tamīmī, 140.
 Mūsa al-Kāzim, 58-61, 96, 99, 100, 101, 102, 107, 115, 163, 168, 354.
 Mūsa Rainā, 168, 169.
 Mūsā, 77, 108.
 Musalma bin Aslam, 19.
 Musaylama, 27.
 Mushtāqī, Shaykh Rizqu'llāh, 192, 205.
 Mūsī river, 305.
 Muslim b. 'Aqīl, 44, 47.
 Muslim al-Majāsha'ī, 90, 91.
 Muslim b. Riyāh, 96.
 Muslim b. 'Uqba, 50.
 Mustafā Khān Ardistānī, 270-272, 298, 299.
 al-Musta'in, 65.
 Mustansir, the Fātimid Caliph, 148.
 Musta'sim, Caliph, 4, 120, 232, 235.
 Mūta, 16, 84.
 Mut'a, 213-14, 250.
 Mut'ālī, 148, 149.
 Mutahhari, Murtaẓā, 2.
 al-Mu'tamid, 65.
 Mutarrafi' b. Mansūr, 82.
 Mu'tasim, 63, 64.
 al-Mutawakkil, 64-65.
 Mu'tazila, 63, 103, 116.
 al-Mu'tazz, 65.
 Muzaffar 'Alī Turbatī, Kh., 218, 224.
 Muzdaqānī, Sh. 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, 161.
 Mysore, 218.
 Nadwī, Mawlānā Sayyid Abū Zafar, 147.
 Nadwī, Mawlānā Sayyid Sulaymān, 147.
 Nāfi' b. Azraq, 52.
 Nagor, 201.
 Nahrwān, 41, 77, 82, 83, 87, 92.
 Nā'ila, 37, 38.
 Na'im, 14.
 Najaf, 115, 248, 251, 263, 276, 292, 330, 370.
 Najāshī, Ahmad b. 'Alī, 11, 15, 95, 97, 102, 114, 118, 126.
 Najm Sānī, 190-192, 194.
 Najmu'd-Dīn Mahmūd Husaynī Mar'ashī, 342.
 Nakhla, 16.
 Nakhshabī, Ziyā'u'd-Dīn, 335.
 Naldurg, 300-302, 304.
 an-Naqī, Imām 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Hādī, 64, 65, 102.
 Naqīb Khān, 206, 230, 231.
 Naqshband, Muhammad, 381.
 Narjis Khātūn, 65.
 Nāsir Khān, 254.
 Nasīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i Dihlī, 250.
 Nasīru'd-Dīn Sayyid, 254.
 Nasīru'd-Dīn, Sultan, 151.
 Nasr b. Qays al-Lakhmī, 58.
 Nawāzish 'Alī Khān, 307, 341.
 Nawbakhtī, Abū'l-Qāsim al-Husayn b. Rūh, 67, 105.

- Nawbakhtī, Hasan b. Muhammad, 103.
 Nawbakhtī, Hasan b. Mūsa, 66.
 Nawbakhtī, Ismā'il b. Ishāq, 104.
 Nawfal bin 'Abdu'llāh, 13.
 Nawshahra, 172.
 Nazīri of Tūs, 253.
 Nāzuk Shāh, Sultan, 171, 172, 176.
 Nekkām Khān, 334, 340.
 Nī'mat Khān-i 'Alī, 309.
 Nī'matābād, 253.
 Nī'matu'd-Dīn, 300.
 Nī'matu'llāh Walī, Shāh, 159-161, 251-255, 300.
 Nī'matu'llāhī, 189, 293.
 Nīshāpūr, 61, 62, 101, 155, 158, 278, 364, 365.
 Nizām b. Sāwji, 327.
 Nizāmī Ganjawī, 279, 314.
 Nizāmī, K. A., 6.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad, 335.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Ahmad Bakhshī, 230, 240.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā', 149-151, 153.
 Nizāmu'd-Dīn, Mīrzā, 336.
 Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Bahri, 260, 261, 263, 265, 282.
 Nizār, 148, 149.
 Nizārī Ismā'ilī, 120.
 Nuhta (Bijnor), 155.
 Nu'mān b. Ajlān, 83, 93.
 Nu'mān b. Bashīr, 44.
 Nu'mānī, al-Kātib (ibn Abī Zaynab), 110.
 Nu'mānī, Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm, 69.
 Nūr Bakhsh, S. Muhammad, 163-166, 168, 169, 174, 342-344, 353, 386.
 Nūr Jahān, 5, 383, 384.
 Nūr Satgur, 148.
 Nūr Turk, 149-152.
 Nūra, Khwāja, 192.
 Nūru'd-Dīn M. Lārī, 271.
 Nūru'd-Dīn Nī'matu'llāh Sānī, 293.
 Nūru'llāh, 281.
 Nūru'llāh, Mīr, 252, 253.
 Nūru'llāh Sayyid, 342-345.
 Nūru'llāh Shustarī, Qāzī, 24, 71, 73, 84, 103, 123, 134, 165, 184, 185, 199, 228, 229, 234, 245, 287, 327, 342-387.
 Omān, 143.
 Orissa, 248, 257, 260, 298.
 Pakhlī, 162.
 Panipat, 155, 191, 200.
 Pānīpatī, Shaykh Amān, 159.
 Panjab, 173, 184, 192, 196, 200, 207, 218, 225, 233, 347, 369.
 Parendā, 283.
 Patan, 148, 201.
 Patna, 290.
 Patrī, 283.
 Persian Gulf, 334.
 Peshawar, 144, 145.
 Pīr 'Alī, 200.
 Pīr M. Khān, 201, 205.
 Pīr M. Sherwānī, 283, 287.
 Ptolemy I, 121.
 Pulicat, 334.
 Qadariyya, 99.
 al-Qādir, 113.
 Qādisiyya, 44, 45, 61.
 al-Qā'im, 115.
 Qā'in, 163, 278.
 al-Qā'inī, S. 'Alī al-Wā'iz, 133.
 Qalandars, 154, 155.
 Qamūs, 14, 15.
 Qanauj, 172, 192, 200.
 Qanbar, 36.
 Qandāhār, 186, 191, 193, 195-198, 202, 274, 275, 323, 334, 378.
 Qarā Qoyūnlū, 187, 188, 200, 201, 292.
 Qarmatīs, 143.
 Qarshī, 190, 191.
 Qāshānī, Nasīru'd-Dīn, 131.
 Qāsīm b. Muhammad b. Abī Bakr, 52, 53.
 Qāsīm Barīd, 261, 263, 265.
 Qāsīm Beg, Būrān, 322.
 Qāsīm Beg, Hakīm, 290.
 Qāsīm Beg Hakīm Tabrizī, 270.
 Qāsīm Beg Mīr 'Adl, 364.
 Qāsīm Beg Tabrizī, 347, 349.
 Qāsīm-i Kāhī, 212.
 Qāsīm Tabasī, 300.
 Qatāda b. Di'āma, 52.
 Qatāda b. Nu'mān, 19.
 Qatīf, 163.
 Qatīfī, Sh. Ibrāhīm, 345.
 Qawsī of Shustar, Mullā, 361.
 Qays b. Mashar as-Saydāwī, 45.
 Qays b. Sa'd, 80-82.
 Qāzī 'Abdu'llāh, 338.
 Qāzī 'Alī, 350.
 Qāzī 'Alī Badakhshī, 220.
 Qāzī Husayn Mālīkī, 214.
 Qāzī Muhammad Kāshī, 343.

- Qāzī Mūsa, 178, 179, 182.
 Qāzī Ya'qūb, 214.
 Qāzī Zayn, 179.
 Qazwīn, 193, 206, 228, 282, 303, 378.
 Qipchāqī, Husayn Beg, 317.
 Qulij Khān, Muhammad, 376.
 Qum, 6, 68, 101, 102, 105, 106, 107, 262, 279.
 Qureshī, I. H., 219.
 al-Qūshchī, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Alī, 123.
 Qutbu'd-Dīn Aybak, 147.
 Qutbu'd-Dīn Muhammad Rāzī, 130, 131, 197.
 Qutbu'd-Dīn Mullā, 252.
 Qutbu'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, 124, 197.
 Qutbu'd-Dīn, Sultan, 162.
 Qutbu'l-Mulk, (Sultan Qulī), 265, 267, 294.
 Rabaza desert, 36, 70, 71.
 Raffi'u'd-Dīn, Shāh, 288, 289.
 Raffi'u'd-Dīn Shīrāzī, 271-273, 278.
 Raichur, 298.
 Rājā 'Alī Khān, 225, 292.
 Rajahmunderi, 298.
 Rājū Bukhari, S., 198, 199, 365.
 Rājū Qattāl, S., 199.
 Rāmarāja, 268-271, 297, 298.
 Rānā Sānga, 191.
 ar-Rashīd, Hārūn, 59-61, 99.
 Rashīd al-Hijrī, 92.
 Rashīd Khān, 197.
 Rashīdu'd-Dīn Fazlu'llāh, 130.
 Rashīdu'l-Mulk, 271.
 Rāwandī, Fazlu'llāh b. 'Alī, 120.
 Rāwandī, Qutbu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Husayn, 117, 118.
 ar-Rawwāsī, 61.
 Ray, 41, 68, 89, 106, 109, 164, 166, 168, 169.
 Raybagh, 270.
 Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muhammad Zakariyya, 57.
 Rāzī, Fakhrū'd-Dīn, 122, 130, 384, 385.
 Rāziū'd-Dīn 'Alī b. Tā'ūs, 354.
 Rāziū'd-Dīn Astarābādī, Shaykh, 126.
 Raziya, 149-152.
 Regī Chak, 172, 173.
 ar-Rizā' 'Alī, 61-64, 89, 96, 100-107, 158, 160, 163, 169, 195, 201, 228, 241, 242, 319, 344, 346, 355, 366.
 Rizwī Khān, 234.
 Rohtas, 183.
 Rūhu'llāh Khān, 338, 339.
 Ruknu'd-Dawla, the Būyid Sultan, 106, 109.
 Ruknu'd-Dīn Multānī, Sh., 154.
 Rūmī, Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Dīn, 156.
 Ruqayya, 344.
 Rustamdārī, Mawlānā M., 242, 246.
 Sābī, Abū Ishāq, 111.
 Sabzwār, 156, 157, 167, 169, 195.
 Sa'd b. 'Abdu'llāh, 102.
 Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 15, 19, 32, 33, 46.
 Sa'd b. Malik, 106.
 Sa'd b. 'Ubāda, 23, 80, 85, 98.
 Sa'd bin Zayd, 19.
 Sadīdu'd-Dīn Yūsuf, 128.
 Sādiq Hamadānī, Mīrzā Muhammad, 378.
 Sadr-i Jahān, 294, 295.
 Sadr-i Jahān, Mīrān, 202, 369, 376.
 Sadr-i Jahān, Qāziū'l-Quzāt, 194.
 Sadru'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm, 160.
 Sadru'd-Dīn M. Shīrāzī, Amīr, 123, 133.
 Sadru'd-Dīn Multānī, 154.
 Sadru'd-Dīn of Sarakhs, S. 120.
 Sadru'd-Dīn, Sh., 187, 195.
 Sadru's-Sudūr Sh. 'Abdu'n-Nabī, 180.
 Sa'du'd-Dīn, Kh., 276.
 Sa'du'llāh Khān, 33.
 Safawid, 161, 185, 241.
 Safdar Khān, 267.
 As-Saffāh, Abū'l-'Abbās, 53, 54, 140.
 Saffih, Hishām's brother, 141.
 Safīu'd-Dīn Ishāq, 187, 259.
 Safīu'd-Dīn M. Mīr, 346.
 Safiyya bint 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, 24, 25.
 Safwān b. Yahya al-Bajlī, 102.
 as-Sāhib b. 'Abbād, 112.
 Sahl bin Hunayf, 25, 83.
 Sa'id the traditionist, 50.
 Sa'id b. al 'Ās, 36.
 Sa'id b. Hammād, 103.
 Sa'id b. Har'ūn Khārījī, 104.
 Sa'id b. al-Jubayr, 50, 90.
 Sa'id b. Qays al-Hamadānī, 88, 89.
 Saidābāgh, 312.
 Sa'id Khān of Kāshghar, 171, 172.
 Sālim, 32.
 Salīm Prince, 180, 369.
 Salīma Sultān Begum, 201.
 Salmān Fārsī, 13, 25, 70, 72, 73, 96, 101, 106.

- Samākī, Amīr Fakhru'd-Dīn, 303.
 Samākī, S. 'Alī Sharafu'd-Dīn, 303.
 Sam'ānī, 94.
 Samānids, 114.
 Samarqand, 108, 160, 171, 186, 190, 282.
 Sāmarrā, 64-66.
 al-Sāmarrī, 'Alī b. Muhammad, 67.
 Samā'u'd-Dīn, 203.
 San Thome, 330, 334.
 Sanābād, 62, 63.
 Sanā'ī, Khwāja Husayn, 364.
 Sanā'u'llāh Pānīpatī, Qāzī, 6.
 Sanbhal, 158, 159.
 Sanjar, M. Hāshimī, 279.
 Saqīfa Banū Sa'ida, 23, 24, 32, 82, 96.
 Sarakhs, 62.
 Sa'Sa'a b. Sūhān, 87, 88.
 Satara, 273.
 Sāwa, 262, 263.
 Sayf b. 'Umayra an-Nakha'ī, 107.
 Sayf 'Alī Beg, 200, 201.
 Sayf Khān 'Aynu'l-Mulk, 304.
 Sayyid Ahmad Harawī, 263, 266.
 Sayyid 'Alī, 343.
 S. Hanīf, 253.
 S. Hasan of Medina, 289.
 S. Ismā'il, 346.
 S. Māhrū, 156.
 S. Mashhadī, 155.
 S. Mīnhāj, 161.
 S. Muhammad, 309.
 S. Muzaffar Māzandarānī, 337.
 S. Nūru'd-Dīn, 303.
 S. Qutbu'd-Dīn, 346.
 S. Wajīhu'd-Dīn Muhsin, 346.
 Sayyids, Bukhārī, 156.
 Sayyids, Gardīzī, 156.
 Sayyidābād village, 312.
 Schwan, 155.
 Seljūq, 115.
 Shāfi'ī, Imām, 209, 214, 365, 366, 367.
 Shāh 'Abbās Safawī, 241, 274, 275, 304,
 313, 315, 322, 327, 345, 377, 378, 382.
 Shāh 'Abbās II, 331, 333.
 Shāh Abu'l Hasan, 273, 300, 302.
 Shāh 'Ālam, Prince, 337.
 Shāh Chirāgh, 309.
 Shāh Haydar, 289, 290.
 Shāh Husayn b. Malik Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn, 378.
 Shāh Husayn Isfahānī, 282.
 Shāh Ja'far, 289, 290.
 Shāhjahān Emperor, 130, 180, 280, 314,
 321-325, 329, 331-336.
 Shāh Jamālu'd-Dīn, 291.
 Shāhji, 280, 337.
 Shāh Mīr Tabātabā'ī, 299-302, 304.
 Shāh Nawāz Khān, 276, 277, 279.
 Shāh Nawāz Khān, Samsāmu'd-Dawla, 5.
 Shāh Qāsim Fayz Bakhsh, 165, 166, 168,
 169.
 Shāh Qāzī, 319, 322.
 Shāh Rājū Dakhīnī, 316, 336, 339, 340.
 Shāh Safī, 323.
 Shāh Sibghatu'llāh Husaynī, 276.
 Shāh Tāhir, 266, 268, 273, 282-290, 296.
 Shahbāz Khān Kamboh, 219, 225.
 Shahīd-i Awwal, Abū 'Abdu'llāh M., 131,
 132, 134, 136.
 Shahīdu's-Sānī, Zaynu'd-Dīn, 125, 135,
 136.
 Shahr Āshūb al-Māzandarānī, Rashīdu'd-
 Dīn, 119.
 Shahrastānī, 66.
 Shāhrukh, Mīrzā, 161, 163, 164, 186, 293.
 Shalmaghānī, Muhammad b. 'Alī, 67.
 Shamir (Shimr), 46.
 Shamsī Chak, 167, 169, 170, 182.
 Shamsu'd-Dīn Asadu'llāh al-Husaynī, 344.
 Shamsu'd-Dīn al-Hanafī, 122.
 Shamsu'd-Dīn 'Irāqī, Mīr, 167-176, 183-
 185.
 Shansābānī, 138, 139, 149.
 Shāpūr's library, 115.
 Sharafu'd-Dīn Māzandarānī, 253.
 ash-Sharīf Ahmad, 110.
 Sharīf Āmulī, 347, 364.
 Sharīf al-Husaynī, S., 345, 346.
 ash-Sharīf al-Murtazā, 'Alamu'l-Hudā,
 110-114, 116, 118, 120.
 ash-Sharīf ar-Razī, 110, 113.
 Shaybānī Khān Uzbek, 187, 189, 369.
 Shaykh ibn Sumar Raja Bal, 147.
 Shaykh Ahmad, 168.
 Shaykh Ahmad Najafī, 287.
 Shaykh 'Alī, 359.
 Shaykh 'Alī 'Abdu'l-'Alī, 344.
 Shaykh Gadā'ī, 202-205.
 Shaykh Hamīd, 197, 198.
 Shaykh Hasan, 182.
 Sultan Haydar Mīrzā, 346.
 Shaykh Husayn, 136.
 Shaykh Ibrāhīm, 187.
 Shaykh Muhammad Tāhir, 323-325.
 Shaykh Mu'tīn, 348.

- Shaykh Salīm of Najaf, 27.
 Shaykhu'l-Islām, 338.
 Sher Afgan Khān, 384.
 Sher Shāh, 172, 184, 192, 193, 196, 198, 204, 220.
 Sherwānī, H. K., 6, 250, 255, 258, 259, 297, 302, 303.
 Shibli Nu'mānī, 23, 24, 28, 30.
 Shihābu'd-Dīn, Sultan, 167.
 Shihābu'd-Dīn Ahmad, 249.
 Shihabud-Dinpur, 185.
 Shikebī, Mullā, 276.
 Shīrāz, 164, 228, 248, 271, 278, 342-344, 371, 378.
 Shīr Malik, 254.
 Shīvājī, 337.
 Sholapur, 268, 270, 283, 290, 291, 296.
 Shu'ba, 'Abdu'llāh b. 'Alī, 96.
 Shujā', 336.
 Shuryah b. 'Awf, 36.
 Shustar, 342, 343, 345.
 Sialkot, 225.
 Siddharāja Jaysinha, 148.
 Siffin, 40, 75-77, 79, 81-85, 87, 91-93, 102, 215.
 Sikandar, Sultan, 162, 163.
 Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, 281.
 Sikandar Khān, 269, 270.
 Sikandar Lodī, 203, 204.
 Sikandarpur, 156.
 Sikandar Sūr, 200, 207.
 Sikri, 191.
 Simnān, 160.
 Simnānī, 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, 159, 160, 161.
 Simnānī, Sayyid M. Ashraf Jahāngīr, 156, 157, 161, 162.
 Sind, 138-149, 193, 198, 204.
 Sirhind, 156, 172, 196, 380.
 Sirhindī, Sh. Ahmad, Mujaddid Alf-i Sānī, 186, 243-246, 376-383.
 Sistān, 138, 194, 195.
 Skardu, 169.
 Smith, V. A., 202, 203.
 Somnath, 146.
 South East Asia, 334.
 Srinagar, 162, 169-171, 177, 183, 226, 350.
 Srīvāstava, A. B. L., 203.
 Subkī, Shaykh Taqīu'd-Dīn, 130.
 Subuktigīn, 144.
 Sufīs, mentioned by Qāzī Nūru'llāh, 355.
 Sufyān as-Sawrī, 55, 94.
 Sulaymān, 11, 135.
 Sulaymān, the Umayyad Caliph, 139.
 Sulaymān b. Sūrad al-Khuzā'i 36, 43, 47, 48.
 Sullamī, 72, 77.
 Sultan Ahmad, 309.
 Sultān Begum, 194.
 Sultan Khwāja, 225.
 Sultan Muhsin, 343.
 Sultan Nagar, 320.
 Sultanpur, 207.
 Sūmirah, 146, 147.
 Summah, 147.
 Supur, 170, 181.
 Surat, 323.
 Suyūti, Jalālu'd-Dīn, 71, 119.
 Syria, 26, 31, 35-51, 61, 75, 76, 78, 89, 121, 131, 143.
 Tabarī, Abū Ja'far, 28, 45, 96.
 Tabarī, Muhammad b. Jarīr b. Rustam, 110.
 Tabarsī, Abū 'Alī, al-Fazl, 119.
 Tabarsī, Ahmad b. 'Alī, b. Abī Tālib, 120.
 Tabātabā'i, Sayyid 'Alī, 287, 304.
 Tabriz, 121, 124, 164, 187, 188, 195, 197, 228.
 Tabūk, 74.
 Taftāzānī, Sa'du'd-Dīn, 165, 248, 288, 365, 386.
 Tahmāsp, son of Ibrāhīm, 270-272.
 Tahmāsp Safawī, Shāh, 133, 193-196, 202, 206, 207, 228, 289, 303, 346.
 at-Tā'i, 110.
 Tā'if, 17, 35, 50.
 Tājikistān, 162.
 Tāju'd-Dīn Fīrūz Sultan, 249, 250, 252.
 Tāju'd-Dīn, Sh., 133.
 Talha, 13, 28, 32, 33, 36-39, 83, 84, 90, 99, 100.
 Talikota, 270.
 Tāq (Kūfa), 98.
 at-Taqī Imām Muhammad b. al-Jawād, 63-64, 101, 102, 115.
 Taqī Awhadī, 377-379.
 Taqī Majlisi, Mullā M., 137.
 Taqīu'd-Dīn Mawlānā, 249.
 Taqīu'd-Dīn M. Salih of Bahrām, 301.
 Taqīyā Shirāzī, Mullā, 335.
 Tarshiz, 278.
 Tashkent, 191.
 Tavernier, 320, 334.

- Tawwābūn*, 47, 48.
 Tehran, 164.
 Telingana, 248, 256, 260, 263, 294, 295, 297.
 Thana, 173.
 Tharri, 147.
 Thatta, 227, 228.
 Theodosius, 121.
 Thevenot, J., 306, 309, 310, 334.
 Tibet, 170.
 Tigris, 64.
 Timūr, 158, 160, 186, 187, 195, 248, 342, 382.
 Tirimmah b. 'Adī, 45, 84, 85, 89, 90.
 Toghril, 115.
 Todar Mal, Rāja, 218, 224.
 Transoxiana, 100, 139, 156, 187, 189, 242, 244, 279, 280.
 Tūchī, 144.
 Tūs, 62, 63, 114, 120.
 Tūsi, Kh. Nasīru'd-Dīn, 80, 120-125, 128, 130, 131, 197, 344, 360, 387.
 Tūsi, Nizāmu'l-Mulk, 109.
 Tūsi, Shaykh Abū Ja'far, 66, 72, 92, 95, 114-119, 126, 128, 129, 130, 361, 382.
 Tustarī, M. bin As'ad, 122.
 Tycho Brahe, 121.
 'Ubayda b. Abū Sufyān, 83.
 'Ubaydu'llāh ibn Rāfi', 92, 94.
 'Ubaydu'llāh ibn Ziyād, 44-47, 48, 77, 91, 92.
 'Ubaydu'llāh Ahrār, 191, 192, 221, 258, 259.
 'Ubaydu'llāh Khān Uzbek, 190, 207, 371.
 'Ubaydu'llāh Sa'id, 143.
 Ubayy b. Ka'b, 82.
 Uch, 154.
 Uhud, 12, 13, 20, 40, 74, 85, 146, 147.
 Uljaytū Khudā Banda, 127, 130, 157, 371.
 Ulugh Beg, 186.
 Ulugh Beg b. Abū Sa'id, 186.
 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, 146.
 'Umar b. Khattāb, 13, 15, 19, 22-24, 28-37, 41, 71, 72-83, 97, 99, 352.
 'Umar b. 'Alī, 54.
 'Umar ibn Sa'd b. Abī Waqqās, 46.
 'Umar Shaykh Mirzā, 186, 191, 197.
 Umayyads, 32-50, 81-84, 368.
 Umm Ayman, 27, 77.
 Umm Farwa, 52.
 Umm Kulsūm, 21, 23.
 Umm-Salima, 8, 87.
 'Ummān Abū Jund, 93.
 'Urfī, 364.
 Urmia, 292.
 Ursula Sezgin, 96.
 Usāma, b. Zayd, 19, 22, 77, 78, 242, 244.
 'Usmān b. 'Affān, 19, 21, 28, 32-35, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 77-78, 90.
 'Usmān b. Hunayf, 25, 83.
Usūli, 117, 128.
 'Utbah, 12.
 Uways Qaranī, 84, 89.
 Uzayb al-Hujaynāt, 45.
 Ūzūn Hasan, 133, 187.
 Vasco da Gama, 266.
 Vijayanagara, 249, 268, 270, 271, 272, 293, 297, 298, 329.
 Wafā Khān, 323.
Wahdatu'l-Wuyūd, 160.
Wahdatu'sh-Shuhūd, 160.
 Wajīhu'd-Dīn Gujarātī, 276.
 Walīd b. 'Abdu'l-Malik, 139.
 Walīd bin 'Uqaba, 34-36.
 Walīd b. Utba (b. Abū Sufyān), 43.
 Waliu'd-Dīn, M., 386.
 Waliu'llāh Shāh, 6.
 al-Wāqidī, Abū 'Abdu'llāh, 98.
 Wāqifiyya, 61, 63, 108.
 Warangal, 295.
 al-Wāsiq, 64.
 Wāsīt, 139.
 Wayhind, 145.
 Wellhausen, J., 96.
 Yāfi'i, 111.
 Yāfi'i, 'Abdu'llāh, 253.
 Yāfi'i, Shaykh 'Abdu'llāh, 160.
 Yahya, the Bermekid, 99.
 Yahya b. Umm at-Tiwāl, 50.
 Yahya b. Zayd, 53, 140.
 Yamāma, 7.
 Yā'qūb Sarfi of Kashmir, 182, 183, 184.
 Yā'qūb Shāh, Sultan, 182, 293, 295.
 Yazd, 160.
 Yasawī, Kh. Ahmad, 190.
 Yazīd bin Abū Sufyān, 26.
 Yazīd bin Mu'āwiya, 43, 46-48, 50, 154.
 Yazīdis, 187.
 Yemen, 74, 76, 143.
 Yulchī Beg, 318, 323.

- Yūnus, the Chaghatāy Khān, 171.
 Yūnus b 'Abdu'r-Rahmān, 101.
 Yūsuf, a Kashmirī Shī'ī, 178, 179.
 Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, 262-267, 325.
 Yūsuf 'Alī Astarābādī, *Akhbārī*, 358-362.
 Yūsuf Khān Rizvī, 183.
 Yūsuf Mirak, 5, 8.
 Yūsuf Shāh, Sultan, 180, 181, 183.
 Yūsuf Turk, 267.
- Zafar Khān, 247.
 Zafar Khān, 183.
 Zafar Khān, the Mughal governor of
 Kashmir, 186.
 az-Zahbī, 94.
 Zāhid Harawī, Mir M., 131.
 Zāhirī Muhaddis Abū Dāwūd, 146.
 Zamakhsharī, M. b. 'Umar, 227, 384.
 Zamaniya, 219.
 Zayd b. 'Alī, 51-53, 98, 99, 106, 139, 319.
 Zayd bin Hāris, 10, 16, 19.
 Zayd b. Mūsa, b. Ja'far, 61.
 Zayd b. Sūhān, 86, 87.
 Zayd b. Wahb al-Juhnī, 91, 92.
- Zaydiyya, 103.
 Zayn Khān Koka, 347.
 Zaynab, 344.
 Zaynab bint 'Alī, 21, 46, 47.
 Zaynpur, 178.
 Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī, 342, 344.
 Zaynu'd-Dīn Sayyid, 344.
 Zaynu'd-Dīn, Sh., 133.
 Zaynu'd-Dīn of Syria, 359, 360.
 Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn Māzandarānī, 317.
 Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn, Sultan, 166, 167, 169, 176,
 184.
 Zaynu'l-Astarābādī, 302.
 Zialdrakar, 170.
 Ziyād b. Abihī (b. Abū Sufyān), 43, 44,
 76, 77.
 Ziyād Hindī, 139.
 Zor, Sayyid Mohyi'u'd-Dīn, 303.
 Zubayr bin al-'Awwām, 13, 23, 24, 25, 32,
 33, 36-39, 73, 83, 84, 99, 100.
 Zubayr, Muhammad, 381.
 Zu Husām, 45.
 Zuhūr, Muhammad, 280.
 Zuhūrī, Nūru'd-Dīn, 278-281.

